



# On People's War

**jose maria sison**

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**julieta de lima**  
**editor**



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JOSE MARIA SISON

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Julieta de Lima

Editor

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## Preface

This book focuses on the people's war being waged by the New People's Army (NPA) led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). It presents the reader with the NPA basic founding documents and my writings that reflect the NPA's growth in strength and advance from decade to decade since its founding on March 29, 1969.

I am proud to assert that I have been able to define the specific characteristics of the people's war in the Philippines. I have adhered to the revolutionary class line set by Comrade Mao for protracted people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country and I have also taken into account the archipelagic character of the Philippines and related considerations.

There are important documents pertaining to the NPA, like those of the Second Great Rectification Movement, that are not included in this book because they are already included in the two books on the Communist Party of the Philippines in the *Sison Reader Series*.

There is an abundance of content in this book, *On People's War*, on the role of the NPA as the main instrument of the CPP, the proletariat and the people in waging people's war and seizing political power from the reactionary state of the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in order to complete the people's democratic revolution and prepare for the socialist revolution.

Waging people's war is not a purely military process. It involves the NPA taking ideological and political guidance from the CPP, integrating the armed struggle with agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution, mass base building and developing the united front mainly for armed struggle.

It is a great victory for the NPA to have grown from a small and weak force of only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms shared by some 60 Red fighters in the second district of Tarlac province to thousands of Red fighters armed with high-powered rifles in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in more than 90 percent of Philippine provinces.

It is a great honor and privilege for me, as Chairman of the CPP Central Committee and its Military Commission, to have participated in the founding and formation of the NPA, the politico-military training of the initial Red fighters, the deployment of expansion teams to various regions and the accumulation of the first 1500 rifles of the NPA from 1969 to 1977.

The NPA proceeded to accumulate 5600 rifles until the Plenum of the CPP Central Committee in late 1985 and increased these further to 6100 until the end of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The people's war in the Philippines would have made far greater victories if not for the various currents of urban insurrectionism, premature regularization of the NPA and criminal violations of due process that occurred from 1985 to 1991.

The Second Great Rectification Movement saved the revolutionary movement from the major errors of subjectivism and "Left" opportunism and in a number of regions, recovered the mass base that had been lost up to 60 per cent in 1991. Since then, the people's war had made great strides through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

The reactionary armed forces admitted in 2021 that they had suffered 13,300 casualties (excluding those of the police and paramilitary) in battles with the NPA.

The current thousands of full-time Red fighters are supported by millions of people nationwide and augmented by tens of thousands of people's militia members and self-defense units of revolutionary mass organizations as NPA auxiliary and reserve forces.

Despite its inexhaustible mass strength, the NPA chooses to fight only those battles in which it has the full initiative and it is sure of winning; and avoids purely defensive situations and battles with uncertain outcome. It relies on the vigilance and participation of the masses in knowing the most vulnerable parts of their armed enemy.

In conducting mass work, the NPA has engaged in building revolutionary mass organizations of various types (workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, children) and engaging in propaganda, educational and cultural work, production and other economic work, social programs and activities, arbitration of disputes, self-defense, relief work and protection of the environment.

The revolutionary mass organizations of various types have been the most conscious and militant mass base of the CPP, the NPA, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the local organs of political power constituting the people's democratic power from the village level to such higher levels as the municipality, district and province.



Taunters from the ranks of the enemy, renegades and other reactionaries, (including pro-imperialist academic pedants, Trotskyites and infantile Maoists), who try to denigrate the great victories of the NPA and people's war, exclaim that in more than 53 years of people's war the CPP and the NPA have not yet won political power in Manila. They deliberately ignore the fact that the people's democratic government is already built in the countryside and that the people's war continues to advance wave upon wave towards the urban areas and highways.

They fail to understand and appreciate that the NPA has preserved itself, multiplied its strength and expanded nationwide by winning tactical offensives against the so many campaigns of military suppression unleashed by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and subsequent reactionary regimes. The Filipino people, the CPP and the NPA have been self-reliant in waging people's war and have seized nearly all their current weapons from the enemy side.

They did not have the advantages of the concurrence of inter-imperialist war and cross-border access to a stronger Red Army in a neighboring country that the Chinese revolution had from 1936 to 1949 and the Vietnamese revolution had from 1945 to 1975 such advantages. The people's war in the Philippines also overcame the betrayal of socialism and proletarian internationalism by the Soviet modern revisionists and the Chinese revisionists and capitalist-roaders headed by Deng Xiaoping since the 1970s.

From time to time, the CPP has made exhortations to the NPA to develop further the middle phase to the advance phase of the strategic defensive and accelerate reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate. This is a matter of increasing squads, platoons and companies as combat units in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare.

So long as the NPA perseveres in developing its forces nationwide through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, the time will surely come when Philippine and global conditions would allow the NPA to consolidate companies and battalions as combat units for regular mobile warfare in the strategic stalemate.

Ultimately, the time will further come for the companies and battalions to become respectively battalions and regiments as combat units for regular warfare and knocking out the final holdouts of the enemy forces in the strategic counteroffensive of the people's war.

The realization of the probability course of the three strategic stages of the protracted people's war depends on the growth in the strength of the NPA, the annihilation and disintegration of the enemy forces, the threat of imperialist intervention and aggression, and the crisis conditions of the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system.

The imperialists and the Filipino reactionary classes are now increasingly in the vortex of rapidly worsening crisis conditions. The policy regimes of anti-communism, neocolonialism, neoliberalism and state terrorism are unravelling. The imperialist powers continue to shift the burden of crisis to the proletariat and people. But still the inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening.

The proletariat and people of the world are suffering intolerable oppression and exploitation. Thus, anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles are on the upsurge. They are generating more favorable conditions for the Philippine revolution and ushering in the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

The big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists ruling the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system under the overall hegemony of US imperialism are using all means of violence and deception to stifle the Filipino people's just and reasonable demands for national and social liberation.

In previous peace negotiations, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines spelled out these demands in simple and clear terms: full national independence and end to unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements, genuine democracy through the empowerment of the workers and peasants, social justice, economic development through land reform and national industrialization, patriotic, scientific and mass culture, and international solidarity for peace and development against imperialism and all reaction.

Upon the prodding of the US imperialists and the worst reactionaries and upon its own malevolent initiative, the Duterte regime has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, has designated the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP as "terrorist" organizations, and has unleashed state terrorism against them and the broad masses of the people.

It rejects The Hague Joint Declaration and the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, boasts of being able to destroy the armed revolution of the people and offers fake localized peace talks for the surrender of small groups and individuals that betray the revolutionary movement of the people.

In the face of an enemy hell-bent on violating their national and democratic rights, the Filipino people are more than ever determined to uphold their just cause and continue the people's democratic revolution. They must

defend themselves against the armed counterrevolution and strive for total victory no matter how long it takes to achieve.

According to the CPP, the best time for the revolutionary movement to negotiate with the reactionary government is when the people's democratic government is ready to accept the surrender of enemy holdouts in the course of the strategic counteroffensive.

In the course of the people's war against the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the CPP and NDFP never found it necessary to negotiate peace. It suits the revolutionary movement that the enemy has taken full responsibility for terminating the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

So long as US imperialism and the local exploiting classes oppress and exploit them, the Filipino people have the sovereign right and obligation to wage a protracted armed revolution and win victory in the new democratic revolution in order to achieve a just peace and build a just society in socialism.

**Jose Maria Sison**  
**Utrecht, The Netherlands**  
**February 15, 2022**

# ***Declaration of the New People's Army***

**March 29, 1969**

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As surely as the Communist Party of the Philippines is being regenerated, reoriented and reestablished under the supreme guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, the people's liberation army which the Party commands as its principal instrument in the Philippine revolution is likewise being regenerated, reoriented and reestablished under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In the same way that the Party is undertaking a rectification movement in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and of "curing the sickness to save the patient," so does the people's army in order to regenerate itself correctly, cast away degenerates and take in new blood to carry out more firmly and vigorously the tasks of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The New People's Army is definitely emergent after twenty-seven years of hard struggle and sacrifices in the people's democratic interests by those who have persisted in revolutionary armed struggle. This army can take pride in its splendid achievements and in the glorious martyrdom of its heroic martyrs. It can also learn bitter lessons from the failure of previous leaderships to win the revolution or to preserve a single base area during the last more than two decades. It is now arduously striving to intensify the armed struggle in a number of guerrilla zones and girding for the realization of agrarian revolution as the condition for establishing a base area and an armed independent regime.

The universal truth of Mao Zedong Thought is now being consciously and thoroughly integrated with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. After an extended process of rectification and self-criticism lasting for a number of years reflected in the historic document of rectification, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," the Communist Party of the Philippines ratified in its Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968, a new Constitution and a new Program for a People's Democratic Revolution in order to give new guidance, the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, to the people's army and to the conduct of our revolutionary armed struggle.

The Party Constitution and Program make it clear that the road of armed revolution is the only road for the Filipino people to take in order to liberate themselves from the exploitative and oppressive rule of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This basic stand of our Party recognizes the great role of the people's army in the Philippine revolution. Since armed struggle is the main form of struggle, the people's army is the main form of organization in the people's democratic revolution.

As Comrade Mao Zedong has long pointed out, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." The Communist Party of the Philippines or the Filipino working class can neither lead the revolution nor fight for the people's interest without the people's army. Neither can a true united front be formed without armed struggle and the people's army welding together the workers and the peasants. The people and the Party can have political power only by taking up arms and only by having a genuine people's army as the mainstay of all efforts to overthrow the reactionaries and consolidate revolutionary power. As Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

## ***The New People's Army***

Today, March 29, 1969, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the people's army, we have the best and happiest reasons for celebration. In line with the rectification, reestablishment and reinvigoration of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the powerful inspiration of the invincible Mao Zedong Thought, we the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and fighters are convened to formalize the adoption of the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party and Mao Zedong Thought, announce the creation of the New People's Army and approve the draft of the Basic Rules for submission to the Party Central Committee, proclaim our irrevocable repudiation of and triumph over the bourgeois headquarters in the army which is lorded over by the Taruc-Sumulong renegade clique and express our resolute determination to combat and remove all vestiges of modern revisionism and Right opportunism, particularly the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs which have besmirched the integrity and prestige of the Party and the army and have hindered for

so long the advance of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Today, we speak of the New People's Army because it is under the unified command of Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines, because it truly serves the fundamental interests of the people by being the principal instrument in the agrarian revolution that we are to launch to mobilize the masses of peasants and farm workers and also in the united front against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and because it has a style of being closely linked with the masses of the people by helping them in every possible way.

Our army is new in two senses. It is new in the sense that it is fundamentally different from the reactionary puppet Armed Forces of the Philippines (and all its supplementary forces) that wages armed suppression of the people and defends the exploiting classes. It is also new in the sense that it has repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line that has persisted in the people's army from the period of the Hukbalahap to that of the Taruc-Sumulong clique and sabotaged the revolutionary armed struggle for quite a long time.

That the New People's Army is resplendently new is beyond all doubt inasmuch as it has emerged as the fruit of inner-Party struggle, the concrete result of the triumph of Mao Zedong Thought and the overthrow of the bourgeois headquarters in the Party and army. Following the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has arisen as the fresh formation of Red commanders and fighters who have rejected the bourgeois headquarters of "Commander" Sumulong and who have upheld Mao Zedong Thought against the pernicious bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs.

Within the Party, we the Red commanders and fighters following the lead of the proletarian revolutionary cadres and inspired by Mao Zedong Thought have set ourselves free from the two main sources of modern revisionism and Right opportunism in the Party and army.

One main source is the city-based Lava revisionist clique which engages mainly in legalist and parliamentary struggle and whose principal leaders are in the payroll of the bourgeois reactionary government. This clique conceives of the national united front as something detached from the armed struggle. It is sponsoring a reformist peasant organization that limits its activities to arbitration within the narrow channels of the bourgeois reactionary government and systematically sabotages the revolutionary work of the people's army and harbors surrenderers, swindlers, cattle rustlers and other bad elements.

The other source of modern revisionism and Right opportunism is lorded over by the Pedro Taruc-Sumulong clique that usurps the name of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the people's liberation army (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan) to advance selfish counter revolutionary bourgeois and feudal ends that are essentially no different from those of the Lava revisionist clique.

In dealing with the present situation in the army, we have to deal at length with the Taruc-Sumulong clique which has since 1964 formally usurped the leadership over all those units of the people's liberation army that had heroically persisted in armed struggle against the enemy. Though we, the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and fighters, have already overthrown this revisionist renegade clique in the countryside, we must expose clearly its anti-Party and counterrevolutionary crimes so as to make them serve as negative examples and to show to all comrades and to the people that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are capable of rectifying errors and rebuilding themselves as genuine instruments of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

### ***Crimes of the Taruc-Sumulong clique***

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has deliberately encouraged the persistence of the ideology and activities of roving rebel bands for selfish counterrevolutionary bourgeois and feudal ends. Though it has usurped the name of the Party and army and even usurped high titles therein through a system of false appointments, it has outrightly taken the counterrevolutionary standpoint on many problems and issues of basic importance and has done so in open violation of the basic norms of a Marxist-Leninist party and people's army.

Like the heirs and advocates of the Lava revisionist line, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has never found it necessary during the period 1964-1969 to put forward a new party program and constitution and other kinds of guide to replace the outmoded ones put out during the 1946-1951 period and also those put out arbitrarily by Jesus Lava until his surrender. There has never been any attempt on the part of the heirs of the Lavas and the Tarucs to study the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and apply it on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. On the other hand, they have consistently violated it.

Despite its presumptions of leadership, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has wilfully failed to give the correct revolutionary direction to the armed struggle. It has completely shunned the principle of agrarian revolution and has never made any significant step to advance towards it. Instead, this clique has merely made use of the armed units of the people's liberation army to compel mediation between the landlords and the peasants. Mediation has been used mainly to favor the landlords who get what they want by making financial or grain contributions to the "revolutionary" fund. In this manner, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has criminally tried to cut off the Red army from the peasant masses.

This clique has promoted the outlook of the roving rebel band by its criminal refusal to base the growth and development of the people's army on the peasant struggle for land and on the mobilization of the masses. This clique has systematically made use of the units of the people's army to apply coercion more on the peasant masses than on landlords whose friendship it would rather cultivate. It uses the flimsy reasoning that the landlords are needed in a "united front" solely against US imperialism. But, when confronted with the specific case of poor peasants being ejected by the US imperialists and their running dogs as in Concepcion, Tarlac to make way for the gigantic radio installation of the Voice of America, this clique ordered the people's army and the peasant masses to desist from fighting the ejection. In many instances, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has acted to discourage mass protest actions and labor strikes against the US military bases on the counterrevolutionary ground that Angeles City would lose plenty of business if the US imperialists were denounced and antagonized.

Shamelessly, this clique has on a big scale dictated the use of some units of the Red army as security guards for the landlords' fields and granaries again on the flimsy excuse of "actually helping out the peasants to cheat the landlords." This is a completely wrong orientation in the revolution because the peasants do not have to limit themselves merely to "cheating" the landlords. The overriding goal of the Party and the army is to arouse and mobilize the peasants into a revolutionary mass force capable of destroying the pillars of feudalism.

The peasants still voluntarily give support to the people's army. This is because we the majority of Red commanders and fighters have always tried to do our best beyond the bureaucratic control of the Taruc-Sumulong clique in helping the peasant masses. We the majority of Red commanders and fighters have always maintained the closest links with the peasant masses by constantly siding with them against the landlords, the armed agents and troops of the bourgeois reactionary government and such bad elements as cattle rustlers, swindlers and bandits.

In many areas we have succeeded in reducing land rent and interest rates beyond the promises of the bourgeois Agricultural Land Reform Code. We have used our weapons to reduce the bullying and abuses of the landlord class and the bourgeois reactionary government by wiping out their big representatives and running dogs in many areas where as a result the people now live in conditions better than elsewhere. We have also managed to help the peasants in their daily work and life.

But, whenever the Taruc-Sumulong clique is approached by landlords regarding agrarian disputes with peasants, the interests of the latter are sold out and, thereby, the good work of the people's army is sabotaged. Thus, peasants in particular areas become resentful over the fact that they have to give contributions to an army whose leadership takes the side of the landlords. Also in this manner are the reactionaries and counterrevolutionary reformists given the chance to malign the people's army and to prepare the betrayal and murder of Red fighters in the field, especially in those areas where we are trying to expand for the first time.

In labor and student strikes in Central Luzon, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has not only stood aside while the exploiting classes and their armed agents, the Philippine Constabulary and the local police, wreak their vengeance on the strikers but it has also used its armed units to coerce the strikers and their organizations into submitting to the wishes of the exploiters. This has been done in exchange for a paltry sum of money.

Class capitulation, class collaboration and class betrayal have been carried to the extremest point by the Taruc-Sumulong clique in several ways. Politically, it has kowtowed to the biggest representatives of the exploiting classes such as Marcos, Nepomuceno and Cojuangco. Its ringleaders have made themselves "compadres" of these reactionary politicians and made agreements of "ceasefire" and "political support" with them. This folly of embracing the enemy, of collaborating with reactionary politicians resulted in the exposure and murder of so many comrades after the elections of 1965.

This class betrayal is nothing but a political reflection of the counterrevolutionary bourgeois and feudal character of the Taruc-Sumulong clique. In that regard, this clique has been blatantly spreading the philosophy of

survival among the Red fighters. It has recently ordered the stopping of campaigns launched by revolutionary commanders to wipe out enemy detachments and agents in their field commands. To please the big reactionary politicians this clique has for monetary reasons even ordered the surrender of a comrade to the reactionary government. Fortunately, this counterrevolutionary order to surrender a comrade has been frustrated.

The obvious reason for the counterrevolutionary revisionist policy of “peaceful coexistence” is that the enemy has promised to tolerate the landholdings, the investments in Angeles City and elsewhere and also the gang-style collections of the Taruc-Sumulong clique from businessmen, landlords and the peasant masses, all of which are under the one-man control and disposition of “Commander” Sumulong in the name of the Party and army. This unprincipled compromise has always been falsely justified in terms of economism. Yet the financial resources and property accumulated by this clique have been privately appropriated by the clique-masters in the most rapacious manner and have been mainly kept away from the Party and army.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has deliberately limited the growth of the people’s army and also smothered Party life therein so as to maintain its selfish capitalist and feudal rule. There is no democratic centralism; there is only the “centralism” of one big shot, “Commander” Sumulong. Abusing his private rule of centralism without democracy, “Commander” Sumulong has criminally made one-man decisions involving the execution of “erring” comrades and other people, the disposition of huge amounts of funds and the like. Without due process and on the flimsiest grounds that usually have something to do with finance collection or some business enterprise, he has judged many comrades as deserving of the death penalty and mass murders have actually been committed on his orders.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has been directly responsible more for the killing of comrades and other people in connection with some shady business enterprise than in connection with the revolutionary armed struggle against the enemy. Following the old sectarian style of the Jose and Jesus Lava leaderships, cases of “finance opportunism” involving the smallest amounts have been concocted to discredit and justify the mass execution of comrades who dare to criticize or oppose the Taruc-Sumulong clique.

Since there is absolutely no democracy practiced by the Taruc-Sumulong clique, since there is no committee system, no system of political commissars, no report system and no accounting of funds, the clique masters have been in a position to make arbitrary decisions, abuse the mechanical discipline of some comrades and armed units and to commit finance opportunism on a grand scale as scandalously manifested by their luxurious and corrupt living, by their having several wives and spending Party funds in such a manner, by their lavish parties for their reactionary friends and “compadres” and also by having close relatives gain private titles over some sizeable property that properly belong to the Party and the people.

Consistently importing the style of the vagabond and the lumpen proletariat into the Party and army and assuming a fascist gangster or petty warlord attitude, “Commander” Sumulong appoints goons and police characters to high positions in his staff, mixes them with dedicated comrades, personally administers beatings to them alike and orders their execution whenever they fail to satisfy his financial demands.

“Commander” Sumulong has also made use of the name of the Party and army in practicing usury among comrades and among the people at the average rate of 50 percent a month, in forcing the sale of properties to him at the price he dictates and in extorting money and grain from the masses. He has actually manipulated units of the people’s army to conduct his evil business practices in the style of a protection gang. This man who has assumed the functions of commander-in-chief and national finance officer of the people’s army is one of the worst scoundrels that has ever infiltrated into the Party and army. Pedro Taruc has to assume full responsibility as the principal accomplice of Sumulong.

Because of its selfish counterrevolutionary interests, the Taruc-Sumulong clique is afraid to see the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party within the people’s liberation army. It is afraid of democracy and the use of criticism and self-criticism. It is afraid of seeing Party cadres and Red fighters raise their quality and the Party and army expand under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. It is afraid of being exposed, criticized and repudiated. Thus, it would rather operate as a crime syndicate. It is now clear beyond doubt why the Taruc-Sumulong clique has consistently practiced sectarianism and closed-doorism. It wishes mainly to prevent the expansion of the Party and army and the emergence of revolutionary mass organizations in order to keep out the good and keep in the bad and maintain its counterrevolutionary renegade command and its system of privately appropriating wealth. This clique wishes to lord over the Party and army in Central Luzon as if it were its “independent kingdom.” It does this

at a time that the urgent need is to rebuild the Party and army as the intimate and conscientious servants of the people on a nationwide scale.

### ***Historical Roots of the Taruc-Sumulong Clique***

The bourgeois reactionary line carried out by the Pedro Taruc-Sumulong clique in Central Luzon has its historical roots. It has the same root cause as the counterrevolutionary revisionism and Right opportunism of the Lava clique. It is merely a branch of the long line of Right opportunism that has run through the history of the Party and that has retarded the growth of the Party and army and prejudiced the consistent advance of the revolution.

It is directly related to the Right opportunist line of the Lavas within the Communist Party of the Philippines for the last thirty-four years. It is immediately related to that bourgeois reactionary line carried forward by Jesus Lava who, when already isolated from the masses of the people, the masses of Party members and the masses of Red fighters, and already preparing to surrender himself to the enemy after failing to get the help of fraternal parties for him to escape from the country, made one-man decisions and appointments that favored his close relatives and also his accomplice in counterrevolution, Pedro Taruc, who in turn appointed his close relative, "Commander" Sumulong, as the commander-in-chief and national finance officer of the people's liberation army.

Just before he surrendered himself to Macapagal through the Social Security System medical officer, Jesus Lava gave himself the title of Party chairman and appointed a number of secretaries to form the Party secretariat. Independent of the other secretaries all of whom were in Manila, Pedro Taruc made his own one-man decisions and appointments, among which was keeping "Commander" Sumulong as military and finance chieftain of the Taruc-Sumulong clique. Sumulong was appointed to his position despite the fact that the Party's case against him in 1963 for malversation and rape had never been properly litigated.

It is possible to expose and rectify errors in the Party and in the people's liberation army because we, the majority of the Party members and Red fighters, have remained steadfastly true to the Party and to the Philippine revolution. The Party and the army have persisted under the most difficult conditions because among the masses of Party members and Red fighters the majority have remained faithful to the interests of the toiling masses and have consistently taken the mass line.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique which has usurped Party and army leadership in Central Luzon has long acted as a hindrance to the advance of the revolution and as a heavy burden on the masses of the people. Its crimes have been utilized by the enemy to discredit the Party and the people's army. This clique has perpetrated the most grievous crimes inside and outside the Party and army. It is best, therefore, that the Party and army should wage a rectification movement, ideological, political and organizational, in order to cleanse the Party and army and make them ever stronger servants of the masses.

Comrades who are passive to or who refuse the call for rectification will only endanger themselves because if the evil practices of the Taruc-Sumulong clique are not repudiated now, then the reactionaries can use them to isolate the Party and army from the people. The Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army cannot carry out the tasks of the revolution without engaging in criticism and self-criticism, without engaging in a rectification movement and clarifying their revolutionary tasks, without arousing the people to feel free to say what they think and what they expect to be done. Certainly not all the particular crimes of the Taruc-Sumulong clique can be included in this document. Only the full play of a rectification campaign among Party members and Red fighters can unfold them most amply and clear the way for the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao Zedong Thought.

However, to be most profound and to be of the greatest benefit to the Party and to the New People's Army, the rectification movement should encompass not only the wrongs committed by the Taruc-Sumulong clique but also the whole history of the Communist Party of the Philippines. With such a scope of criticism, comrades will fully understand why the phenomenon of a Taruc-Sumulong clique has come to pass and why, for instance, many of those who entered the Party and army at various stages have become passive, afraid and reluctant to carry out the tasks of the revolution or have turned the other way only to strike back at the Party and army as counterrevolutionaries.

To understand the present as something that develops into the future, with the true proletarian revolutionaries advancing and the degenerate capitalist roaders being thrown into the dustbin of history, we must know the past that has brought about certain wrongs and weaknesses and also that has brought about what is good and strong about us today. An understanding of the whole history of the Party is necessary, especially because most of the

Party members and Red fighters who are now actively working for the success of the Philippine revolution are literally a new generation. It is most important that we take advantage of the lessons of the past and of the positive and negative experiences of old comrades who compose a minority within the Party and army at the moment.

Hereunder we outline briefly the major stages in the development of the Party and army, with special interest in the latter and with special emphasis on the causes of failure. For an ample view of Party history, it is indispensable for comrades to adopt this document together with the more extensive document, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," issued previously by the Party.

### *1. Period before the establishment of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon.*

For twelve long years after its formal establishment on November 7, 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines failed to create a people's army to combat the US colonial regime and later the puppet comprador-landlord government of Quezon and its US imperialist masters. Without a people's army, the Party was defenseless.

A few months after its public founding, repressive measures were taken by the US imperialists and the puppet officials against the Party. In 1932, the Party and all the mass organizations associated with it were formally declared illegal by the reactionary government and all principal Party leaders were sentenced, imprisoned and banished to various parts of the country.

Even as the Party had been declared completely illegal, the Party leadership still failed to recognize the importance of Party and army building among the peasants in the countryside. Throughout the decade of the thirties, widespread agitation for independence and land reform was conducted more vigorously by other organizations.

In 1937, the Party was again allowed to operate legally in line with the antifascist Popular Front and in 1938, a merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party was made under the influence of the Right opportunist leadership of Earl Browder in the Communist Party of the USA. The Party leadership continued to concentrate on legal work in the city and no armed preparations were undertaken in the countryside against the impending Japanese invasion.

Only campaigns for the voluntary boycott of Japanese goods were made mainly by the trade union movement under the leadership of the CPP chairman Crisanto Evangelista. The cadres of the Socialist Party continued to engage in purely legal and reformist agitation. At this time, Party members of petty-bourgeois orientation who stood out in advocating civil liberties and whose chief representative was Dr. Vicente Lava started to gain principal influence in the Party.

### *2. Period of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon*

The people's army in the form of the Hukbalahap was established under the leadership of the Party on March 29, 1942 in Central Luzon. Since then, confirming what Comrade Mao Zedong has said that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, the Party and the people gained a certain amount of power and prestige in Central Luzon that they had never held before.

Within one year of waging guerrilla warfare, the people's army grew from a small force to a big one. Its strength grew rapidly as the peasants rallied around it under such favorable conditions as the evacuation of the US imperialists and the Commonwealth government from the Philippines, the disintegration of landlord power in the countryside and the clear need among the people to take up arms against the Japanese fascists.

But after the Japanese raid on the Mt. Arayat base of the people's army in the early part of March 1943, the Party leadership of the Right opportunist Vicente Lava was overcome with pessimism and adopted the wrong policy of "retreat for defense" which was a passive military line involving the dissolution of armed units and prevention of tactical offensives against the enemy.

The Lava leadership also entertained serious doubts about the working class being able to lead under conditions that the trade union movement in the city was in chaos. It did not recognize that the Communist Party of the Philippines as the most advanced detachment of the working class was already in the countryside to lead the peasant masses.

The "retreat for defense" policy was rectified only sometime in September 1944 when the US military forces and their puppet forces were already starting to make their own offensive. Because of this Right opportunist policy, which covered more than half of the three-year Japanese occupation, the Red army lost the opportunity of building up more massive fighting forces and of expanding as fast as it should have even beyond Central Luzon.



On a national scale, the Party and army failed to seize the leadership in the anti-fascist armed struggle.

The plan to send out cadres to other parts of the archipelago to develop armed struggle had been called off even as early as 1942. Thus, the development of armed struggle under the leadership of the Party became limited to Central Luzon and to a small part of Southern Tagalog. Furthermore, the Party leadership failed to use agrarian revolution as the basis of its strength in areas securely held by the people's army. It also glaringly failed to expose US imperialism as an enemy. It utterly failed to implement the policy of the Communist International of using the anti-fascist struggle as an occasion to establish a people's democratic government.

### *3. Period of the "democratic peace" line*

As the US imperialist and puppet forces were advancing, the Party leadership still mainly influenced by the Right opportunism of Vicente Lava and Luis Taruc relied on the word of US agents who contacted them that they could participate in the parliamentary life and economic reconstruction of the country.

The Party leadership passed on to more outright Right opportunists like Pedro Castro and Jorge Frianeza who advocated an open and legal mass party in the style of bourgeois parties and who carried out further the line of separating the gun from the Red fighters. The Party leadership failed to recognize that US imperialists and the landlords were systematically disorganizing the people's army to strengthen armed counterrevolution and reimpose their control over the entire countryside and over the whole country.

Atrocious crimes had been committed by the US imperialists and their puppets against the Hukbalahap and the masses. Entire "squadrons" of the Hukbalahap were massacred or, as in the case of the Banal Regiment, were bought off with US backpay. Hukbalahap leaders were soon arrested and assassinated or imprisoned by the US imperialists and their puppets. Despite these evil deeds of the enemy, the Right opportunists set up the Huk Veterans' League and the Pambansang Kaisahan ng mga Magbubukid to supplant the Hukbalahap and the Barrio United Defense Corps (BUDC).

True to its Right opportunist line, the Party leadership shifted its headquarters from the countryside to the city, launched the Democratic Alliance which was dominated by bourgeois personalities and engaged in the bourgeois electoral game only to discover when it was too late that the US imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists would violate their own parliamentary rules to get what they wanted, such as the Bell Trade Act, Parity Amendment and other imperialist and landlord measures.

During the period of the "democratic peace" line the reactionaries were able to reinstall themselves in positions of power all over the country by unhesitatingly using their guns to suppress the people as in the regions of Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog.

### *4. Resumption of the armed struggle and military adventurism*

As a result of the ouster of the Party-supported members of Congress from their parliamentary seats, the murder of revolutionary leaders, Red fighters and common people, and the just clamor of the people for resuming armed struggle, the Right opportunist leadership in the Party was overthrown and the Party decided to launch armed struggle in 1948.

But as no sufficient rectification movement was waged aside from organizational repudiation of the Right opportunists, the Jose Lava leadership that tried to resume the armed struggle was not able to formulate correctly the ideological, political and organizational basis for a protracted people's war. Even as the Party was already bent on waging armed struggle, the Right opportunist Luis Taruc, who was commander-in-chief of the people's liberation army, was allowed to negotiate the surrender and disarming of the people's army in the same year of 1948.

Taking a dogmatic and sectarian attitude as clearly manifested by its PB Resolutions of 1950, the Jose Lava leadership adopted the impetuous petty-bourgeois line of quick military victory within two years which underestimated the enemy and overestimated the revolutionary forces. It was a complete violation of Mao Zedong's strategic principle of a protracted people's war. It was merely a subjective conclusion reached by relying heavily on such external possibilities as a third world war, the absolute breakdown of the US economy and the violent split among the local political factions in the country which were foretold to occur within two years.

The putschist line of military victory in two years overstrained the limited revolutionary forces, made them leap over unstable areas instead of advancing wave upon wave, and impelled the imposition of bourgeois rules of war and sectarian punishments on the overstrained cadres, fighters and masses. The more the Party and army leadership waved the obnoxious flag of commandism, the more the Party and army became isolated from the masses on whom sectarian abuses were committed. Those sectarian abuses were repeated in a big way by reactionary

soldiers in civilian disguise and were blamed on the Party and army, thus isolating the Party and army further from the masses.

The “Left” opportunist leadership of Jose Lava (PB-In and Secretariat) was isolated in the city from which it dictated its adventurist orders. It had a subcommand under Jesus Lava (the so-called PB-Out) which was likewise isolated in a physical base, not a political base, in the Sierra Madre fastnesses of Laguna, far away from the main military forces in the plains of Central Luzon.

After the March and August 1950 raids conducted by the people’s army, the Jose Lava leadership was quickly smashed by only a few enemy counterattacks such as the total capture of the central Party headquarters in the city, the massive encirclement of the Sierra Madre, the slicing off of overextended supply and communication lines, large-scale enemy imitation of the roguish sectarian activities of a big number of Red army units and heavy enemy infiltration of the Party headquarters because of a liberal policy of recruitment in the city.

The Jose Lava leadership was criminally responsible for the almost total obliteration of the people’s army within the short period of two years and for the most wanton sacrifice of the lives of Party cadres and Red fighters in the entire history of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

#### *5. The period of continued military defeat*

After the enemy had smashed the Jose Lava leadership, Jesus Lava assumed the Party leadership and together with Casto Alejandrino as commander-in-chief, continued the “Left” opportunist and sectarian line of his brother. Adducing the failure of the Jose Lava leadership to mere negligence and tactical errors of some comrades and to mere accident, Jesus Lava carried further the line of his brother and failed to launch a much-needed rectification movement.

Revealing its utter ignorance of the theory of people’s war, the Jesus Lava leadership asserted that the strategic stage that the people’s liberation army had been in since 1949 was neither the strategic defensive nor the strategic offensive but what it muddleheadedly called the “strategic counteroffensive.”

The Central Committee conference of February-March 1951 which elevated Jesus Lava to the general secretaryship did not find any substantial ideological, political and organizational errors in the previous leadership. Jesus Lava was more concerned then with outwitting and outmaneuvering the equally careerist renegade Luis Taruc to assume the Party leadership.

Taking advantage of the defeats suffered by the people’s army, Luis Taruc and his clique pushed forward the Right opportunist line of seeking peace negotiations with the enemy. This capitulationist line had disastrous results inasmuch as it encouraged the mood of many soldiers to surrender even in areas where the people’s army was still strong. In 1954, the renegade, traitor and scab Luis Taruc surrendered to the enemy under the auspices of the US Central Intelligence Agency.

While the enemy launched a series of massive campaigns of encirclement and suppression during the period of 1951, the Party and army were severely split between two factions and the Jesus Lava leadership failed to give the unifying ideological, political and organizational leadership for a protracted people’s war.

The relationship between the Party and army on the one hand and the people on the other, between Party officials and army officers on the one hand and soldiers on the other, and among soldiers worsened without letup. The Jesus Lava leadership failed to grasp the mass line, failed to overcome but even increased the harsh sectarian activities of the previous leadership and continued to propagate a purely military viewpoint.

#### *6. The reemergence of Right opportunism and flightism*

In 1955, the Jesus Lava leadership was overcome with pessimism about the armed struggle as a result of its ceaseless military defeats and its isolation from the masses. Its dogmatism, “Left” opportunism and sectarianism easily reversed into empiricism and Right opportunism.

As a result of continuous military defeats, this leadership subsequently adopted the line of parliamentary struggle, and it went out of its way to dissolve those armed units of the people’s army that it had access to and convert them into “organizational brigades.” As Jesus Lava himself prepared to abandon the armed struggle and the countryside, he dissolved his own security unit.

During this period, the Khrushchov revisionist renegades of the Soviet Union were already waging a worldwide campaign for the “parliamentary road” and “peaceful transition.” In 1958, Lava took flight from the countryside and began his career of “general secretary” in his secluded city room from which he issued political transmissions and directives without the benefit of collective discussions and concrete experience. This flightism was imitated

by other principal Party leaders, particularly by the commander-in-chief of the people's army, Casto Alejandrino.

But even the efforts of the Party in the parliamentary struggle did not directly bear fruit. In political agitation, the Jesus Lava leadership tailed behind the leaders of the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie through whose independent efforts the line of anti-imperialism was advanced. What crippled the Party most during this period was the one-man decision taken by Jesus Lava that the Party must pursue the "single file" policy in organization.

This is liquidationism pure and simple, destroying the collective life of the Party. The vast majority of Party members became disconnected and became passive as they were easily cut off from their "single file" due to the arrest of a single Party member, the increasing passivity and opportunism of others, or the infrequency of contacts. It would only be in 1960 that new Party members in both legal and illegal fronts of the struggle emerged to reinvigorate the Party and army.

Further carrying out his flightist policy, Jesus Lava sought vainly to leave the country. After failing to do so, he tried to cajole President Macapagal with several letters of support for his bourgeois policies and finally wrote him a treasonous letter offering his surrender. Before his "capture" by the enemy in 1964, he alone made appointments to the Party leadership.

These appointments were characterized by nepotism, thinly camouflaged by the nominal appointment of Pedro Taruc as the "secretary for peasants." Other appointees to the Party secretariat were close Lava kinsmen who had never before excelled in Party work or mass work.

#### *7. The ascendancy of Mao Zedong Thought in the Party and Army*

The Right opportunist line of the Jesus Lava leadership resulted in two degenerate and counterrevolutionary trends. Feigning loss of contact with the people's army and Party cadres therein led by Pedro Taruc, the heirs in the leadership of the Lava revisionist renegade clique took the blessings of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, held a conference of their own in April 1968 to perpetuate the "noble lineage" of the Lavas and put forward formally the line of opposing those engaged in armed struggle, of accepting the leadership of the reactionary government in land reform, of contraposing the united front with the armed struggle and of repeating the error of letting bourgeois personalities assume the leadership in what they conceive to be a formal united front organization.

On the other hand, also feigning loss of contact with the barefaced city-based local revisionist renegades, the Taruc-Sumulong clique defined a limited area in Central Luzon as its own independent "kingdom" and put forward its own line of Right opportunism and revisionist treachery in the countryside as explained previously. Pedro Taruc, acting alone, committed the serious crime of appointing Sumulong as commander-in-chief of the people's army and also as national finance officer despite the fact that the latter was still facing the serious charges of malversation and corruption made in 1963.

If there is a bourgeois headquarters within the Party and army and also factions within the same bourgeois headquarters, the counterrevolutionary line it puts forward is bound to be opposed by a revolutionary line put forward by the proletarian revolutionary headquarters within the same Party and army. During the years from 1964 to the present, when the one-man decisions and appointments made by the renegade Jesus Lava were creating confusion within the Party, those upholding Mao Zedong Thought led by Comrade Amado Guerrero rose up to criticize and repudiate modern revisionism and the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs and thus prepared the way for the reestablishment and rebuilding of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the supreme guidance of Mao Zedong Thought.

At the same time, within the people's army, Comrade Dante with the late Comrade Delio, struggled hard to put other Red commanders to struggle most militantly and fostered the revolutionary spirit of serving the people and making the Red fighters merge with the people like fish with water.

Today, the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the Red commanders and fighters led by Comrade Dante who remain ever faithful to the people's democratic revolution and to Mao Zedong Thought are crowned with the transformation of the old Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) into the New People's Army under the supreme command of Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

#### ***The main tasks of the New People's Army***

Under the Marxist-Leninist principle that the Party commands the gun, the New People's Army follows the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the supreme command of Mao Zedong Thought.

The New People's Army is an instrument for implementing the Party Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. It is, as matter of fact, the principal organization under the command of the Communist Party of the Philippines, an organization for waging the main form of struggle, armed struggle, in the people's democratic revolution.

The tasks of the New People's Army are comprehensively outlined in the Party Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Both the general and specific programs are therein stated. But, in another comprehensive manner, we outline hereunder its urgent tasks:

*1. The New People's Army must engage in Party rebuilding.*

It is by propagating Mao Zedong Thought in the people's army and among the masses, applying it in revolutionary practice and organizing Party branches and committees inside and outside the army that the New People's Army engages in Party rebuilding. The New People's Army is not only a fighting force, it is also a propaganda and organizing force.

It must propagate and apply Mao Zedong Thought as the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Its cadres, commanders and fighters must all imbue themselves with Mao Zedong Thought by undertaking study classes under the direction of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought, under the army political officers and fighters on the revolutionary path, continued to wage armed department and under the political officer appointed by the Party to supervise Party life and political education in every Red armed unit.

All Party cadres in the army, commanders and fighters should in turn effect an ideological mobilization of the masses under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought and they should see to it that the most advanced elements among the masses, as among the Red fighters, are taken in as members of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the course of mass struggle. All daily problems of the Party, army and the masses in politics, armed struggle, culture and economic work should be solved by applying the universal truth of Mao Zedong Thought.

As an organized force, the New People's Army must see to it that Party branches at company level, Party groups in every squad and Party committees at every level from the company upwards are established. As an organizing force, it must establish Party branches and local Party committees among the people. The New People's Army must always be conscious that the Communist Party of the Philippines is at the core of the revolutionary mass movement.

In instilling itself with Mao Zedong Thought, the New People's Army instils itself with the spirit of serving the people and repudiating selfishness. It rejects modern revisionism and subjectivism in its dogmatist or empiricist form, Right and "Left" opportunism, sectarianism and liberalism, commandism and tailism and all other weaknesses and mistakes that have obstructed the advance of the people's democratic revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is the most precise instrument for rectifying and weeding out all the weaknesses and the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs and all other evil sources of errors in the Philippine revolutionary movement.

The New People's Army has a conscious iron discipline. It follows the principle of democratic centralism. Centralism is essentially the supreme command of Mao Zedong Thought. At its core is the subordination of the minority to the majority, the lower organ to the higher organ and the individual to the Party. Inner democracy shall be fully enjoyed by all Red fighters and shall serve as the means for the practical and concrete application of Mao Zedong Thought. Criticism and self-criticism shall be given full play in order to raise the political and combat effectiveness of the New People's Army.

There shall be political democracy in the New People's Army with the soldiers having the right to hold meetings and speak out freely on any worthwhile subject or problem that confronts them.

There shall be economic democracy, with all officers and men enjoying equal material conditions, such as allowances and rations, with the men having the right to elect representatives to assist the company leadership in managing their material conditions and with all officers and men having the right to look into the books of accounts at any time.

There shall also be military democracy, with the officers teaching the soldiers, the soldiers teaching the officers and soldiers learning from each other with regard to military plans, methods and techniques of fighting. As much as possible, meetings shall be held before and after battles in order to raise fighting knowledge and effectiveness.

Bourgeois and feudal practices between officers and men, such as bullying, shall be absolutely prohibited. The

best of relations shall therefore be developed between officers and men within the army so that the army as a whole shall always be oriented towards the maintenance and development of the best relations with the masses.

The officers and men of the New People's Army shall be strictly bound by Comrade Mao Zedong's Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention and shall always go out of their way to serve the people, aside from performing well their fighting tasks.

*2. The New People's Army must carry out agrarian revolution, build rural bases and advance the armed struggle.*

Since the people's democratic revolution is essentially a peasant war under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines, and since the peasant struggle for land is the main content of the people's democratic revolution, the New People's Army must launch an agrarian revolution and mobilize the peasant masses, the vast majority of the Filipino people, for the people's democratic revolution.

A revolution is a mass undertaking and so the New People's Army as a revolutionary army must rely on the masses for increasing its fighting strength, preserving itself, winning battles, winning the whole war and consolidating the power won.

It is only through agrarian revolution that rural bases can be created as great rears for the emergence of more rural bases and more guerrilla zones and that the great masses of the people are mobilized against US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalist. Only by destroying the feudal base of US imperialism in the Philippines can the people's democratic revolution be won against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is only by having stable base areas that the New People's Army can wage a protracted people's war. From these stable base areas, it can advance wave upon wave against the enemy. By building stable base areas to encircle the city, the biggest graveyard of the enemy forces is created. It is here in the countryside that the enemy is compelled to spread out thinly, lured in and destroyed piece by piece over a long period of time. It is here in the countryside that the enemy becomes exhausted and defeated before the main forces of the New People's Army march in on the cities to seize power finally with the help of workers in a general strike or in a general uprising together with the urban petty bourgeoisie.

It is now the urgent task of the New People's Army to establish the armed independent regime in the countryside on the basis of agrarian revolution. The armed independent regime shall become the focus of an ever expanding wave of guerrilla zones throughout the country. All commanders and fighters must study with Party cadres how to raise the guerrilla zone to the level of a base area.

The New People's Army must establish its main fighting forces in Luzon to defeat the enemy forces concentrated in Luzon and in the Greater Manila Area, and also big forces at certain points of the Visayas and Mindanao to compel the enemy to disperse its forces at great cost across the archipelago. We must disperse the enemy in two ways: first, throughout the countryside and second, throughout the archipelago. Then we can destroy it piece by piece. For this purpose great rural bases must be created in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. The nationwide expansion of the Party and army should be made in the light of this consideration.

To carry out the armed struggle, the New People's Army should develop four types of armed units: the regular mobile forces, the guerrilla units, the militia or self-defense corps and the armed city partisans. The New People's Army must learn from the experiences of the Chinese and the Vietnamese in conducting people's war and must be trained to employ new and old fighting methods and military techniques.

Aside from developing marksmanship with various types of guns, the New People's Army must train in night operations, bayoneting, using land mines, mortar fire, tunnel warfare and the like. It must also be able to master all the indigenous methods of fighting that the workers, fishermen, peasants and national minorities know.

In building itself, the New People's Army must be guided by the principle of self-reliance. So long as it is closely linked with the masses of the people and enjoys their support, the New People's Army shall find its efforts adequate for a protracted armed struggle. The Party committees in the army and in local areas must closely unite to carry out the tasks of the people's democratic revolution.

*3. The New People's Army must build the national united front.*

The New People's Army must build the national united front by upholding and following the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, by welding together through armed struggle the workers and peasants whose

alliance serves as the basis of the national united front and by attracting the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie into the fold of the people's democratic revolution.

Because of the anti-national, anti-democratic and corrupt character of the state that it seeks to destroy and replace, the New People's Army can easily attract the urban petty bourgeoisie which inevitably joins the ranks of the exploited in sentiment and material condition as the crisis aggravates. Because the New People's Army shall confiscate imperialist goods and deprive the imperialists of markets in the provinces, the national bourgeoisie and all small patriotic businessmen shall be encouraged to produce goods locally and to support the revolutionary forces.

In the countryside, the New People's Army must forge an anti-feudal united front to unite the poor peasants and farm workers as an invincible political base, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants.

The New People's Army shall be willing to establish a national liberation front as an armed united front of all patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals. It welcomes the formation of other armed groups that wage armed struggle against the enemy. The New People's Army shall extend to them as much support and cooperation as it can.

In every instance of cooperative unity, the New People's Army must take firm hold of the revolutionary class line. So long as the goal of any class or group is the destruction of the power of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the New People's Army shall always be willing to extend its cooperation and helping hand. But it shall always be alert to enemy infiltrators and revisionist saboteurs of the armed struggle. In performing its revolutionary duty of fighting US imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction, the New People's Army is highly conscious that it is contributing to the development of the international united front and that it is upholding the principle of proletarian internationalism. Revolutionary armed struggle in the Philippines is certainly an effective part of the worldwide struggle of all oppressed peoples against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The overthrow of US imperialism and domestic reaction in the Philippines will be a great contribution towards the total collapse of imperialism and the worldwide triumph of socialism. Long live Mao Zedong Thought! Long live the Philippine Revolution! Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines! Long live the New People's Army!

*Issued by the Meeting of Red Commanders and Fighters, under the Leadership the Central Committee and Military Commission of the Communist Party of the Philippines, 29 March 1969*

# ***Basic Rules of the New People's Army***

## **Preamble**

The New People's Army is under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is the revolutionary army of the broad masses of the Filipino people against US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The New People's Army is the principal organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines which takes the path of armed revolution according to Mao Zedong Thought. It is the main weapon to carry out the central task of the Party which is to seize and consolidate political power. It is the instrument which shall overthrow the present bourgeois reactionary puppet government and bring forth the victory of the people's democratic revolution. It is an important tool which significantly contributes to the implementation of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The New People's Army wholeheartedly serves the national and democratic interests of the people and is the main backbone of the people's democratic dictatorship. It protects the people from the demonic forces of imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation. It constantly tries to help the masses in their daily lives. It detests the smallest damage committed against the masses instilling in its officers and men the strict discipline that will prevent them from inflicting any damage to the people.

The New People's Army which is armed with Mao Zedong Thought emerged after it repudiated the counterrevolutionary revisionist errors of the Lavas and Taruc as well as those others who advocate modern revisionism and opportunism whether "Left" or right. Within its ranks, it struggles against the purely military outlook, ultra-democracy, disobedience to organizational discipline, absolute equality, subjectivism, individualism, putschism and the ideology of the roving rebels. The New People's Army at present is composed of the best fighters who persevere in pursuing armed struggle and popularize the teachings of Mao Zedong. It continues to apply the universal truth of Mao Zedong Thought to the practice of the protracted people's war in the Philippines.

While it adheres to the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army primarily integrates within itself the armed peasants waging agrarian revolution which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution. In this context, the people's democratic revolution is essentially a peasant war which is led by the proletariat.

In the countryside, the New People's Army vigorously struggles to change the backward villages and transform them to become the most developed political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the people's democratic revolution. In order to accomplish this heroic task, the New People's Army primarily relies on the masses of poor peasants and agricultural workers, while encouraging the middle peasants so as to neutralize the rich peasants. This is the revolutionary antifeudal class line in the countryside.

The New People's Army ensures independence, initiative and leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the proletariat over the national united front. This is achieved by waging armed struggle which tightly unites the peasantry and working class, as the genuine foundation of a broad national democratic unity.

All throughout the protracted people's war, the New People's Army shall rely mainly on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, though it is always ready to work with other patriotic and progressive classes, organizations and individuals that sympathize with the armed struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The main strategic principle of the New People's Army is a protracted people's war in which its armed units continuously gather strength from the countryside based on people's war, agrarian revolution and building its bases. This includes the strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside, defeating the enemy by portions until its strength wears out.

The people's army has the determination to build bases and stable local government organs and advance in waves until it has effectively crushed the remnants of the enemy's forces which are concentrated in big cities and military camps. It shall systematically create and develop consolidated guerrilla zones capable of running the local people's government. The consolidated bases shall serve as a wide rear for expansion and creating new guerrilla zones and for the development of other democratic revolutionary forces.

The New People's Army will pass through three strategic stages in waging the protracted people's war. The first stage is the strategic defensive, wherein it maintains the initiative in tactical offensives against the strategic

military advantage of the enemy. The second stage is the strategic stalemate, wherein its fighting capacity is more or less equal to that of the enemy. The third and the last stage is the strategic offensive, wherein the forces of the New People's Army have developed their strength capable of assaulting the enemy forces in their very own fortifications within the cities and in big camps.

In the whole period of protracted people's war, the New People's Army has the political initiative because it unites revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice; because it is closely linked with the masses; and because it practices self-criticism for every mistake or weakness it commits.

The New People's Army creates and uses different types of fighting units in conducting the protracted people's war. The guerrilla forces defend the guerrilla bases and zones, pave the way for the formation and development of regular mobile forces. The self-defense units and the militia defend the masses in the localities but are not detached from their daily economic activities. The armed partisans in the cities perform special roles in sabotaging the enemy and punishing traitors in the cities and urban centers. All these fighting units of the New People's Army are coordinated and make use of all methods of warfare brought about by the development of the masses and the objective conditions.

The New People's Army fully understands that in performing its revolutionary task of crushing US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists in the Philippines, it performs a heroic and honorable task for the broad masses of workers and peasants, as well as for the oppressed peoples of the world.

The struggle for the people's democratic revolution as a stage towards socialism is both a national task and a proletarian internationalist act of the New People's Army. The Philippine armed struggle weakens and contributes to the crushing of US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction all over the world. Likewise, the armed struggles waged by all other oppressed peoples weaken and help in crushing the enemy in the Philippines.

The New People's Army has an internationalist responsibility to struggle towards the final annihilation of imperialism led by US imperialism, and for the worldwide victory of socialism.

### ***1. The New People's Army and the Communist Party of the Philippines***

Point 1. The New People's Army shall always adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and thus, it must abide with all decisions, orders and directives of the National Congress, Central Committee, Political Bureau and the Military Commission of the Party.

Point 2. The Military Commission is the highest special organ of the Central Committee that receives regular and special reports from the lowest to the highest military command, and it shall issue appropriate policies, orders and directives.

Point 3. The Military Commission ensures that the Party leadership, organization and life is alive within the New People's Army. The Party branch is based on the company level and the Party group shall work within each squad. All nonregular armed units are directly under the local Party committee.

Point 4. Party committees shall be created from branch level up to the succeeding higher levels and shall be responsible in maintaining the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. These committees also see to it that good relations are developed between the army and the masses, between officers and men, among fighters and between the army as a whole and the local Party committees.

Point 5. The New People's Army shall have its own Political Department which shall be responsible for the proletarian revolutionary education of all officers and men, for raising up proletarian revolutionary cadres from the army, for Party building, and mobilizing the masses especially in new areas of military work.

Point 6. A political officer shall be deployed in each regular mobile force unit, as well as in guerrilla forces in order to teach the fighters, and maintain Party organization and life.

Point 7. Territorial and unit commanders are responsible for internal military administration and operation in their respective areas and units while being guided by the Party at their corresponding levels. The number and special tasks of the deputy commanders shall be determined by the Military Commission.

Point 8. All district commanders, platoon leaders, and all succeeding higher officials must have studied in the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought.

Point 9. All nonregular fighting units like the guerrilla, militia, self-defense and armed city partisans are directly under the local Party committee. Nevertheless, they shall receive direct orders from the Military Commission or from the military command to link them with the regular mobile forces.



## ***II. The tasks of the New People's Army***

Point 1. The primary task of the New People's Army at present is to wage a protracted people's war in order to crush the reactionary state power and the interventionist forces of US imperialism, mobilize and defend the masses and advance their national and democratic interests.

Point 2. The New People's Army shall help in organizing the barrio revolutionary committees and other local government organs.

Point 3. The New People's Army shall serve the people in all possible means other than its military tasks.

Point 4. The New People's Army shall conduct revolutionary propaganda work and mobilize the masses.

Point 5. The New People's Army shall assist in organizing the local Party branches, local Party committees and revolutionary mass organizations.

Point 6. The New People's Army shall participate in construction, production and economic work for its own needs, as well as for the needs of the Party and the masses.

Point 7. The New People's Army shall help maintain public order. It shall arrest bad elements and take them to people's courts for trial.

Point 8. Within the New People's Army, different work sections shall be created for office work, training, internal peace and order, intelligence and surveillance, logistics, ordnance and maintenance, medical service, communication and transportation, construction, production and others.

Point 9. The guerrilla forces and regular mobile forces shall be allowed to rest from combat work for a short period of time especially if this shall serve for ideological, political and combat training; consolidation, recuperation and recovery; and the conduct of local political work.

## ***III. Membership in the New People's Army***

Point 1. Anyone who is physically fit, regardless of age, sex, race, nationality or religion and has the capacity to fight and ready to participate in a protracted armed struggle against the reactionary state power, may be a member of a fighting unit of the New People's Army.

Point 2. Those who are interested to join the New People's Army must express their intention to any army unit or headquarters, Party committee, Party member or revolutionary mass organization.

Point 3. The local Party committees, armed units of the New People's Army, and the revolutionary mass organizations may initiate to accept individual and collective requests for membership in the people's army or may directly recruit fighters and build new fighting units of the New People's Army.

Point 4. The military command and the local Party committees which are directly responsible in the area shall supervise and administer the recruitment of Red fighters.

Point 5. A higher military command or Party committee has the right to dissolve or rebuild any armed unit based on reasonable grounds.

Point 6. Individuals or groups who escaped from the enemy ranks or captured enemy troops may join the NPA provided that they undergo reorganization and reeducation. Their membership in the army will be confirmed after a thorough investigation done by the military command and the Party committee not lower than the provincial level.

Point 7. The New People's Army shall conduct regular analysis of class origin, performance in work and readiness to fight of all its fighters in order to continue to upgrade their proletarian revolutionary qualities.

Point 8. The broad majority of members of the New People's Army are armed fighters at all times, although some may be assigned to noncombat work but related to the fighting capacity of the army.

## ***IV. Discipline***

Point 1. The discipline of all officers and men of the New People's Army is a conscious discipline guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the organizational principle of democratic centralism. The Party committees in the army shall see to it that the line, policies and decisions of the Party are implemented by the military command at all levels.

Point 2. The New People's Army adheres to the following discipline: a. An individual is subordinate to the whole army; b. The minority is subordinate to the majority; c. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and d. All members are subordinate to the Military Commission and the Central Committee.

Point 3. All officers and men are prohibited from committing the slightest damage against the interest of the masses and they are always subject to the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention of

Comrade Mao Zedong so as to always advance their revolutionary integrity. a. The Three Main Rules of Discipline are: 1) Obey orders in all your actions. 2) Do not take even a single needle or thread from the masses. 3) Turn over everything confiscated to the proper body. b. The Eight Points of Attention are: 1) Be polite in speech. 2) Pay all purchases with the appropriate amount. 3) Return everything borrowed. 4) Compensate all damages. 5) Do not hurt or curse anybody. 6) Do not destroy the people's crops. 7) Do not take liberties with women. 8) Do not be cruel to captives.

Point 4. All officers are strictly prohibited to use bourgeois and feudal ways in dealing with the fighters and the masses.

Point 5. All officers and men are strictly prohibited from gambling and drunkenness.

Point 6. The Party committee in the army in the appropriate level or the military court that can be created by it, shall conduct the trial and shall decide on the cases filed against officers and men at the level where the error or crime was committed. The following penalties shall be meted out based on the gravity of the crime: a. Strong warning b. Strong warning and transfer to another area of work c. Demotion.

Point 7. In all types of penalties, except for expulsion, and expulsion and death, the erring individual or group shall be re-educated for a definite period of time and shall also apologize to the aggrieved party in public.

Point 8. The most severe punishment of expulsion and death shall be imposed to those proven to have committed treachery, capitulation, abandonment of post, espionage, sabotage, mutiny, inciting for rebellion, murder, theft, rape, arson and severe malversation of people's funds.

Point 9. All cases shall be thoroughly investigated and all accused shall be given a just trial.

#### ***V. Democracy***

Point 1. In order to enjoy democracy while maintaining discipline, and in order to avoid ultrademocracy within the New People's Army, all officers, fighters and Party cadres will conduct discussions and studies among themselves on Mao Zedong Thought, the program, policies and decisions of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Point 2. All officers and men shall conduct together regular and special meetings of criticism and self-criticism in order to ensure their effectiveness in politics and warfare. Ideological, political and organizational errors and weaknesses shall be rectified through criticism and self-criticism.

Point 3. There shall be political democracy. This means that both officers and men shall have the freedom to hold meetings and speak freely on how they can advance their proletarian revolutionary consciousness; how to develop closer relationship with the masses; how to improve their fighting capacity; how to attend to their non-military work; and how to upgrade their material conditions.

Point 4. There shall be economic democracy within the ranks. This means that both officers and men shall share in times of austerity and prosperity, enjoy equal material conditions such as equal rations and budget. They have the right to collectively manage their food and finances whereby the soldiers shall elect their representative to assist the company leadership. Anyone has the right to check the accounting and logistics records anytime.

Point 5. There shall be democracy in the military field. This means that both officers and men together shall hold meetings before and after military operations and campaigns. The officers teach the fighters and the fighters teach the officers, and the fighters teach one another regarding operational plans, methods and techniques in warfare and how to win battles.

#### ***VI. Military conferences***

Point 1. The Military Commission shall convene a national conference at least once a year to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army. The conference shall be attended by the Military Commission, the National Operations Command and the Regional Operations Commands. The chairman of the Military Commission shall head the conference.

Point 2. The Military Commission shall convene a regional military conference at least once in six months to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army in the region. This shall be attended by the representatives of the Military Commission, the Regional Operations Command, the operations commands of the provinces and the regional Party committee. The chief representative of the Military Commission shall head the conference.

Point 3. The Regional Command shall convene a provincial military conference, at least once every four months to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army in the province. This shall be attended by the representatives of the Regional Operations Command, the Provincial

Operations Command, operations commands of the districts and the provincial Party Committee. The chief representative of the Regional Operations Command shall head the conference.

Point 4. The Provincial Operations Command shall convene a district military conference at least once in three months to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army in the districts. This shall be attended by the representatives of the Provincial Operations Command, the District Operations Command, district Party committee, secretaries of sections of the Party, all the commanders of the units, and all the Party secretaries of the Army. The chief representative of the Provincial Operations Command shall head the conference. Point 5. All the conferences mentioned may submit recommendations for the Military Commission of the Central Committee to act upon.

### ***VII. The military command system***

Point 1. The National Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the national and interregional policies and military plans approved by the Military Commission. The Political Bureau and/or the Central Committee shall direct all formations of the armed units of the New People's Army, and shall make regular and special reports and put forward military recommendations to the Military Commission. The National Operations Command shall be composed of the Commander-in-Chief, his deputies, the regional commanders and their deputies.

Point 2. The Regional Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the regional and interprovincial policies and military plans, direct all formations of armed units of the New People's Army in the region, and make regular and special reports, and put forward military recommendations to the Military Commission and the National Operations Command. The Regional Operations Command shall be composed of the regional commander, his deputies, the provincial commanders and their deputies.

Point 3. The Provincial Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the provincial and inter district policies and military plans, direct all formations of the armed units in the province, and make regular and special reports, and put forward military recommendations to the Regional Operations Command and provincial Party committee. The Provincial Operations Command shall be composed of the provincial commander, his deputies, the district commanders and their deputies.

Point 4. The District Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the district policies and military plans, direct all formations of the armed units in the district, and make regular and special reports, and put forward military recommendations to the Provincial Operations Command and the district Party committee. The District Operations Command shall be composed of the district commander, his deputies and the commanders of the regular mobile force units, guerrilla units and militia units.

Point 5. The National Operations Command shall be created by the Military Commission. All regional, provincial and district commanders and their respective deputies shall be appointed by the Military Commission, with or without the recommendation of the National Operations Command. All commanders for strategic companies and special operations with national significance shall be appointed by the Military Commission or the Central Committee.

Point 6. Appointment of military commanders shall be determined on the basis of proletarian revolutionary outlook and fighting capacity. However, the commanders of the nonregular units may be developed from the localities in the process of armed struggle.

Point 7. Territorial commanders are superior to the unit commanders and their respective regular territorial command is usually determined by the higher military command.

Point 8. The size and formations of the people's armed forces under any territorial operations command at any level shall be determined by the development of the people's war in general. Its corresponding deployment shall be decided based on the need to ensure success in battles and campaigns and the people's war as a whole.

Point 9. The commanders of the battalion units and succeeding higher levels shall be appointed by the Military Commission upon the recommendation of the National Operations Command. All company commanders shall be appointed by the National Operations Command upon the recommendation of the Party committee. All platoon and squad leaders shall be appointed by their company commander upon the recommendation of the Party group in the squad.

Point 10. In any coordinated operation of all armed unit formations, the regular mobile force shall perform the central task of crushing the enemy.

Point 11. The system of command should not hinder the execution of any immediate military action of any armed unit in a particular area, unless proven that it can affect a bigger military operation against the enemy.

Point 12. The headquarters of the National Operations Command shall be decided upon by the Central Committee or the Military Commission, while the headquarters of the lower command shall be decided upon by the higher command.

### ***VIII. Formations of the People's Armed Forces***

Point 1. The New People's Army shall have the following combat units: a. Regular mobile forces b. Guerrilla units c. Militia and self-defense units d. Armed city partisans

Point 2. The regular mobile force shall be formed in the following manner: a. Squad: five to ten fighters and the squad leader. b. Platoon: two to three squads and the platoon leader. c. Company: two to three platoons with a company commander and his deputies. d. Battalion: two to three companies with the battalion commander and his deputies. e. Regiment: two to three battalions with the regiment commander and his deputies. f. Division: two to three regiments with the division commander and his deputies. g. Corps: two to three divisions with the corps commander and his deputies. h. Army: two to three corps with the army commander and his deputies. All territorial and unit commanders shall always endeavor to expand the regular units to their full size.

Point 3. The creation of guerrilla units shall be based on the political situation and the available arms in the area. Merging of one guerrilla unit or parts of it to the regular mobile force shall be decided by the Regional Operations Command, National Operations Command or the Military Commission. Nevertheless, guerrilla units shall be formed continuously as support forces of the regular mobile forces.

Point 4. The militia and self-defense units shall be composed of individuals who maintain their daily economic activities. They shall perform the primary role of defense while serving as vast reserve and support forces to the regular mobile force and guerrilla units.

Point 5. Each unit of armed city partisans shall be composed of not less than three members. They shall develop their skills, tactics and techniques in city operations, intelligence and surveillance, sabotaging the enemy and the reactionary government; heighten the morale of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie; and prepare in a protracted manner for a general insurrection in the city as directed by the Military Commission.

Point 6. The unit commanders and their deputies shall compose the unit operations command.

Point 7. The regular mobile force shall distribute arms and ammunitions to guerrilla fighters, militia and self-defense units, and partisan units to increase their fighting capacity; to include them in the regular troops, or to form new fighting units of the same type. Likewise, the guerrilla units shall distribute arms and ammunitions to the militia and self-defense units to increase their fighting capacity, and to create new fighting units of the same type or to develop them into a higher level of combat formation. Point 8. Party cadres, officers and men of the New People's Army can be deployed in nonregular armed units as mentioned above in Points 3, 4 and 5.

### ***IX. Logistics***

Point 1. The regular mobile force and the guerrilla units of the New People's Army shall have a special allotment from the regular budget of the local people's government, local Party organizations, and/or revolutionary mass organizations.

Point 2. The New People's Army shall take initiative in forming production units such as units for agriculture, transportation, repair and maintenance, and other enterprises which may be of service to the people and the army and provide for its financial and production requirements.

Point 3. The central government of the people shall sell war bonds or allot a reasonable percentage from the money that it shall print to support the New People's Army.

Point 4. The New People's Army shall help the people's government in collecting taxes from business and agriculture, from which it shall directly receive compensation.

Point 5. The units of the New People's Army shall help the masses in their work in exchange for material support.

Point 6. Financial and material contributions given by allies and sympathizers particularly for the New People's Army shall be accepted.

Point 7. A definite percentage from the earnings coming from the confiscated businesses, capital and properties of US imperialism, comprador big bourgeoisie, feudal lords, bureaucrat capitalists and traitors shall be allotted for the use of the New People's Army.

Point 8. A committee shall be created to keep accounts of logistics.

**X. Amendments**

Point 1. The Central Committee, Political Bureau or the Military Commission of the Communist Party of the Philippines may initiate to make amendments in the Basic Principles and Rules of the New People's Army.

Point 2. The National Operations Command or any regional operations command may recommend any amendment it deems necessary.

Point 3. The Military Commission and the National Operations Command may issue guidelines and regulations in addition to this Basic Principles and Rules.

*Issued by Meeting of the Red Commanders and Fighters, Under the Leadership of the Central Committee and Military Commission of the Communist Party of the Philippines, 29 March 1969*

# ***Greetings of the Military Commission to the Red Commanders and Fighters of the New People's Army***

**March 29, 1970, First published in *Ang Bayan*,**

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The Military Commission of the Party Central Committee extends its warmest and most militant revolutionary greetings and congratulations to the ever-courageous Red commanders and fighters on the occasion of the first anniversary of the New People's Army and also on the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the people's army in Philippine history. The New People's Army is the worthy heir of the glorious revolutionary experience of the Filipino people. It stands today as the pillar of the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed nation and masses. It is the principal organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines in carrying out the Philippine revolution. It valiantly carries forward the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In its first year of fighting, the New People's Army brilliantly reaped a rich harvest of victories. It wiped out 15 US military personnel and at least 200 puppet troops, military spies and various types of local tyrants and bullies. The punishment of the class enemy was carried out in more than 80 operations. In the course of such operations, arms and ammunitions were captured and a number of enemy vehicles were destroyed.

The military victories of the New People's Army have been possible because its Red commanders and fighters enjoy the firm support of the revolutionary masses and they zealously conduct mass work to mobilize them. Every military operation is carried out in the service of the masses who are brutally oppressed by the class enemy.

The New People's Army is so closely bound up with the masses that whenever the reactionary armed forces resort to coercion or deception the level of revolutionary armed struggle rises even more rapidly. The last ten military operations conducted to this date have demonstrated the capability of the New People's Army in regularly annihilating a whole enemy squad. It could even wipe out scores of reactionary troops as in the attack on the enemy camp at Jetmin Village in Concepcion, Tarlac.

The revolutionary achievements of the Red commanders and fighters have so lifted the hearts of the broad masses of the people that in the streets of Manila and other urban centers of the country the people protesting the fascist puppetry of the Marcos reactionary regime to US imperialism are jubilantly hailing the New People's Army and are openly clamoring for people's war against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The road of armed revolution has become brighter with the successes of the New People's Army and the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement. In both city and countryside, the Filipino people are rising. The main fighting slogans raised by the workers, peasants, students and intelligentsia in their mass actions are "people's war is the answer to martial law" and "armed revolution is the only solution." These mass actions have attained unprecedented scope and intensity. Their militant participants are aware of the need to promote revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and to carry it out in a protracted way. They are eager to deliver deadly blows to the puppet reactionary regime that is now conspicuously bankrupt financially, economically and politically.

The establishment of the New People's Army last year by the Communist Party of the Philippines is definitely timely and correct. It is a turning point in the history of the people's army in the Philippines and likewise in the Philippine revolution. The people's army in the Philippines has undergone three periods of development. In the first period, it carried the name of the Anti-Japanese People's Army (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon). The Red commanders and fighters valiantly fought the fascist invaders from 1942 to 1945 and gave strength to the revolutionary masses.

Upon the return of US imperialism, the Right opportunist leadership of the old merger Party dissolved and converted it into the Huk Veterans' League, an instrument for parliamentary struggle. In the second period starting in 1948, it assumed the name of the People's Liberation Army and resumed the struggle against the reactionaries. But alas, the Jose Lava leadership in the old merger Party betrayed the revolutionary masses by pushing the people's army along a disastrous "Left" opportunist line in 1950 and subsequently in 1956, the Jesus Lava leadership formally shifted to a Right opportunist line that completely surrendered initiative to counterrevolution.

In both first and second periods, the traitor and scab Luis Taruc prominently took part in sabotaging the revolutionary armed struggle by either harping on "amnesty" or "peace" negotiations until he surrendered to the

enemy in 1954. Ultimately, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs gave rise in 1963 to the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, an out-and-out counterrevolutionary outfit usurping the name of the Party and the people's army and conniving with the class enemy in aggravating the oppression of the masses.

The Red commanders and fighters have brought the revolutionary armed struggle to a higher and completely new stage by summing up the past experience of the people's army, by repudiating the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, by rectifying past errors and by gaining new revolutionary experience—all under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the practical guidance of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Learning warfare through warfare, the New People's Army has proven its revolutionary mettle against the class enemy. The victories of the New People's Army are hard-earned victories. They have been earned through perseverance, fearlessness in the face of hardship and death, arduous work, resourcefulness and austere living. Revolutionary heroes have laid down their lives to make certain the triumphant advance of the New People's Army. To them we pay our most profound revolutionary tribute and to them we pledge to avenge their death. Let us be consoled by the fact that for every one of their lives the enemy has already paid at least more than thirty. We should constantly increase this ratio at the expense of the enemy and in favor of the revolutionary cause.

Since only a year ago, the New People's Army has gained ideological, political and organizational strength. We must resolve to become even stronger and to win even bigger victories. The conditions in the country and the world are excellent for making revolution. We have every reason to be optimistic.

The New People's Army can guarantee its success only by putting in command Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in all its work, whether it be in fighting, propaganda or production. It must strictly adhere to the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention. It must give full play to the initiative and common resolve of both Red commanders and fighters by observing political democracy, military economy and economic democracy.

The New People's Army must grasp the four "firsts." As between man and weapons, give first place to man. As between political and other work, give first place to political work. As between ideological and routine tasks in political work, give first place to ideological work. As between ideas in books and living ideas currently in people's minds, give first place to living ideas currently in people's minds.

The Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army must be good in political and ideological work, in working style, in military training and in arranging daily life. In having the correct working style, they must have a firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style of work and a flexible strategy and tactics. They must be thoroughly united by the correct proletarian revolutionary ideology, alert, earnest and lively.

## ***Fourth Anniversary Statement***

### ***of the New People's Army***

**First published as *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, March 29, 1973**

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The New People's Army celebrates today with boundless joy its fourth anniversary since its establishment by the Communist Party of the Philippines under the powerful illumination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Through the last four years, this army under the absolute leadership of the Party has valiantly and victoriously fought for the national and democratic interests of the Filipino people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It has brilliantly proven itself to be the authentic, enduring and mighty sword of the people in a protracted people's war against foreign and feudal domination.

In desperate straits, US imperialism and the local diehard reactionaries headed by the puppet chieftain Marcos have shamelessly imposed barefaced fascist dictatorship on the broad masses of the people. This fascist puppet dictatorship has more than ever made the situation excellent for armed revolution, giving rise to a new and higher level of the long-drawn revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. The national united front has greatly broadened and has become ever more firmly anchored on the necessity of armed struggle. The reactionaries themselves are at violent loggerheads and even the most backward sections of the population are roused to the spectacle of the ruling clique tearing to shreds every semblance of bourgeois democratic process. The ruling system has hopelessly cracked up from top to bottom. No amount of cloaking it as a "new society" will conceal its bankrupt and decadent condition; it is unmitigatedly the old society becoming ever more oppressive and exploitative.

Events since Proclamation No. 1081, underscored by the ramming through of the Marcos-written constitution, have more than ever made impertinent clowns out of the revisionist renegades and their likes and have more than ever convinced the broad masses of the people that only armed revolution can defeat armed counterrevolution. It is beyond doubt that the New People's Army, an army tempered through persistent revolutionary struggle, is today the most reliable armed force in the service of the broad masses of the people. The fascist puppet dictator Marcos himself has begrudgingly admitted that his military task force and his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus have not sufficed to quell the New People's Army. But neither will martial rule and fascist dictatorship stop the raging tide of the revolution. Terror and more terror launched by the enemy can only serve to engender resistance and more resistance by the people.

#### ***The increasing strength and victories of the New People's Army***

Since March 29, 1969, the New People's Army has increased its regular fighting units 14-fold from a few guerrilla squads reorganized from the old people's army. There has been a sharp increase of fulltime squads by 75 per cent from last year to the present. Regular formations now range in size from company to squad and are fully equipped with modern automatic rifles like M-16s, M-14s, M-2s, BARs, M-79s and a few cal. 0.30 machineguns and rocket launchers. In eight provinces, most regular squads can easily be concentrated for platoon-size operations. In four of the eight provinces, all platoons can be easily concentrated for company-size operations. In two provinces, the New People's Army can launch even battalion-size operations, especially in coordination with local guerrilla units armed with single-shot rifles: shotguns, springfields, garands and carbines.

NPA areas of operation have increased from four provinces in 1969 to thirty-four provinces at present. Since last year, there has been a sharp increase in the areas of operation from 18 to 34 provinces. It is highly significant that 11 of the 16 provinces newly added to the NPA areas of operation are in Mindanao. In all provinces where the people's army can be said to operate, there is at least one full-time regular squad creating and linking together local guerrilla units and militia units. Whereas local guerrilla units are armed mostly with single-shot rifles, the more numerous militia units are armed mostly with homemade handguns, knives, spears, bows and arrows and other indigenous weapons. At present, the New People's Army is developing the explosives movement as a mass movement in the rural areas. In due time, the production and employment of land mines and grenades will become widespread and make the local guerrilla and militia units a more powerful support for regular units of the people's army.

The New People's Army has raised high the banner of armed resistance in the face of the Marcos rightist coup.



According to a compilation of partial reports, 629 enemy troops and some 400 informers, local tyrants and bad elements have been wiped out since last year. Close to 80 percent of enemy troop casualties were wiped out after the declaration of martial law as the enemy armed forces tried to strike deep into guerrilla base areas. During the first half of 1972, the New People's Army had stressed political-military training and consolidation work among the barrio people, especially in northern Luzon and Central Luzon. At any rate, the number of enemy troops annihilated during the past year compares very well with the three preceding years, the entire duration of which was marked by the annihilation of some 800 enemy troops (exclusive of 900 informers, local tyrants and bad elements) or an annual average of 266 enemy troops. One more strikingly new development in NPA military operations against enemy troops is the capture of a considerable number of arms and ammunition.

The New People's Army in northern Luzon accounted for some 60 percent of enemy troops wiped out. From June to December 1972, the hilly and heavily wooded barrios of at least 12 towns of Isabela, five towns of Nueva Vizcaya, three towns of Quirino, three towns of Cagayan, along the Sierra Madre and the mountainous barrios of three towns of Ifugao and two towns of Bontoc on the Cordillera became the graveyard of enemy troops. The most shattering defeat suffered by the enemy was the nearly total extermination of the 5th Infantry Battalion in San Mariano, Isabela in November 1972 where about 200 enemy troops were killed and wounded by the truckloads in a series of skilfully executed ambushes and counterencirclements by NPA platoon and company-size units.

Also within November 1972, several enemy platoons were wiped out one by one in the town of San Guillermo, Echague and Tumauini in Isabela; and Diffun and Maddela in Quirino. Prior to these, in June and July of the same year, whole enemy platoons were wiped out in two separate ambushes in Barrio Bannawag and Barrio Bacolod of San Guillermo and Cauayan, Isabela, respectively. No less brilliant than the successful ambushes that resulted in the death of enemy troops, the capture of a relatively large amount of rifles and ammunition and the destruction of several enemy trucks, jeeps and communications equipment was the disarming of the 23-man PC-BSDU unit of Dipacamo, San Guillermo, Isabela on November 20, 1972 without a single shot being fired. A platoon of the people's army in disguise was able to enter the enemy camp in order to accomplish its objective.

The enemy personnel were disarmed but were not harmed. The Red fighters explained to them the hateful character of the fascist dictatorship in the service of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

Two unprecedentedly large campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" have been launched by the enemy in the Cagayan Valley. The first campaign was launched by Task Force "Saranay" during the months of March to July involving some 3,000 troops. This "summer offensive" of the enemy forces could not even locate the main forces of the New People's Army and small enemy units were repeatedly struck when they least expected a blow. The second campaign was launched jointly by Task Force "Saranay" and the newly formed Task Force "Palanan" (composed of the First Infantry or "Tabak" Division) under an overall Northeast Command starting July. At peak strength from September to December, the number of enemy troops involved in operations reached some 10,000. In September, the commander of Task Force "Saranay" boasted to foreign newsmen that he would clear the Cagayan Valley of the New People's Army in sixty days. After those sixty days, he had lost several captains and lieutenants in the battlefield and he himself was on the way to being booted out of his command. The New People's Army was able to defeat the enemy forces, despite their superior number and equipment, by striking at their weakest spots and going through their wide gaps.

The area for the annihilation and disarming of single enemy troops and squads by NPA regular squads and platoons as well as by local guerrilla units and militia units has been greatly widened not only in Northern Luzon, particularly Cagayan Valley and the mountain provinces, but also elsewhere in Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. Outside Northern Luzon, the Red fighters of Central Luzon and Southern Luzon, particularly the Bicol region, were responsible for wiping out the biggest number of enemy troops, informers, local tyrants and bad elements. NPA armed propaganda units and guerrilla squads are beginning to sprout in Eastern Visayas and Western Visayas and are moving in a manner commensurate to their strength. It is in Mindanao where these recently emerged units and squads are rapidly gathering strength from the ranks of settlers and national minorities and coordinating well with large armed groups that have had prior existence under non-Party leadership.

In Central Luzon, the New People's Army wiped out during the last year some 188 enemy troops, local tyrants, informers and other bad elements. In addition, it killed three US security officers, thus placing at twenty-five the total number of US military personnel killed by the New People's Army during the last four years. This is a fair

warning to the US imperialists who have not remained satisfied with giving enormous military supplies and military advice to their puppet troops. In Northern Luzon, there has been a US communications platoon in the field since last year. In Central Luzon, an entire US company has been deployed for “civic action” at Botolan, Zambales. The striking capability of the New People’s Army outside of Northern Luzon is well demonstrated by the annihilation of the Pampanga PC provincial commander, together with 38 enemy troops at Porac, Pampanga only this month and likewise the annihilation of the Camarines Sur assistant provincial commander, together with nine enemy troops last January. At the Porac encounter, the helicopter used by the enemy was destroyed, thus increasing to seven the number of enemy aircraft destroyed or seriously damaged by the people’s army since 1970. At the Iriga encounter, an enemy jeep was destroyed. In the attempt to prevent the growth of the New People’s Army, the reactionary government continues to put up the “barrio self-defense units”—the Philippine equivalent of the “strategic hamlets” in south Vietnam. The New People’s Army regards these as no better than the dispersal of enemy strength to which it has a flexible policy. It either encircles and forces them to surrender, smashes those that are recalcitrant, gives the signal to those who wish to join an NPA unit and who punish individual criminals or lets them continue as means for knowing the movements of the enemy. At any rate, the New People’s Army in both Northern Luzon and Central Luzon has caused the dissolution of scores of BSDUs and effected the turnover of enemy weapons, often without firing a single shot.

### ***The political work of the New People’s Army***

Under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, the New People’s Army has carried out extensive political work and has, therefore, laid the ground work for the intensification of revolutionary armed struggle. It has correctly put stress on mass work in the countryside. The key points in mass work are carrying out the agrarian revolution and base building. The peasant masses have been aroused and mobilized to support the New People’s Army in significantly large areas of the country. This army now never runs short of heroic men and women willing to bear arms. At the same time, people in large numbers are well-organized under local organs of political power and mass organizations.

The New People’s Army is determinedly carrying out a comprehensive program of land reform. The minimum goal of this program is the reduction of land rent and interest rates. The maximum goal is the confiscation of landlord property. These goals are achieved step by step in the different regions where units of the New People’s Army operate. The Party has given greater clarity to land reform work upon its formulation and issuance of the Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform. Thus, the agrarian revolution is now moving forward more firmly than before.

Several hundreds of barrios and several hundreds of thousands of people are now directly led by temporary as well as by stable local organs of political power established mainly by the New People’s Army. In the guerrilla zones are the barrio organizing committees. In the guerrilla base areas are the barrio revolutionary committees. Both these instruments of people’s government are supported by the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, cultural activists, children and others. With the militant support of the masses, the local organs of political power perform such wide-ranging functions as those involving organization, economy, defense, education and health. Again the Party has given greater clarity to the task of building the local organs of political power upon its formulation and issuance of the Guide for Establishing the People’s Democratic Government.

On the basis of its militant political work, the New People’s Army can move forward in the military field. The well consolidated guerrilla base areas are the reliable starting point for the expansion and intensification of the revolutionary armed struggle on a nationwide scale. Thus, the US-Marcos dictatorship is extremely afraid of these. Even while anticipating the emergence of guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in many areas, it resorts to the most abhorrent tactics of terror and deception. As a result, the ground for armed revolution throughout the country has become fertile.

The fascist dictatorship’s policy of terror takes the most vicious forms. In extensive parts of the Cagayan Valley, Central Luzon, Bicol and Mindanao, it has repeatedly forced the inhabitants of mountainous or hilly areas running into several hundreds of thousands to leave their homes and unharvested crops for as long as two to five months in the vile effort to make “free-fire zones.” Those who refuse to evacuate are subject to massacre and indiscriminate bombings. At the evacuation centers, however, no relief is provided to the evacuees who are instead subjected to various forms of blackmail and extortion by the fascist troops. Just to have their meals, evacuees are forced to sell their meagre personal possessions and even their work animals. Learning from the abuses of the fascist dictatorship, the people have become more resolute in disobeying and opposing its orders.

The enemy is acting so blindly and wildly that in areas where there are units of the New People's Army or even where there are none it has the style of hauling the personnel of the "barrio councils" and the common barrio people to military camps, accusing them summarily of supporting the New People's Army and then picturing them in the Marcos press as "surrenderers." In rural areas as well as in urban areas, it is the wont of fascist troops to falsely accuse people of being "subversives" and then forcing them to pay cash and valuables under pain of indefinite detention at military stockades. Zoning and checkpoints always result in wholesale looting and extortion as well as humiliation, torture and rape by the assigned units of the reactionary armed forces.

No one in the countryside is being deceived by the "land transfer" hoax being played by the Marcos press monopoly. In certain limited areas, "land transfer certificates" are being distributed by agents of the reactionary government. But the peasants know very well that these are nothing but filthy scraps of paper which merely state that, if they want to own land, they must pay an exorbitant price for the landlord's land, which is a number of times higher than the going price of land and which they can never afford. These scraps of paper merely serve to underscore the fact that through the agrarian revolution the large masses of landless tillers can have their land free without paying a single centavo. The foul intent of enemy "civic action" is also obvious to the masses; it is nothing more than a "psywar" and spy operations against them.

In urban areas, wholesale arrest and indefinite detention are the fate of those who utter even the least criticism of Marcos. The fascist authorities themselves have acknowledged the fact that before the end of 1972 they had already arrested and detained in military stockades close to 10,000 people. Arbitrary arrests, zoning and barging under various pretexts into homes, offices and even places of religious worship are daily occurrences. Among the people who have been arrested and detained without any formal charges at all are workers, political leaders, leaders of mass organizations, journalists, teachers, various professionals, religious leaders and so many others who are merely suspected of opposing the fascist dictatorship. The most basic of democratic rights are ruthlessly trampled upon. The attempt of the fascist dictatorship to trammel civil liberties is so gross that heavy penalties have been decreed even for private conversations critical of the tyranny; for non-registration of mimeographing machines; and for holding any meeting where the people can make peaceful petition concerning wages, prices and other matters touching on their daily lives.

All the intimidation and terror unleashed by the fascist dictatorship are calculated to serve the vilest interests and privileges of US imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Under the fraudulent Marcos constitution, US imperialism can preserve and expand all the interests and privileges it has gained under "parity rights" under the 1935 constitution. The big compradors and big landlords also maintain their class privilege of playing assistants to the imperialists and exploiting the people. Among the local reactionaries, however, it is the Marcos fascist puppet clique that is most benefitted by the "new society," which is the new reign of greed and terror.

Aside from now monopolizing graft and corruption in the reactionary government, the Marcos reactionary clique is wantonly using brute force and blackmail in taking over for its private gain industrial and commercial enterprises, landholdings and lines of business from other local reactionaries as well as from the national bourgeoisie. At the same time, the principal dogs in the clique are making huge deposits in foreign banks in anticipation of their own deposition within the country. It is after these vile masters that the lesser fascists are taking at every level of the present social order. For instance, there is now thriving blackmarket in licenses, clearances and curfew passes administered by lesser fascist officials.

The economic crisis of the ruling system is severe. The US and Japanese monopoly capitalists are passing on to the colonies and semicolonies, especially the Philippines, the crisis of the world capitalist system. These imperialist vultures keep on increasing their superprofits from their direct investment loans, low-price purchase of raw materials and high-price sale of their products. The big compradors and big landlords are making sure that while they share in the profits with their foreign masters it must be the toiling masses and workers who must be robbed of their sweat and blood. The people's income is always pressed down while the cost of living is always rising steeply. The fascist dictatorship keeps on loading the broad masses of the people with extremely high and proliferating taxes even only to maintain its civil bureaucratic operations and pay its foreign debts. Yet it is hell-bent on enlarging the troops and equipment of the reactionary armed forces in the false hope of preserving itself by sheer armed force against the people's will.

Subjected to worse political oppression and economic exploitation, the toiling masses of workers and peasants are rallying to the revolutionary calls of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

Though the people's army unlike the enemy does not have a ready pool of modern weapons to distribute, large masses of workers and peasants are insisting on becoming Red fighters even if they were to bear bolos, home-made hand grenades and other more easily available weapons. They point out correctly that the modern weapons can be seized from the enemy. The youth, including those of urban petty-bourgeois origin, are also among those eager to join the New People's Army. Thus, there is a rapid enlargement of the scale of people's war.

On the basis of the great fundamental alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the Party together with the New People's Army are steadfastly developing the national united front of all democratic classes, strata and groups. The proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie have a common cause. The common cause is to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and reestablish the democratic rights of the people. The various components of the national united front can look forward to the establishment of a coalition government characterized by national unity, democracy and peace.

A national antifascist unity is now rapidly growing where in previous times the people were merely divided into conservative political parties, religious sects and the like. The broad masses of the people are profoundly incensed by the shameless anti-national and antidemocratic policies and actions of the fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary resistance in Luzon is consciously coordinated with the revolutionary resistance in the outer islands, especially in Mindanao. It is only a matter of time that more leaders of various groups will take a more active part in the armed resistance.

The setting up of the US-Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines is a sign of weakness rather than a sign of strength. It has been caused by an unprecedentedly grave political and economic crisis of the ruling system. It is a crisis in the backwash of the political and economic crisis of imperialism, particularly US imperialism. In the long run, the present fascist dictatorship will not be able to get enough propping from US imperialism for its self-perpetuation. It is bound to fall. It is a hopeless, rash and isolated enterprise from the beginning. What it has merely succeeded to do is to provoke a chain of events beyond its control, a chain of events drastically changing the manner in which the reactionaries themselves fight out their political differences and thereby widening the road for the armed revolution of the masses to defeat the armed counterrevolution of the few privileged puppets of imperialism.

US imperialism has been weakened to the core by the Vietnam war. After the Paris agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, US imperialism is profoundly weaker now than in any previous stage of its history. The socialist countries led by the People's Republic of China are irrepressibly advancing in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and are increasingly in a better position to give support to the anti-imperialist struggle in other parts of the world. The people's revolutionary movements, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as demands for independence by various countries are continually cutting down the imperialist domain. In many areas, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are also pushing each other out. Among themselves, the imperialist countries are wrangling more and more as borne out by the current world capitalist trade and monetary crisis. The Resolute

### ***Will of the New People's Army to win***

The New People's Army has a resolute will to win the struggle for people's democracy in the Philippines against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism now sharply concentrated on the phenomenon that is the US-Marcos dictatorship. The Communist Party of the Philippines, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze-dong Thought, is firmly providing this true army of the people the necessary leadership and will to fight and win. The New People's Army is duty-bound by the people's democratic interests to implement with militant fervor all the Party directives issued since the imposition of martial rule and the setting up of the fascist dictatorship.

More guerrilla zones and more guerrilla bases must be created throughout the archipelago. The New People's Army must advance wave upon wave from where it is already in existence but it must at the same time deploy single squads to far-flung areas where the people are eager to have the initial spark of armed struggle in their midst. It is extremely important that all regional Party committees have taken firm steps to intensify their efforts at building the army in their respective areas. As the scale of the revolutionary armed struggle is enlarged, the enemy shall concentrate on one or two strong points of the New People's Army always at the cost of losing wider areas elsewhere. The development of revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao is an urgent duty.

To develop the revolutionary armed struggle, the New People's Army must engage ever more vigorously in mass work, especially among the peasant masses. Only thus can it have the support necessary for isolating and

destroying the enemy. Stress must be continuously put on agrarian revolution and base building as the necessary correlatives of armed struggle. The Party weighs the success in the political work of the army in terms of the quantity and quality of local organs of political work and mass organizations created in the localities. All efforts must be exerted to turn the backward barrios into advanced political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the people's democratic revolution.

The New People's Army must work well with and fight side by side with all those who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. It must apply the Party's policy of the national united front, with the end in view of arousing and mobilizing the people in their millions. As a result of the Marcos rightist coup, the people in the urban and rural areas irrespective of their previous political and religious affiliations are eager to support and cooperate with the Party and the New People's Army in the general effort to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. Certain contradictions will persist among allies but these can be worked out or laid aside for the time being only for the sake of being able to deliver the deadliest blows against the common enemy. Allies are entitled to independence and initiative in this regard.

At the core of the New People's Army, the Party must be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally. Only in this manner can the leadership of the Party over the army be guaranteed. There must be a party group in every squad and a Party branch in every platoon, where there is yet no company. As soon as the company is established, the Party branch is based there. The Party within the New People's Army must also create Party branches in the localities on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. The creation of local Party branches will guarantee the resolute support of the masses for the New People's Army now and in the long future.

As the revolutionary armed struggle develops vigorously, political-military training must be carried out among the Red commanders and fighters alike and must also be extended to the local guerrilla and militia units. Basic political-military training must be made widespread, while advanced military training must be effected immediately among the Red commanders and political officers. By doing so, it will be easier to build larger regular formations in the future. There shall be well instructed as well as well-experienced Red commanders and fighters capable of performing bigger tasks and winning bigger victories. In the day-to-day life of every army unit, democracy must be practised in tackling problems in the political, military or economic spheres. Criticism and self-criticism must be conducted whenever there are errors or shortcomings to be rectified. In this manner, the New People's Army will become a more solid weapon against the enemy.

When an army unit, be it a squad or even the entire regional operational command is under sustained or concentrated attack by an enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression," it must be able to preserve itself as well as make appropriate counterattacks against the weakest points of the enemy even while it is temporarily cut off from the Military Commission, which is in the meantime performing practically all functions of the National Operational Command (whose functionaries are assigned to different regions). Such a situation calls for a strategy and tactics that is thoroughly considered and decided on by the regional Party committee and the regional operational command. Self-reliance is also demanded in the material subsistence of army units. Arduous struggle and simple living should be the permanent style of all Red commanders and fighters.

At all times, it is necessary to hate the enemy strategically but at the same time it is necessary to take him seriously tactically. It is wrong for anyone to either overestimate or underestimate the enemy. Whenever there is any setback, every revolutionary must maintain his confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolution; sum up, analyze and draw lessons from the negative experience; and see the positive aspects of the general situation. However, in achieving some victory, one must avoid the pitfalls of conceit and overconfidence. One must be modest and strive together with comrades for more victories.

Comrades who become martyrs of the revolution must be accorded all honors as heroes of the people. The least we can do is to hold memorial meetings whereby their virtues are cited for the inspiration of all. When one falls into the hands of the enemy, one must remain loyal to the revolutionary cause. Only then does one deserve continuing respect as a revolutionary. However, some who turn out to be unworthy of being Red fighters must also be given their due. Every revolutionary should be capable of understanding that there is nothing in this world where the law of contradiction does not operate. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, there are those who drop out from the ranks of revolutionaries or who even turn against the great cause of the people. But we can rest assured that the people will continue to struggle and the ranks of revolutionaries will continue to increase as we rectify errors and shortcomings and perform our tasks to the best of our ability.

The New People's Army maintains the correct view that only through a protracted people's war, applying the strategic principle of having the countryside encircle the cities before the nationwide seizure of the latter, can the people's democratic revolution be won. Even to depose the present fascist puppet dictatorship will take time and difficult struggle; the people's army cannot now singlehandedly do so overnight or by a single stroke. However, it is possible that because of the rapid growth of the revolutionary armed struggle US imperialism will take the initiative of changing puppets at some future date. At any rate, in the course of fighting the US-Marcos dictatorship, the New People's Army under the profound and far-seeing leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines shall have steadfastly multiplied its strength to meet any further eventuality.

All Red commanders and fighters must exert all efforts towards the eventual overthrow of the US-Marcos dictatorship. The utmost persistence, courage and militancy are demanded of them by the broad masses of the people who are under extreme oppression and exploitation by the US-Marcos clique. Though the enemy at first sight appears terrifying and makes a lot of trouble, he is in fact in a desperate and isolated position and is essentially rotten to the core. In any just revolutionary struggle against a tyranny as vicious as that of the US-Marcos dictatorship, there may be ups and downs but so long as the revolutionaries persist, maintain their courage and work indefatigably towards victory they will continue to advance and total victory shall be theirs in the end.

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live its great leader, the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

# ***Mindanao Guerrilla Fighters Wipe Out Several Hundreds of Fascist Troops***

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In the wake of the setting up of the fascist dictatorship, armed resistance has expanded and intensified in Mindanao, especially among the national minorities. According to partial reports reaching Ang Bayan, several hundreds of fascist troops have been wiped out in the provinces of Lanao, Cotabato, Sulu, Zamboanga, Bukidnon and Davao between October 1972 and March 1973.

Within ten days following the declaration of martial law, Maguindanao guerrilla fighters with the strength of one company or two companies ignited the antifascist armed resistance in mainland Mindanao, particularly in Cotabato, by repeatedly using the tactic of besieging the enemy to strike at the reinforcements. In this manner, a platoon-sized PC detachment at an isolated place would be annihilated or routed and subsequently a platoon-size or company-size reinforcement would also be ambushed and wiped out along the way.

On October 19 last year, concentrated units of the Tausug and Samal guerrilla fighters in company strength attacked and wiped out a platoon-size PC patrol in the Tapul area in Luuk, Sulu. This signalled the well-coordinated attacks against the enemy on land and by sea in the islands of Sulu and Basilan and the Zamboanga provinces. Since then, the enemy has been reeling from extreme inability to cope with the armed resistance in Mindanao.

On October 21, it was the turn of the Maranaw guerrilla fighters to launch guerrilla fighters to launch a military operation against the enemy in Marawi City. They acted in battalion strength to take over Camp Amai Pakpak, which is the PC command headquarters of Lanao del Sur, and other strategic points like the Mindanao State University, the airport, bridges and roads. A hundred guerrilla fighters wiped out the platoon-size enemy outpost at Pantar Bridge and some 300 guerrilla fighters wiped out at least 200 enemy troops at Camp Amai Pakpak. A guerrilla detachment seized the radio station of the Mindanao State University and broadcast in the name of the Mindanao Revolutionary Council for Independence revolutionary statements calling on the national minorities and the poor settlers to unite and rise up in arms against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The attack on the PC headquarters was conducted in an exceedingly ingenious manner. The main force of guerrilla fighters were able to get into the enemy camp by pretending to have come to surrender their arms in compliance with fascist orders for disarming the people. At a given signal, the fascist troops were attacked from inside the camp while guerrilla fighters outside the camp made sure that none of the enemy would be able to flee unscathed.

After having sufficiently dealt with the enemy, the main force of the Maranaw guerrilla fighters made an orderly withdrawal but at the same time left behind small detachments to cover its rear. A small guerrilla unit was left behind at the airport in order to strike at incoming enemy planes. This unit was subsequently able to harass airlifted enemy reinforcements and withdraw safely on October 22.

The seizure of Marawi City and annihilation of hundreds of enemy troops shook the fascist dictatorship to its base. This defeat of the reactionary armed forces occurred just after the fascist dictator Marcos appeared twice on television with some Mindanao political leaders and boasted that because of martial rule the people of Mindanao had been thoroughly subjugated. So embarrassed by a defeat so large that it cannot be blacked out from the Marcos press monopoly, the fascist dictatorship ordered the massacre of scores of civilians in Marawi City and adjoining towns and barrios.

The *Daily Express* at first reported that the reactionary armed forces were able to kill 13 “raiders”; then only a few days later it admitted that 70 “raiders” were actually killed. The massacre of civilians was perpetrated when the actual raiders had already completely withdrawn in correct guerrilla style. Angered by the brutality of the enemy, the heroic Maranaw fighters decided to counteract the fascist units sent out after them. As a result, only three out of 220 enemy troops survived the guerrilla assaults in November in Lanao.

Between major assaults against the enemy, the Mindanao guerrilla fighters have continuously launched minor assaults which when taken together constitute major assaults. On November 5, one unit of Maguindanao guerrilla fighters wiped out a 15-man PC detachment at Camp Parang in Cotabato even as another unit wiped out a smaller number of enemy troops at Macarandag Bridge. During the first week of December, Tausug guerrilla fighters repeatedly wiped out whole enemy platoons in Sulu and Basilan. These incidents are of the type that frequently

occur all over Mindanao.

The guerrilla fighters of Sulu have the distinction of bringing down two sabre jets (F-86F) and one transport plane (C-47) and seriously damaging one more fighter plane of undetermined make. This is the answer of the guerrilla fighters of Mindanao to such flagrant abuses of the enemy as forcing the people to evacuate their homes and unharvested fields in order to create "free-fire zones" for air bombardments. It is very likely that helicopters have also been destroyed by guerrilla fighters in Mindanao.

To cover up its extreme inability to cope with the Mindanao situation, the fascist dictatorship has in a false gesture of benevolence after malevolence offered to grant "amnesty" to guerrilla fighters in Mindanao and to allow free movement and trade between Sulu and other Mindanao islands on one side and Sabah on the other. The guerrilla fighters have correctly responded to such enemy stratagem, which is calculated to disarm and defeat them. Since the last week of February this year, they have launched even more vigorous armed resistance.

On March 5 alone, the towns of Managoy, Datu Pisug, Bagong Bayan and Ampat-wang in Cotabato were taken over by Maguindanao guerrilla fighters. In the process, fifty enemy troops and five officers were confirmed dead. General Romeo Espino, chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces, has indicated through the Marcos press monopoly that the guerrilla fighters have taken over more than ten towns of Cotabato.

As usual after every major offensive by the guerrilla fighters of Mindanao, the fascist dictatorship resorts to some terror tactics and then boast of having put the situation "under control." The fascist dictatorship has already deployed more than one-third of the reactionary armed forces to Mindanao and placed them at the disposal of the Central Mindanao Command and the Southwest Command. Not satisfied with these, the fascist dictator Marcos is frenziedly trying to organize local terror units whom he fondly calls the "kamagong." He is also dispatching tens of thousands of military trainees to Mindanao at no salary and without guarantee for pension in case of maiming or death for the unjust cause of the fascist dictatorship.

No matter how much military force is employed by the fascist dictatorship, the people of Mindanao are determined to wage armed resistance and win victory. Both the national minorities and the poor settlers are now moved to resist the enemy not because of religious beliefs but because of their determination to protect their lands from the big landgrabbers which include the US imperialists, the big comprador-landlords and the big bureaucrats. The Communist Party of the Philippines is steadfastly counteracting the intrigues of the enemy and uniting the national minorities and poor settlers under the principles of self-determination and democracy.

The fascist dictatorship has presented itself as the common enemy of the national minorities and the settler masses. It has madly tried to create "peace and order" for the US and Japanese monopoly capitalists, the big comprador-land-lords and the big bureaucrat capitalists to seize lands for their plantations, logging, ranches, mines and other enterprises. In the Sulu area, the enemy is doing everything foolish to assure the US oil companies of possible sources of oil.

The people in the frontiers of Mindanao are holding on to their arms and using them to repulse the enemy. They do so not because of communal conflicts of a religious nature nor because their arms are tokens of "manliness" as the fascist dictator Marcos would say. In any frontier area, the gun is necessary for repulsing the landgrabbers and bandits and for getting wild boar or deer from the forests.

By all indications, the various guerrilla units in Mindanao are waging an excellent form of people's war as they alternate in launching attacks against the enemy and as they make the entire Central Mindanao Command and Southwest Command go mad within the circle made by the flames of armed resistance.

The armed resistance of Mindanao is an exceedingly important support and a necessary correlative of the armed resistance in other parts of the country. The reactionary armed forces are compelled to split their strength between far south and far north, thus making way for the people in-between, especially in the Visayas, to undertake revolutionary armed struggle. The attempt of the enemy to concentrate his forces in two directions, on both Northern Luzon and Mindanao, and his repeated setbacks in both battlefronts continue to sap his strength and morale.



# ***NPA Third Red Company in Cagayan Valley Carries Out Brilliant Armed Struggle in Aurora Subprovince***

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The Third Red Company of the New People's Army in Cagayan Valley is carrying out a brilliant revolutionary armed struggle in Aurora Subprovince of Quezon. This unit of the people's army has been able to increase its size and strength by adopting and applying a flexible guerrilla strategy and tactics, taking full advantage of strong mass support and favorable terrain, being self-reliant without a single centavo of financial support from outside its zone and carrying out a policy of annihilation in order to obtain arms and ammunition from the enemy.

In three-and-a-half months of fierce fighting, from the last week of May to the first week of September this year, the Third Red Company was able to wine out at least 274 enemy troops; with 152 confirmed dead, and seize a considerable number of firearms of various types, with sufficient ammunition, from the fallen enemy. Aside from increasing its rifle strength, this unit of the people's army was able to eliminate 24 local tyrants and enemy spies, shoot down one enemy helicopter and one reconnaissance plane, destroy two jeeps and five trucks of the six-by-six type carrying enemy troops and partially damage one more helicopter and a sabre jet.

Because of its victories, the Third Red Company is now an oversized company. It is now sixty rifles stronger than what it was last May. The present strength of the company is a far cry from its origin as a mere platoon stressing on propaganda and organizational work among the local masses and armed only with home-made shot-guns and Springfield rifles of World war II vintage. Now, the oversized company has Garand, BAR, M-16, M-14 and M-79 rifles.

Within the last week of May, the Third Red Company killed a total of 32 enemy troops and seriously wounded 17 others. The first platoon ambushed and killed seven enemy troops in Barrio Tobias of Casiguran on May 23. Two jeeps carrying the troops were destroyed. Rifles and ammunition, food supplies and other materials were captured. The second platoon harassed and wiped out 42 enemy troops at Barrio Ditomonggo of Dilasag on May 27. Of those wiped out, 25 were confirmed dead.

Within June, the Third Red Company inflicted heavier losses on the enemy by killing 44 of his troops and wounding a bigger but undetermined number of his troops. The first platoon entered the poblacion of Casiguran, killed full enemy squad and wounded an undetermined number of other enemy troops. The third platoon launched an ambush against the enemy at Barrio Bolo of Dinalongan. Twenty-seven enemy troops were killed and an undetermined number of others were wounded. Again weapons and ammunition of various types were seized by the people's fighters.

Immediately after its victory in this ambush, the third platoon entered the poblacion of Dinalongan and finished off a full enemy squad hers and wounded an undetermined number of fleeing enemy troops. For several days, not a single enemy troop was around to offer any opposition. When there were enemy troops again, the third platoon killed five troops of an enemy unit patrolling the periphery of the poblacion.

It was during the month of June that higher military authorities of the enemy in Manila and the Northeast Command (Noreascom) took full notice of their defeats in the three towns of Casiguran, Dilasag and Dinalongan and described the situation of their troops there as critical. They proceeded to. replace the civilian mayors of these towns with military officers, each with the rank of major; poured in more troops into the area; and started to take a series of increasingly harsh measures against the people. Within July, the Third Red company took a relative rest and took stock of the situation, especially the enemy's reaction. However, the company still managed to kill 12 enemy troops and wound eight others.

The first platoon twice harassed the enemy detachment at the poblacion of Casiguran, killed four enemy troops on the spot and wounded 15 others so seriously that eight of them subsequently died. The second platoon harassed the enemy detachment at the poblacion of Dilasag and seriously wounded one enemy troop.

Within August, the Third Red Company unleashed a powerful offensive causing the confirmed death of 56 enemy troops and the wounding of not , lo so than 47 others. The first platoon ambushed an enemy company at Barrio Manggitahan of Dilasag, killed twelve enemy troops and wounded about thirty others. The second platoon also ambushed five enemy trucks and killed seven enemy troops at Barrio Igang of Dilasag. As the enemy troops

jumped out and fled halter-shelter, with some leaving their rifles and ammunition the people's fighters advanced to complete their attack, seize the rifles-and ammunition, and destroy the five trucks completely, 713 two subsequent encounters at Barrio Pudso of Dilasag, the second platoon killed a total of four enemy troops and wounded seven others.

The first platoon penetrated the poblacion of Casiguran and killed four enemy troops. At Barrio Igang of Dilasag, the second platoon ambushed two, truckloads of enemy troops, killed thirty enemy troops, wounded ten others and confiscated several rifles, pistols and ammunition. In the course of the battle, a public school teacher who had taken a ride with the enemy troops joined the New People's Army on the spot.

Within the first week of September, the first platoon twice harassed the enemy detachment at the poblacion of Dilasag. So did the second platoon once. These harassments resulted in the death of nine enemy troops and the wounding of several and wounded seven others.

Before the enemy was able to take full notice of the existence of the New People's Army in Aurora Subprovince, the Third Red Company had already devoted several months of painstaking mass work in the area. The terrain is so favorable for guerrilla warfare that the fast moving guerrilla units can repeatedly attack the enemy detachments at the poblacion which is on a thin strip of sea coast and is squeezed in between the vast well forested mountains and the sea.

From the last weeks of May to the first. week of September, the Third Red Company maintained initiative and the enemy was often forced to a passive position. The enemy was afraid to penetrate the mountains; but neither was he safe in the poblacion. Within the radius it chose for its military operations, the Third Red Company could carry on both a strategic offensive and tactical offensives. This militant unit of the New People's Army proved that we can maintain local superiority over the enemy while we are still inferior nationwide and are still on the strategic defensive.

The Third Red Company of the New People's Army in Cagayan Valley has won outstanding victories worthy of emulation. But it should not become complacent; it should remain modest and militant. As a guerrilla force, it should continue the policy of fighting a battle only when sure of winning and seizing arms and ammunition from the enemy. It should constantly pay attention to the correct relationship of main and secondary units, directions and tasks; and of the correct relationship of concentration, shifting and dispersion.

Now, that the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is giving its cruel attention to Aurora Subprovince, there is all the reason for alertness and putting into full play correct assessments, policies and actions in accordance with fast-changing concrete conditions. Units of the tasks forces under the Noreascom and Special Forces as well as military trainees under the Tabak Division, the 55th PC Ranger Company, the Third Cosac and airborne as well as waterborne enemy units are already being deployed against the Third Red Company.

The people in the barrios are being forced to leave their homes and farms. The enemy air forces has resorted to bombing the barrios and enemy ground troops have taken to killing, looting and burning. The enemy is drumming up the propaganda that deadly germs and chemicals are going to be poured into the rivers and creeks. A tight system of population control, involving evacuation, reconcentration, residence certificates, PC-police clearances, permits, checkpoints, curfew from 7:00 p.m. and the like, is being ruthlessly undertaken by the enemy. The people are being forced to evacuate to the poblacion and strategic hamlets along the sea coast. Yet in these thin coastal strips, where the fascist dictator's mother and in-laws have been landgrabbing, there is no way for the greater number of evacuees to earn a livelihood.

The New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines must firmly oppose and counteract the enemy's policy of forced evacuation. It is better to die fighting than to be abused without letup by the fascists and starve to death in the poblaciones and strategic hamlets. To evacuate to the mountains on the side of the people's army gives everyone a chance to fight, live on root crops and take advantage of his own homestead from time to time. But in the poblaciones and strategic hamlets, one loses all his belongings and starves to death in the face of the abusive and corrupt fascists and in the face of rampant inflation.

The Third Red Company of the New is a well-tempered fighting unit. It has gone through countless difficulties and has overcome these to become what it is today. It is ready to face more difficulties and overcome them in order to win greater victories. It fears neither death nor sacrifice. That is because it is fighting for the national and democratic interests of the broad masses of the people, whereas the enemy is fighting for the interests of the few, chiefly the US-Marcos clique, and is isolated from the people. Behind the facade of military strength, the enemy is

rotten to the core and is daily weakening because of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the local ruling system, a crisis unprecedented in severity and turmoil since the end of World War II.

# *Specific Characteristics of our People's War*

December 1, 1974

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From the great treasury of Marxism-Leninism, we draw basic principles and historical lessons to shed light on the people's war that we are waging. But these are of general value; they are a general guide to our action. To rest content with them, without integrating them without concrete practice, is to turn them into lifeless dogma. To dispense with them is to engage in blind action.

Both dogmatism and empiricism are anathema to Communists. As in all matters, we must integrate theory and practice in the conduct of people's war. The universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought must be applied to the concrete conditions of the Philippine Revolution. We adhere firmly to the great Lenin's teaching that the soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Only by understanding the specific characteristics of our own people's war can we understand the laws that govern it and thus can we adopt and implement the correct strategy and tactics for carrying it forward to victory.

The basic principles and historical lessons already found in the universal theory of the revolutionary proletariat have been paid for in blood by various peoples triumphant in their respective revolutions. But as far as carrying out and winning our own people's war is concerned, there is nothing more important than those principles and lessons that we learn on the basis of Philippine conditions and our own revolutionary experience. In this regard, we put the highest premium on those principles and lessons paid for in blood by our own people.

Integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with Philippine practice is a two-way process. We do not merely take advantage of the victories achieved abroad so that we may succeed in our own revolution. But we also hope to add our own victory to those of others and make some worthwhile contribution to the advancement of Marxism-Leninism and the world proletarian revolution so that in the end mankind will be freed from the scourge of imperialism and enter the era of communism. At this stage of the Philippine Revolution, we wage a people's war, a revolutionary war, because it is the only method possible to end the armed oppression of the people by the reactionary state that is the instrument of the big comprador-landlord class.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the specific characteristics of our people's war, we must consider such specific conditions as that our people's war is in line with the national democratic revolution of a new type; that we need to wage a protracted war in the countryside; that we are fighting in a mountainous archipelago; that the enemy is big and strong while we are still small and weak; that a fascist dictatorship has arisen amidst a political and economic crisis of the ruling system; that the country is dominated by one imperialist power and thus there is a unified armed reaction, except in southwestern Mindanao; and that US imperialism is on the decline in Asia and throughout the world and world revolution is advancing amidst the general crisis of the world capitalist system unprecedented since the end of World War II.

In discussing the specific characteristics of our people's war, we are bound to point out certain advantages and disadvantages or strengths and weaknesses. At the same time, we indicate immediately by what general process we can maximize our advantages and strengths and overcome the disadvantages and weaknesses.

## **1. *National democratic revolution of a new type***

Our country is semicolonial and semifeudal. It is under the indirect rule of US imperialism whose most reliable agents and puppets are the big comprador-landlords and big bureaucrats. The cities are ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the countryside is ruled by the landlord class.

The overwhelming majority of our 41 million people, more than ninety percent of them, are severely exploited and oppressed by the big compradors and big landlords who together with their closest and best paid political and technical subalterns compose a tiny minority that is no more than two percent of the population. The most oppressed and exploited are the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle or national bourgeoisie also suffer from the semicolonial and semifeudal situation, with the former stratum suffering more than the latter.

It is obvious why we interchangeably speak of people's war and revolutionary war. We are fighting for the revolutionary interests of the broad masses of the people. We are fighting specifically for their national-democratic interests. Ours is a national-democratic revolution aimed at completing our struggle for national independence

and giving substance to the democratic aspirations of our people. We have no course but to fight for national emancipation and social liberation against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

In a sense, our national-democratic revolution is a continuation of the Philippine Revolution that started in 1896. But this revolution has assumed new characteristics. It is of a new type. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois-capitalist revolution. It is part of the proletarian-socialist revolution which has emerged since the first global interimperialist war and the victory of the great socialist October Revolution. Though we are still fighting for a national-democratic revolution, this constitutes a preparation for carrying out a socialist revolution in our country.

We are therefore engaged in a continuous Philippine Revolution, with two distinct stages: the national-democratic and socialist stages. In both stages, the class leadership is held by the proletariat which is historically the most progressive, as a political and economic factor, and which evokes the most advanced ideology. Through its vanguard detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the proletariat sees to it that the national-democratic revolution is carried out and completed; that the socialist revolution immediately ensues upon the victory of the national-democratic revolution; and that for a whole historical epoch socialism creates the foundation for communism.

At the present stage of the Philippine Revolution, the Party wields two weapons against the enemy. These are armed struggle and the national united front. These are interrelated like the spear and the shield. One serves the other. The national-democratic front ensures the widest possible popular support for armed struggle; it splits the enemy ranks and isolates the worst single enemy at a time. Armed struggle is specifically the weapon for carrying out the central task of the revolution, which is the destruction and overthrow of the enemy rule and the seizure of political power.

To paraphrase Chairman Mao, without an army like the New People's Army, the people have nothing. To have a few seats in a reactionary parliament and to have no army in our country is to play a fool's game. Anytime that the enemy chooses to change the rules of the game, say the constitution, he would be able to do so at the people's expense.

Between armed struggle and parliamentary struggle, the former is principal and the latter is secondary. Every genuine revolutionary knows that the chief component of the reactionary state is the reactionary army. The Filipino people are helpless without their own army. They cannot take a single step towards smashing the entire military-bureaucratic machine of the enemy without a people's army.

In carrying out a people's war, the Party builds the people's army as its main form of organization. It is not only an organization where the Party membership is most concentrated. It is also an organization for uniting the proletarian revolutionaries and the peasant masses both within the army and in the localities. In this way, the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry so necessary in a national united front takes the most effective concrete form.

The basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry is the foundation of the national united front. The stronger this alliance is in the course of people's war, the stronger is the desire of the urban petty bourgeoisie to join the national united front and take active part in revolutionary work. Likewise the national bourgeoisie is encouraged to bring its support to such basic forces of the revolution as the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. At this stage of the revolution, the leadership of the Party and the proletariat is best proven by its ability to build a people's army and realize the basic alliance of the toiling masses.

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## **2. *Protracted war in the countryside***

Eighty-five percent of the national population is in the countryside. Of this rural population, the poor peasants together with the farm workers comprise about seventy-five percent; the middle peasants, about fifteen percent; the rich peasants, about five percent. The landlords may be only one or two percent. About three or four percent is taken up by non-agricultural wage-earners, artisans, small peddlers, merchants, students, teachers and other professionals. There are drastic deviations from these percentages only in particular places where there are mines, logging, modern plantations and some industries. Fishermen along the sea coasts are mainly peasants.

On the basis of these facts, the peasant population and the countryside have a special significance to us in waging people's war. The main social problem, the single problem affecting the greatest number of people, lies in the countryside. It is the land problem. Feudalism and semifeudalism oppress and exploit the poor peasants, the farm workers and the lower-middle peasants. Without focusing attention on this problem and providing it with a solution, we cannot draw into the ranks of the revolution the most formidable force that can overwhelm the enemy.

Agrarian revolution is the solution. The peasant masses are aroused and mobilized to overthrow landlord authority and carry out land reform step by step. Depending on the concrete circumstances, particularly the strength achieved by the revolutionary forces, rent reduction and elimination of usury or outright confiscation of landlord property may be effected. In frontier areas, the poor indigenous people and the poor settlers are to be assured of ownership of their fair-sized lands. The Party maintains that the main content of the national-democratic revolution is the satisfaction of the peasant cry for land.

Only by carrying out agrarian revolution can the revolutionary leadership activate the peasant masses as the main force of the revolution and realize the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry. From the ranks of the downtrodden peasantry can then be drawn the greatest number of armed contingents. As it now stands, the New People's Army is composed mainly of peasant recruits. The growth of our people's army depends on the support of the peasant masses.

In general terms, we state that the most reliable ally of the proletariat is the peasantry. In more specific terms, let us relate the revolutionary proletariat with the various strata of the peasantry. Our policy as proletarian revolutionaries is to rely mainly on the poor peasants together with the farm workers, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants. In the course of the national-democratic revolution, we make it a point not to hurt unduly the interests of the rich peasants even as we are alert to their reactionary tendencies.

In opposing and overthrowing the landlords, we hold as chief targets landlords who have vast holdings, who have acquired these by sheer grabbing, who hold political power and who are despotic. We give special consideration, as the masses and circumstances may permit, to the enlightened gentry who endorse and follow our policies and who support our revolutionary war.

Our country is grossly undeveloped due to imperialist domination and retains a relatively wide countryside where feudalism and semifeudalism reign. This backward countryside of our small country is not as large as that of China but it is certainly large in comparison to our own cities. This is the basic setting for our people's war. The bulk of our national population is here.

The weakest link of enemy rule lies in the countryside. The worst of oppression and exploitation is carried out among the peasant masses by the reactionaries. And yet the countryside is so vast that enemy armed forces cannot but be spread thinly or cannot but abandon vast areas when concentrated at certain points. The countryside is therefore the fertile ground for the emergence and growth of Red political power — the people's army, organs of democratic political power, mass organizations and the Party. There can be no wider and better area for maneuver for our people's army and for our type of warfare.

Our experience in more than five years shows that we have created a total of twenty guerrilla fronts in seven regions outside of Manila-Rizal. These fronts continue to thrive in the countryside even in the face of the unprecedentedly harsh fascist counter-measures. When the enemy advances in strong force against our small and weak forces, he is made to exhaust himself by punching the air and he merely allows his prey to hit weaker enemy units elsewhere or expand on new ground. The massive and prolonged enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" has failed to destroy our small and weak forces in Cagayan Valley.

In our country, it is possible to wage a protracted people's war because we have a relatively wide backward countryside where the bulk of the population is. There are many parts which are relatively far from the enemy's

center and main lines of communications and where the people live basically on their diversified agricultural produce. This situation is completely different from that obtaining in a capitalist country.

In capitalist countries, a civil war is preceded by a long period of parliamentary struggle. To fight there a civil war without the disintegration of at least a great part of the standing army of the bourgeoisie and without the proletariat ready for a general uprising capable of winning decisively within a short period of time is to court disaster for the revolutionary forces. The civil war is mainly conditioned by the fact that the majority of the people are in the cities and is initiated and decided in the major cities where the highly unified economy and the highly developed system of communications are centered. Nationwide victory or defeat in a civil war is faster settled in capitalist countries than in semicolonial and semifeudal countries.

In the Philippines, it is as necessary as it is possible to wage a protracted people's war. It is only through a long period of time that we can develop our forces step by step by defeating the enemy forces piece by piece. We are in no position to put our small and weak forces into strategically decisive engagements with militarily superior enemy forces. In the first place, we have just started from scratch. Neither could we have postponed the start of our people's war. The more time we have for developing our armed strength from practically nothing the better for us in the future. It is our firm policy to fight only those battles that we are capable of winning. Otherwise, we circle round in the face of an enemy force that we cannot defeat and look for the opportunity to strike at an enemy force that we can defeat.

In carrying out a protracted people's war, we apply the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. We steadfastly develop guerrilla bases and zones at various strategic points in the country. In a subsequent stage, these areas shall be linked by regular mobile forces which shall be in a position to defend larger and more stable revolutionary bases in the countryside. From such stable revolutionary bases, we shall be able ultimately to seize the cities and advance to nationwide victory.

While it is our principal task to wage a protracted war in the countryside, it is our secondary task to develop the revolutionary underground and the broad anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement in the cities. We should combine the revolutionary struggles in the cities and countryside in the towns and barrios in Red areas, White areas and pink areas.

We should excel in combining legal, illegal and semilegal activities through a widespread and stable underground. A revolutionary underground developing beneath democratic and legal or semilegal activities should promote the well-rounded growth of the revolutionary forces, serve to link otherwise isolated parts of the Party and the people's army at every level and prepare the ground for popular uprisings in the future and for the advance of the people's army.

### ***3. Fighting in a small mountainous archipelago***

The Philippines is a small mountainous archipelago. It is made up of some 7,100 islands and islets with a total land area of 299,404 square kilometers or 115,600 square miles. The eleven largest islands which are tabulated below compose ninety-four percent of the total land area and also contain ninety-four percent of the total population of the country. Every one of these and many other islands have a mountainous terrain with fertile soil.

The importance of an island is not determined solely by its size. Population, forest area and mountainous terrain are more important consideration for our people's war, especially at the initial stage.

There are three outstanding characteristics of the Philippines in being an archipelago. First, our countryside is shredded into so many islands. Second, our two biggest islands, Luzon and Mindanao, are separated by such a clutter of islands as the Visayas. Third, our small country is separated by seas from other countries. From such characteristics arise problems that are very peculiar to our people's war.

On the one hand, it is true that our countryside is wide in relation to the cities. On the other hand, it is also true that we have to fight within narrow fronts because the entire country is small and its countryside is shredded. The war between us and the enemy easily assumes the characteristics of being intensive, ruthless and exceedingly fluid. While we have the widest possible space for the development of regular mobile forces in Luzon and Mindanao, these two islands are separated by hundreds of kilometers and by far smaller islands where the space immediately appears to be suitable only for guerrilla forces throughout the course of people's war. The optimum condition for the emergence of regular mobile forces in the major Visayan islands will be provided by the prior development of regular mobile forces in Luzon and Mindanao.

Island	Land Area (sq. km)	Population (1970)
1) Luzon	104,688	18,001,270
2) Mindanao	94,630	7,538,315
3) Samar	13,080	1,019,358
4) Negros	12,705	2,218,972
5) Palawan	11,785	236,635
6) Panay	11,515	2,114,544
7) Mindoro	9,735	472,396
8) Leyte	7,214	1,362,051
9) Cebu	4,422	1,634,182
10) Bohol	3,865	683,297
11) Masbate	3,269	492,908

Waging a people’s war in an archipelagic country like ours is definitely an exceedingly difficult and complex problem for us. At this stage that we are still trying to develop guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale, the central leadership has had to shift from one organizational arrangement to another so as to give ample attention to the regional Party and army organizations. This is only one manifestation of the problem. Armed propaganda teams and initial guerrilla units scattered in far-flung areas are susceptible to being crushed by the enemy. This is another manifestation of the problem.

There is no doubt that fighting in an archipelagic country like ours is initially a big disadvantage for us. Since the central leadership has to position itself in some remote area in Luzon, there is no alternative now and even for a long time to come but to adopt and carry out the policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. We must distribute and develop throughout the country cadres who are of sufficiently high quality to find their own bearing and maintain initiative not only within periods as short as one or two months, periods of regular reporting, but also within periods as long as two or more years, in case the enemy chooses to concentrate on an island or a particular fighting front and blockade it.

The development of the central revolutionary base somewhere in Luzon will decisively favor and be favored by the development of many smaller bases in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Thus, we have paid attention to the deployment of cadres for nationwide guerrilla warfare. In a small country like the Philippines or more precisely in an island like Luzon, it would have been foolhardy for the central leadership to ensconce itself in one limited area, concentrate all the limited Party personnel and all efforts there and consequently invite the enemy to concentrate his own forces there. It would have been foolhardy to underestimate the enemy’s ability to rapidly move and concentrate his forces in an island where communications are most developed.

The central leadership started the armed struggle where it best could by linking with the Red fighters in the second district of Tarlac in early 1969. Soon, Party cadres were dispatched to the mountainous and hilly area of Isabela. Subsequently, what amounted to the main forces of the New People’s Army vigorously grew here from early 1971 to the eve of the fascist martial rule. A few cadres trained here were dispatched for rural work in other regions. The First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the succeeding mass protest actions and mass organizing in Manila-Rizal and other urban centers in the country yielded the greatest number of cadres for the national expansion of the Party and the people’s army in the rural areas. These cadres start raw but are enthusiastic, develop new Party cadres from the ranks of the local mass activists and Red fighters, and are tempered in the course of fierce revolutionary struggle.

We have already created seven regional Party and army organizations outside of Manila-Rizal. After



strengthening them, especially those of Northwest, Northeast and Central Luzon, we can more confidently look forward to and take the step towards building the central revolutionary base in a favorable terrain that is better populated and more extensive than the east of the Cagayan River. It should be in an area far more difficult for the enemy to blockade. Necessarily, the central leadership would be able to maintain more immediate relations with the regional Party organizations in Luzon than with those in the Visayas and Mindanao. The latter could still be administered through a special organ of the Central Committee.

In the long run, the fact that our country is archipelagic will turn out to be a great advantage for us and a great disadvantage for the enemy. The enemy shall be forced to divide his attention and forces not only to the countryside but also to so many islands. Our great advantage will show when we shall have succeeded in developing guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale and when at least we shall have been on the threshold of waging regular mobile warfare in Luzon or in both Luzon and Mindanao.

We take the policy of “a few major islands first, then the other islands later.” This is now well understood in the Visayas. In every island or in the specific part of an island that we choose to concentrate on, we must develop self-reliance; maintain our guerrilla units within a radius that is limited at a given time to avoid dissipation of our efforts but wide enough for maneuver; and advance wave upon wave, always expanding on the basis of consolidation. Our bitter experience has shown that overextending our guerrilla squads in the false hope of covering a wider area or attending to so many strategic points all at the same time result in shallow political work and are fatal for our squads. Among several guerrilla squads, it is necessary to have some center of gravity or rallying point either for temporary retreat or for a concentrated operation against the enemy. At the same time, we should never lose sight of the necessity of fluidity, which often requires the shiftiness of such a center.

Each regional Party organization should see to it that at the present stage it develops only one, two or three armed fronts. The regional executive committee of the Party should be based in the main front. More guerrilla bases and zones should arise only upon the consolidation of the few that could be sufficiently handled at one time. At present, it is not necessary to have an armed force in every province within a region. More often it is advisable for us to locate our armed force at an interprovincial border area for maximum effect because in the first place we do not have enough armed strength for every province.

The principle of self-reliance needs to be emphasized among all revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale. This is because our small country is cut off by seas from neighboring countries, particularly those friendly to our revolutionary cause. The Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples are more fortunate than us in one sense because they share land borders with China, which serves as their powerful rear. Self-reliance can never be overemphasized among us. The basic needs of our people’s war have to be provided for by the people’s army and the broad masses of the people themselves. Our basic source of armaments is the battlefields. Our level of military technique and our ability in tactics and strategy will have to rise by our adhering strictly to the Marxist principle of advancing in stages and doing well at one stage to prepare for the next stage. The protraction of our people’s war is underscored by the archipelagic character of the country.

The mountainous character of the country countervails its archipelagic character from the very start. A mountainous terrain with some population and with thick vegetation is an excellent condition for our people’s war. If on one hand the archipelagic character of the country has a narrowing effect on our fighting fronts, its mountainous character has both a broadening and deepening effect. Mountains are usually the natural boundaries of provinces. Thus, we can maintain influence on several provinces even if we were to operate from only one mountainous border area. Also, the enemy cannot easily approach us because of the rough terrain and we have more opportunity than anywhere else to conduct political work among the people. Before he starts to climb a hill, we can receive the relayed reports from the masses in the towns and in the barrios, we can actually see his coming from vantage points and we can size up his operation and its possible time span by the sight of his troops, trucks and planes. We can therefore prepare for his coming.

The Sierra Madre sews up almost the entire length of Luzon on the eastern side of the Cagayan Valley to the Bicol region through Central Luzon. It links as many as nine provinces. At certain points, it links two or three provinces at the same time. The Cordillera and Ilocos mountains cover the middle and western parts of Northern Luzon. These link as many as eleven provinces. At certain points, they link as many as four provinces at the same time. The mountain provinces and their fringes have the distinction of being the area where the heaviest concentration of Japanese troops in the Philippines in World War II, reaching up to 150,000, was wiped out by the

guerrilla forces. The Tarlac-Zambales mountains link up five provinces. The armed struggle there has to be well-coordinated with the armed struggle in the wide plains below, with special attention given to the fact that US military bases and major AFP military camps are in the vicinity. There are many other smaller mountains in Luzon; they can also provide a favorable terrain for guerrilla forces.

Mindanao is an even more mountainous and more forested island than Luzon. At the center of Mindanao are the mountainous provinces of Bukidnon and Cotabato. These are as well-populated as the mountain provinces of Northern Luzon. These are linked up with almost all of the Mindanao provinces. Outside of Luzon and Mindanao, the mountains of Panay link four provinces and those of Samar, Leyte and Mindoro link two provinces at the same time.

A mountainous terrain, where more people inhabit the foothills, clearings, plateaus, and riversides or creeksides, is more favorable for the people's army. The usual inhabitants of the mountainous areas are national minorities and poor settlers. These are very receptive to revolutionary propaganda. Their common enemy is the reactionary government which treats their lands as "public lands" and either directly grabs these from them or allows big landlords, big bureaucrats or big capitalists to grab these from them. At the very outset, we should energetically arouse and mobilize them to defend their lands and meager possessions against the landgrabbers and the enemy forces. In launching military operations against us, the enemy always resorts to forced evacuation of these mountain inhabitants so as to prevent them from supporting us and so as to prepare the way for taking away their lands. We must thoroughly oppose every forced evacuation.

The fact that we have given the highest priority to creating guerrilla bases and zones in mountainous areas has helped us in a big way to preserve our guerrilla forces in the face of so many small and big campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched against us. Without the use of the Sierra Madre, our small forces in Cagayan Valley with only three companies as main force could not have preserved themselves against 7,000 enemy troops. Without the use of the mountainous areas of Sorsogon, our small initial forces there could not have expanded to their peak of one platoon-size main force and eight squads and could have been more easily reduced upon the coming of 1,000 enemy troops. However, it must also be pointed out that it is erroneous to rely exclusively on mountainous terrain. Our point is to use the combination of the less-populated mountainous terrain and the better-populated plains, relying mainly on the former for military purposes at this early stage of our people's war.

From the mountainous and hilly areas, we can expand towards the more-populated plains. Even when we shall have gone far in building bases on the plains, our mountainous and hilly bases will retain their strategic importance as guarantors of the victorious advance of people's war. The central revolutionary base can best stand on the well-inhabited mountainous terrain that is of the greatest breadth in Luzon. Everywhere, bases on the plains, seacoasts, lakes and rivers will find the indispensable support of bases in the mountainous and hilly areas.

Amidst the twenty guerrilla bases and zones already in existence and on the basis of the experience gained in creating them, the central leadership can proceed to establish the central revolutionary base somewhere in the well-inhabited mountainous area of Northern Luzon. The guerrilla bases and zones of Northeast Luzon, Northwest Luzon and Central Luzon can stand as the future terminals of regular mobile forces that are to arise at the central revolutionary base.

After doing well in building two or three guerrilla bases in every region outside Manila-Rizal, we can go on to create more guerrilla bases and zones of every type. Every regional organization of the Party and the people's army is to establish its own central base and raise in the long run regional mobile forces. On the eve of the nationwide seizure of power, Manila-Rizal shall be caught in a pincer between regular mobile forces from the north and from the two regions of Southern Luzon.

Mindanao is subdivisible into three or four regions, and a central revolutionary base can also be set up to coordinate these regions. The long-term task of our Mindanao forces is to draw enemy forces from Luzon and destroy them. We can cooperate very well with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army in this regard. Our forces in the Visayas can take advantage of our gains in Luzon and Mindanao and contribute their own share in the task of forcing the enemy to split his forces and of destroying them.

Because our country is archipelagic, it is a matter of necessity for us to develop guerrilla bases and zones along the seacoast. Communications is one clear immediate reason. We should be able to develop as many routes as possible between Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao by conducting political work among the fishermen and seamen. Within the Visayas, boating is as common as trucking in the Luzon or Mindanao mainlands. If we take

lessons from Southwestern Mindanao, especially from Sulu archipelago, we can further develop sea warfare, a form of guerrilla warfare making use of small bancas (boats) and big as well as small islands. This would constitute a good support for our guerrilla warfare on land.

#### **4. From small and weak to big and strong**

We must recognize the balance of forces between us and the enemy. This is the first requirement in waging either an entire war or a campaign or a single battle. As matters now stand, we are small and weak while the enemy is big and strong. There is no doubt that he is extremely superior to us militarily in such specific terms as number of troops, formations, equipment, technique, training, foreign assistance and supplies in general. It will take a protracted period of time for us to change this balance of forces in our favor. Thus, protraction is a basic characteristic of our people's war.

The enemy armed forces have four major services; namely, constabulary, army, air force and navy with a total force of at least 100,000 troops at present. Under the fascist dictatorship, enemy troop strength has been increased by at least 40,000 both by an actual increase in regular forces and by the prolongation of military service by twenty-year-old trainees from six months to one year-and-a-half. Enemy strength is also beefed up by the "civilian home defense force" (another name for the "barrio self-defense unit"). The fascist dictator has announced that by the middle part of 1975 the total strength of the reactionary armed forces will go up to 250,000 after the integration of the local police forces under the Philippine Constabulary.

The strength of our full-fledged guerrilla forces is a far cry from the regular military strength of the enemy. The typical center of gravity for our guerrilla forces is of mere platoon size. Around it gravitate armed propaganda squads and full-fledged guerrilla squads. So far, it is in Northeast Luzon where we have reached the company level of formation with some sufficient strength and performed company-size operations. Now, even here the level of armed activity is reduced to that of platoons and squads. However, the reduction of strength here as a result of relentless enemy campaigns is more than compensated by the growth of the New People's Army on a nationwide scale. Of course, if we were to include part-time guerrilla and militia units, we would be able to cite a higher figure for our military strength but then these as a body of armed men are small and weak in comparison to the enemy's own irregulars, the "civilian home defense forces," which are far better armed.

We cannot properly evaluate our accomplishment in the military field without giving due consideration to certain objective conditions. The subjective forces of the revolution, especially the Party and the people's army, started from scratch. The Party was rebuilt from scratch on December 26, 1968; moreover, it had to face the attacks not only of the barefaced enemy but also the vicious Lava revisionist remnants of the old merger Party. The New People's Army was also built from scratch on March 29, 1969; moreover, it had to face not only the reactionary armed forces but also the Lava revisionists and the Taruc-Sumulong gang.

Not a single rifle was carried over to the full-time guerrillas of the New People's Army from either the anti-Japanese resistance of the Hukbalahap in World War II or from the civil war that followed it. The Lava revisionist renegades had thrown away every gun gained from the previous armed struggle as a result of Jose and Jesus Lava's "Left" opportunist errors and then Jesus Lava's Right opportunist errors. The New People's Army had to start with a few rifles and handguns seized mainly from the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique to arm nine under-sized squads of about seven fighters each.

Since it was founded, the New People's Army has had to wage a people's war under conditions where there is neither a global war among the imperialist powers nor an open war among the reactionaries. From the outset, the people's army has had to contend with a highly unified armed forces. It deserves the highest commendation for having preserved itself and still having made some expansion and consolidation in the face of strong enemy military task forces, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and presently, the martial rule of a fascist dictatorship. Even now when the bulk of the enemy strength is concentrated in Southwestern Mindanao against the Bangsa Moro Army, the enemy still manages to maintain in each region a task force and in each province constabulary and integrated police forces that are hundreds of times in armed strength against ours.

It remains a gross disadvantage and weakness for the New People's Army to have so few rifles and small concentrable forces to face an enemy who launches campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" by deploying so many units no smaller than a half-company for outpost work and oversized platoons, rallying to a full regular company or even a full battalion, for seeking encounters with us within an area of encirclement. Under such circumstances, it is quite difficult for us to maintain the initiative and carry out the policy of annihilation in battles.

The opportunity to wipe out an enemy squad or platoon does not often present itself. The enemy even goes so far as to force the evacuation of the entire population by perpetrating massacres, looting, bombardment and arson. Deprived of mass support within a given area, our small guerrilla forces have to shift elsewhere in the main.

At the moment, the only way to amplify our armed strength and fighting effectiveness is to give full play to the popular support that we enjoy. The bolos, spears, crossbows, traps and other indigenous weapons which the masses can easily avail themselves of have to be combined with homemade explosives and the few rifles in our hands. By seriously implementing the policy of luring the enemy and advancing in waves on a favorable terrain both strategically and tactically, we can most effectively put to use the combination of rifles and indigenous weapons and we can at certain times use only the latter, if these are the only ones available. There are even occasions when by some stratagem we can disarm “home defense” forces, local police forces and small enemy units without firing a single shot. By taking the initiative fully into our hands, we can repeatedly induce the enemy to bring himself to our well-laid ambush or send his superior strength somewhere so that we can attack his weak force elsewhere. On each occasion we make sure of seizing the enemy’s military equipment.

Especially because of our smallness and weakness, there are two opposite dangers that we have to avoid and counteract. One is trying to cover an area that is actually wider than we can sufficiently cover. This usually involves overdispersing our guerrilla squads. The other is concentrating on so small an area that at one whiff of the enemy we do not know where to shift. Guerrilla forces in relation to regular mobile forces operate according to the principle of dispersal. But since all that we have are small guerrilla forces, with absolutely no regular mobile forces yet to serve as main force on any occasion, then we have to have some relative concentration and some relative dispersal according to the scale of our present guerrilla warfare. We have to have main guerrilla units as well as secondary guerrilla units, guerrilla bases as well as guerrilla zones.

Depending on the circumstances, we have to dispose our limited forces in accordance with definite tasks, in a correct direction and within a definite radius. Our action takes the form of either concentration, shifting or dispersion. We concentrate to attack the enemy, mainly in the form of ambushes and raids on small enemy units that we can wipe out. We disperse to conduct propaganda and organizational work or to “disappear” before the enemy. We shift to circle or retreat to gain time and seek favorable circumstances for attack. Our guerrilla warfare is characterized by flexibility or timely shifting from one mode of action to another and by fluidity or frequent shifting of ground. We must grasp and give full play to this characteristic to maintain the initiative against the enemy.

Our experience has shown that our superiority over the enemy lies in our fighting a just war, a war for the people’s democratic interests. We could not have lasted for so long with so small and weak an armed force were it not for the correct ideological and political line that the Communist Party of the Philippines has carried since its reestablishment. The enemy is bogged down in an ever-deepening political and economic crisis and does not cease to perpetrate self-defeating abuses and arouse the people to rebel. Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People’s Army is confident of winning victory because wherever it is and goes it proves to be politically superior to the enemy because it has a flexible strategy and tactics based on concrete conditions that it comprehends. The Party is still organizationally small and weak like the New People’s Army but it is bound to grow into a big and strong force so long as it perseveres in its correct ideological and political line.

As matters now stand on a nationwide scale or even on the scale of every region, the New People’s Army has no alternative but to be on the strategic defensive in opposition to the strategic offensive of an overweening enemy. But the content of our strategic defensive is the series of tactical offensives that we are capable of undertaking and winning. By winning battles of quick decision, we are bound to accumulate the strength to win bigger battles and campaigns to be able to move up to a higher stage of the war. To graduate from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare as the main form of our warfare, we have to exert a great deal of effort over a long period of time. We are still very much at the rudimentary and early substage of the strategic defensive.

We may state that in the long process of its growing from small and weak to big and strong, our people’s army will have to undergo certain stages and substages. Having in mind a probable course of development whereby our forces are inferior now and will consequently become equal and finally superior to the enemy, we can tentatively define three strategic stages that our people’s army will have to undergo.

It is now undergoing the first stage, the strategic defensive. Consequently, it shall undergo the second stage, the strategic stalemate, when our strength shall be more or less on an equal footing with the enemy’s and our tug-of-war with the enemy over strategic towns, cities and larger areas shall become conspicuous. Finally, it shall

undergo the third stage, the strategic offensive, when the enemy shall have been profoundly weakened and completely isolated and shall have been forced to go on the strategic defensive, a complete reversal of his position at the stage of our strategic defensive.

The future of the New People's Army is bright, though it has to go through a long and tortuous road. On the other hand, the future of the reactionary armed forces is dark. A mercenary and parasitic military in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism has no future, except failure and doom. The most powerful weapon is in the hands of the people's army. That is the people's support. We cannot wage a revolutionary war without it.

The New People's Army fights for the people's democratic interests with self-abnegating and highly conscious iron discipline and with wise and well-informed courage. Our Red commanders and fighters fight without fear of sacrifice and death because they are fighting in the broad interest of the people and not in the narrow interest of the imperialists or any individual or clique among the reactionaries. At the level of strategy, our Red commanders and fighters hate and are contemptuous of the enemy. But at the tactical level, they take serious and meticulous consideration of him so as to defeat every plot and maneuver that he is capable of.

#### ***5. A fascist puppet dictatorship amidst crisis***

The setting-up of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is the clearest manifestation that the ruling political system is wracked by a crisis that it can no longer deal with in the old way. The fascist puppet dictatorship is a counterrevolutionary measure of weakness and desperation rather than of strength. A whole series of terrorist acts, capped by the second Plaza Miranda massacre, was unleashed by the Marcos ruling clique to pave the way for it. These events and the subsequent imposition of a fascist martial rule and of a conspicuously autocratic rule have incurred the profoundest hatred of the people and have intensified their desire for revolutionary change and for national freedom and democracy.

The mastermind behind the fascist dictatorship is US imperialism. The fascist dictatorship has been set up to make sure that under a "new constitution" the privileges and interests of US imperialism under the 1935 Constitution, the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement are not only preserved but even enlarged in the face of the growing anti-imperialist struggle of the broad masses of the people and furthermore to harden the Philippines as a base of US imperialism in the western rim of the Pacific and in Asia and in the face of the failed US war of aggression in Indochina. As a reward, Marcos is allowed to remain in power indefinitely for as long as he can be useful to US imperialism and, of course, for as long as his ambition does not go beyond being the general representative of and even becoming the wealthiest by far of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class.

The fascist dictator Marcos keeps on prating about his unjust regime being a "new society." But in fact its monstrous abuses have only served to stress that it is but the worsening of the old semicolonial and semifeudal society. We are witness today to unbridled puppetry, brutality, corruption and bankruptcy. Among the local reactionaries, the fascist chieftain, his family and his closest subalterns in the military and civil bureaucracy are the most outstanding beneficiaries of the puppet, brutal, corrupt and bankrupt "new society."

In essence, the fascist dictatorship is the open terrorist rule of a reactionary clique with big comprador and big landlord interests. The longer it continues in power the more fertile the ground becomes for our people's war. By negative example, Marcos has stood as the best teacher of the people on the state and revolution. In this sense, he is our best propagandist. He has superbly exposed every evil in this semicolonial and semifeudal society by his own lies and misdeeds. His usurpation of all governmental powers; elimination of all legal political parties; monopolization of the press; and the brutal repression of all democratic liberties by such methods as massacre, assassination, zoning, forced mass evacuation, bombardment and arson, blackmail, extortion, illegal arrest, illegal detention and torture have proven beyond doubt the necessity and justness of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution.

All the fascist acts of the US-Marcos clique carried out with brute armed force are calculated to "stabilize" the rule of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes over the broad masses of the people. But the essential effect of such acts has been to widen and deepen the armed resistance. The New People's Army under the leadership of the Party has waged more battles than ever before against the enemy and has established more guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones than ever before. Party and non-Party activists, who in the period before Proclamation No. 1081 had waged mass struggles against the same US-Marcos clique, have in considerable number joined the

revolutionary armed struggle in the field or have formed a strong revolutionary underground at various strategic points in the country.

The Bangsa Moro Army which is far better armed than the New People's Army has so far waged the biggest battles against the enemy and have inflicted severe losses on him in troops and equipment. The revolutionary armed struggle of the national minorities for self-determination and against national oppression in Southwestern Mindanao has helped in a big way the New People's Army in various parts of the country by drawing a great part of the enemy's land, sea and air forces. In return, we are doing our best to wage a people's war in our own areas so as to force the enemy to move helter-skelter. At the moment, we are witness to an enemy with the big dilemma of attending to far south and to far north.

There are no significant armed forces opposing the fascist dictatorial regime, except the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army. In Luzon, Visayas and the greater part of Mindanao, there is no significant armed resistance except that waged by the New People's Army. We might say that these areas we are faced with a unified reaction. There is no open war among the reactionaries here. There has been a lot of talk about the "Filipino Freedom Fighters," an outfit supposedly run by an anti-Marcos group with some US support, but so far even after two years of fascist martial rule it appears to be a mere token force given to issuing occasional manifestos threatening some strange mixture of coup d'etat and guerilla warfare. True to their original and essential character, the Lava revisionist renegades have openly surrendered to the US Marcos clique and are blatantly collaborating on hunting down revolutionaries and swindling the masses. There is no way but treat these revisionist fascist diehards as traitors and spies.

Because there is no open war among the reactionaries where it is, the New People's Army is faced with a unified fascist reaction. This means to say that the enemy can launch stronger offensives against us than otherwise in any particular area which he chooses to concentrate on. This is certainly a disadvantage for us. In this regard, we have no alternative but to study and apply the correct strategy and tactics of dealing with enemy campaigns. However, experience has shown that no matter how far the armed resistance in Southwestern Mindanao is, it has induced the enemy to drastically reduce his forces in Cagayan valley since March 1973.

There is a long-term advantage in the New People's Army being the only armed force regarded by the people as their own in at least ninety percent of the Philippine territory. It becomes easier and simpler for the middle forces to choose which side they must support. The choice becomes easier and simpler, indeed, the worse that the enemy becomes. The confidence and trust of the broad masses of the people in the New People's Army is so great and resounding despite the present smallness and weakness of this army, because it is all that they have against the fascist tyranny.

The economic crisis which has been the basis of the crisis of the entire reactionary political system even previous to the Marcos rightist coup has become far worse under the fascist dictatorship. This economic crisis makes everyone of the people throughout the country suffer no matter how it may appear that he is not directly the victim of the political and military abuses of the fascist dictatorship. Linking the fascist puppet dictatorship with the people's economic suffering is the single method which has made our propaganda for armed revolution most effective. Since long before the fascist martial rule, the broad masses of the people have comprehended the responsibility of the US Marcos clique for the economic crisis.

A runaway inflation; rampant unemployment; accelerated increase of the tax burden; continuous devaluation of the currency; food, fuel and fertilizer shortages; unlimited entry of foreign capital and unlimited remittances of profits; enormous foreign trade deficits covered up by technical smuggling and false statistical figures; excessive foreign and domestic borrowings; ever increasing military expenditures; and inflationary deficit spending on "infrastructures" which fatten the imperialist banks and foreign contractors, serve the colonial trade pattern and the plunder of the country's natural resources and are opportunities for enormous graft and corruption and land speculation with the loot monopolized by the fascist dictator. All these conspicuous ills characterize the fascist dictatorial regime. The deterioration of the economy is so rapid that Party cadres must keep close watch on fast-changing economic data.

The broad masses of the people suffer from the combination of political and economic abuses. As the economy deteriorates, political tyranny aggravates. To be able to continue exploiting the people, the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique resorts to enlarging its armed forces, buying more military equipment and bribing officers and men with promotions in rank and increases in salary, allowances and other privileges. Increased

expenditures for such a parasitic entity as the military result in further deterioration of the economy. More exploitation and more oppression engender more resistance, then, another round of military expenditures by the fascist dictatorship in a vicious cycle of its own making.

With complete callousness, the fascist dictatorship has been proclaiming throughout the world that it has succeeded in keeping Philippine labor cheap for the imperialists to exploit. Indeed, the US-Marcos clique for several years already has so preserved the backward conditions of the country that there is an abundance of the unemployed. Now, under martial rule, labor power is made even cheaper than before. The workers are deprived of their trade union rights, especially their right to strike, even as the prices of basic commodities are skyrocketing. Whenever they demand higher wages, the workers are openly intimidated with armed force by the fascist military and are liable to be arbitrarily suspended or dismissed by their employers. The “new labor code” systematizes the suppression of workers’ rights under the pincer attack of the fascist government and the big bourgeoisie. To maintain a general state of intimidation, the fascist military and police often conduct raids and zoning operations on factories and workers’ communities.

The peasants are callously told that if they wish to have their own piece of land, they must enter into contracts with their landlords whereby they are required to make instalment payments so exorbitant that they cannot make good even the first instalment. This is what is bandied about as “land reform.” The peasants are also required to pay high land taxes; special levies on the sale of their produce; membership dues and special fees for the “barangay” and “barrio association” and fixed contributions to the so-called “savings fund” and “barrio guarantee fund.” Further on they are required to pay high interest rates on overpriced fertilizers from the Marcos-owned Planters Products under the “Masagana 99” program and increasing fees for irrigation wherever this is available. Some “insurance” and “medicare” schemes are also afoot to suck more blood from the peasant masses. All over the country the “barangays” are under orders to set up “civilian home defense forces”; these entail extra expenditures by the peasants and also reduce their working hours in the fields as they are forced to make “rondas.” Where the people’s army is already in the midst of the peasant masses, the enemy resorts to the most brutal military operations which include forced mass evacuation, massacre, looting, arson and indiscriminate bombing and strafing.

Like the toiling masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie detest the fascist dictatorship. The bare essence of the reactionary state in the service of imperialist, big comprador and feudal interests has become fully and concretely exposed to them and in their day-to-day lives their limited incomes are not exempt from the ravages of an inflation generated locally and imported from abroad. The fascist dictatorship has gone so berserk as to suppress all the democratic liberties and persecute tens of thousands of democratic personalities who belong either to the urban petty bourgeoisie or whom this social stratum highly respects. Abuses by the fascist dictator and his military minions have become so widespread that every single urban petty bourgeois either has directly experienced some abuse by them or knows a relative or personal friend abused by them. The urban petty bourgeoisie recognize clearly that an atmosphere of intimidation and terror is being whipped up to keep Marcos in power and to promote the interests of foreign and feudal exploiters.

The national bourgeoisie, especially the lower and middle sections, find themselves cast away by the fascist dictatorship. They are being forced into bankruptcies. The foreign monopoly firms have become even more rapacious in their activities in the Philippines as they try to make up for their losses and difficulties elsewhere in the world. It is the shameless policy of the fascist dictatorship to link its existence with the sell-out of the country to foreign monopoly capitalists, principally American and Japanese. Under the Marcos constitution, Investment Incentives Act, Export Incentives Act and so many specific fascist decrees, the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists are enjoying privileges surpassing those under the 1935 Constitution and the Laurel-Langley Agreement with its parity clause. They are rapidly enlarging their holdings, crushing the national bourgeoisie, taking over all sorts of businesses and opportunities, and plundering the country with complete abandon.

While it is true that we are faced with a unified fascist reaction in Luzon, Visayas and the greater part of Mindanao, this is but the surface of a situation in which the broad masses of the people are seething with hatred for the enemy and are enthusiastically supporting the early beginning of our people’s war. Beneath the apparent strength of the enemy is the deep-going crisis and an irremediable rottenness. If not for the broad support that they enjoy, our small armed units would not be able to last long against the powerful assaults of the enemy.

## ***6. Under one imperialist power***

The single most valid explanation why there is yet no open war among the reactionaries despite all the bitterness of the internal contradiction among them, a contradiction so far marked by the unilateral acts of terrorism and violence by the Marcos fascist gang, is that the entire country is under the domination of one imperialist power. The country is therefore so much different from the China that was divided among several wrangling warlords supported by several contradictory imperialist powers.

All other explanations follow, like the anti-Marcos reactionaries never having had a cohesive armed force of some significant size outside of the state's armed forces; the country being small and archipelagic and not providing much space for a division into several spheres of influence, Marcos having been smart enough to confiscate the arms of the amorphous petty armed groups under reactionary politicians not reliable to him or known to be opposed to him; the officers of the reactionary armed forces having been so trained to maintain canine loyalty to whoever is commander-in-chief by any "constitutional" pretext; and so on and so forth.

Many explanations can be made but so long as they are pertinent to the question they all lead to the single explanation that US imperialism is the single most important determinant force in reactionary politics in the country. Among the reactionary politicians in the country, the persistence or replacement of one clique by another clique carries with it either the expressed or tacit approval of US imperialism. In the period before the fascist dictatorship, presidential elections were decided by the campaign funds and press support extended by the US imperialists and their big comprador-landlord agents; and the two major political parties had no basic difference except as to which party had the clique of candidates that best served US imperialist and local reactionary interests and at the same time best pretended to stand for the interests of the people.

Under the present circumstances, when the rule of the gun has become extremely conspicuous, the strategic control and influence of US imperialism over the reactionary armed forces immediately and directly comes into focus when we pose the question as to whether the anti-Marcos reactionaries have a chance in replacing or overthrowing the Marcos fascist gang. It is pertinent to recall one time when US imperialism showed blatantly how much it could do with its strategic control and influence over the reactionary armed forces to help effect a change of reactionary administration. That was the time when Magsaysay opposed Quirino in 1953 and the CIA and JUSMAG gave direct orders to AFP battalion commanders to support the former.

From the viewpoint of US imperialism, an open war among its own local minions is as impermissible as it would have the net effect of disturbing whatever "stability" and advantages it has gained in the country under the fascist dictatorship. It is therefore difficult to expect that US imperialism would deliver the arms for an anti-Marcos but still pro-US group to build an army against the Marcos fascist gang. If it would become necessary to replace Marcos by armed force, because he refuses to budge from power despite his notoriety and abuses, becoming more of a liability than an asset, it would suffice for US imperialism to instigate another coup d'etat.

It has never been the practice of US imperialism to allow the distribution of arms to the people in a country like the Philippines where the reactionary armed forces are still securely under its control and influence. Before the folly of Bataan in World War II, the US colonialists refused to distribute arms to the people to prepare for the Japanese invasion. It was only towards the end of the war when they were already making massive troop landings in the country that they gave arms to the USAFFE guerrillas in great quantity. As soon as the country was reconquered, US imperialism and its lackeys used all kinds of methods to seize what in their view were loose firearms.

It is in this light that we must see the oft-repeated threat of the anti-Marcos reactionaries to launch a coup d'etat. Raul Manglapus who is well associated with the old crop of CIA agents that put Magsaysay into the presidency in 1953 is today the most outstanding spokesman of the anti-Marcos reactionaries. He is under the care of the US State Department and it is obvious that he is some kind of a horse in reserve. However, he is not necessarily the principal horse in reserve. It happens that unlike Aquino who is in prison or Macapagal who prefers to wait in the shadows, he is in a position among the anti-Marcos reactionaries to openly issue propaganda against the Marcos fascist gang.

The fascist dictator Marcos is aware that the length of his political life, including his personal safety, depends on US imperialism. Thus he does everything to satisfy his imperialist master. At the same time, he is aware that his master is benefiting from his indefinite rule as well as from the blackmail value of keeping horses in reserve. Thus, he does everything to maintain his own hold on the reactionary armed forces by keeping his kinsmen and other favorites in the most strategic commands, by pushing out of service those whom he considers unreliable, by bribing officers in general with promotions in rank and increases of salary and allowances upon the expansion of



military personnel, by providing them with opportunities for graft and corruption, including outright blackmail and extortion, and by superimposing on the regular intelligence agencies an intelligence network of his own.

Marcos' plans and tactics in prolonging his retention of power are clear. He is out to stagger such possible events as the election of local executives, the setting up of one big political party and possibly one another or several small parties all under his control, his appointment of a "legislative advisory council," the convening of the "interim national assembly," his retention as prime minister, and so on and so forth. It is Marcos' wish to stay in power for so long that after some time all his political rivals would capitulate to him in consideration of their own selfish interests. After all, Marcos and his political rivals can easily agree on the essentials of the Marcos constitution and other fascist acts which serve US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

But then Marcos cannot decide history all by himself. The political and economic crisis is worsening. The people hate his fascist regime more than his pre-fascist regime and the revolutionary movement is steadily growing and advancing. Though it is his wish to lay out his own kind of "normalization" only to retain power for himself, US imperialism itself after some time might shift from letting him rule indefinitely to replacing him under some kind of "normalization" to which he must agree to else suffer the consequences of a coup d'etat. In many cases elsewhere in the world, puppets of US imperialism have found themselves the scapegoats of their masters.

The fascist dictatorship has so far served US imperialism well. It has been used to preserve and enlarge US economic privilege and interests in the Philippines despite the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Lan-gley Agreement. In unleashing a reign of terror against the people, Marcos boasts of having created a political "stability" for the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists to expand their investments and make bigger profits. But then it is also clear that he has failed to crush the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. Under conditions of fascist martial rule, these revolutionary organizations have struck deep roots in every region and have enjoyed more than ever a high prestige among the people. The revolutionary movement is steadily gaining ground throughout the country.

Under the infamous "Nixon Doctrine," US imperialism impliedly admits that it can no longer hold out in mainland Asia by involving its manpower in a land war and so in this context it expresses a policy that it would rather provide its puppets with war materiel and a nuclear umbrella and have "Asians fight Asians" rather than commit its own manpower. At any rate, under this doctrine, it is stressed repeatedly that US imperialism shall remain a "Pacific power." It is clear that US imperialism has to hold on tightly to the Philippines so as to remain a "Pacific power" and so as to have a base from where to exert influence throughout Asia. As the US "first line of defense" (Indochina, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan, especially Okinawa) declines, the "second line of defense" (Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand) gains in importance to US imperialism. US investments and military bases in the Philippines play the key role in this "second line."

US investments in Asia are most concentrated in the Philippines and continue to expand in the Philippines. According to conservative 1972 estimates, which do not fully take into account the current market value of all US assets in the country, US direct investments alone amount to three billion dollars. These comprising eighty per cent of foreign investments in the country, are strategically located and enjoy a high rate of profit.

To protect these against the people, US imperialism does not only keep firm control over Philippine politics and the local reactionary armed forces but also under unequal military treaties, maintains as its ultimate weapon its own military personnel and military installations on Philippine soil. Several tens of thousands of troops are stationed here as a token force and can be increased anytime. The military installations include huge air and naval bases and radio and radar stations; there are also US military reservations which can be reactivated at the whim of US imperialism. Clark Air Base and the Subic Naval Base are the largest US military bases in Asia. Nuclear weapons are positioned in these two bases as well as in Pasuquin, Ilocos Norte and in the so-called weather station in Bukidnon.

Under these circumstances, we are certain that US imperialism is even more sensitive to the development of our people's war in the Philippines than it has ever been to the people's war in Vietnam or elsewhere in Asia. The stakes are bigger in the Philippines. So, we can expect that US imperialism, despite its own pious words about "withdrawing" from Asia, will commit its own aggressor troops against the Filipino people in the event that the local reactionary armed forces would no longer suffice.

Whoever holds power in Malacanang, so long as he is a mere placeman of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes shall work against the national-democratic interests of the people and shall earn the people's

wrath. The crisis of US imperialism and world capitalism and the political and economic crisis in the country will grow worse. Our people's war will develop irresistibly under these conditions. A time is likely to come when the local reactionaries shall become so incapable of fighting us that US aggressor troops will have to step in. On this expectation, we should be prepared that our revolutionary war which has started out as a civil war shall become a national war against a barefaced foreign aggression. It is no mere coincidence that a US ambassador like William Sullivan, the butcher of Indochina, and other US officials who are veterans of the US war of aggression in Vietnam are being assigned to the Philippines.

Since the resumption of our people's war, US military and police advisers on "counterinsurgency" have been increasing and participating in training and military operations against the people. The sale and free grant of military materiel to the local reactionary armed forces have been stepped up. US aircraft flown by US pilots have been involved in reconnaissance and bombing operations against us. US "green beret" reconnaissance teams have deployed under the cover of "civic action" in various parts of the countryside. USAID, Peace Corps and other ostensibly US civilian personnel have been used for intelligence purposes by the US "country team" composed of the US ambassador, the CIA station chief, JUSMAG chief, USAID director and USIA head.

The ceaseless and increasing US military assistance and the possible aggression of US imperialism are two factors that can make for a prolongation of our people's war. It is possible that upon the start of US aggression we shall have to make adjustments in our strategy and tactics, whatever level shall have been previously reached by us in our people's war. As part of our preparedness against US aggression even now, we should expose and oppose every kind of US intervention in our country. In this regard, we must seek right away the support of the American people and the peoples of the rest of the world.

In the face of US imperialism, we are in dire need of international support. The support of those abroad who are in sympathy with our just revolutionary causes is indispensable to our victory. Through we stand firmly for self-reliance, we do not mean to say that this stands for reducing foreign support and assistance to zero. As a matter of fact, as the revolutionary armed struggle progresses, the volume of foreign assistance may increase though it may decrease in proportion to our total war effort. It has been demonstrated in the Vietnam War that as the level of armed struggle rose, the volume of international assistance grew. That is because US imperialism heavily supported its puppets and unleashed the largest and longest war of aggression after World War II.

### ***7. Decline of US Imperialism and advance of the world revolution***

The Philippine Revolution, particularly our people's war, is greatly advantaged today by the decline of US imperialism in Asia and throughout the world and corollarily by the advance of the world revolution. The main trend of revolution keeps on advancing because of the ever-worsening crisis of US imperialism and the entire capitalist system.

The United States was in its initial vigor as an imperialist power when it was able to thwart the old national-democratic revolution in the Philippines at the beginning of the century. The Filipino revolutionaries at that time were not ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to defeat a modern imperialist power, though they had already defeated Spanish colonialism. There were not even the objective conditions nationally and internationally to give rise immediately to the subjective forces that could successfully lead a people's war against the US aggressors in the Philippines.

World War I shook and weakened the entire capitalist system to the extent that it created the conditions for the victory of the October Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state in one-sixth of the world. The character of the world revolution changed from bourgeois-democratic to proletarian socialist. But the particular imperialist power holding on to the Philippines was the one among the imperialist powers that took the most advantage of the interimperialist war. Besides, the imperialists and colonialists could still manage to hold on to their colonies and semicolonies, through the instability of their rule here started to become more evident than before.

US imperialism maintained a firm grip on its Philippine colony. It continued to cultivate a retinue of reactionary politicians under its orders and further used the country as a forward base for its expansion in Asia. Only in 1930 was the Communist Party of the Philippines founded under conditions of world depression and local social unrest.

The world capitalist system continued to undergo a general crisis even as the first interimperialist war had just ended. Subsequently, fascist regimes emerged in a number of Western European countries and in Japan. The

struggle for the redivision of the world among the imperialist powers further intensified. Inevitably World War II broke out. As it did in connection with the first interimperialist war, the United States made profits on loans and war production before and throughout the war and provided supplies to both warring sides until it was ready to join the war on the winning side and pick up the spoils.

The United States emerged from the war as the Number One imperialist power, having gained hegemony over the entire capitalist system and assuming the principal responsibility for retaining the colonies and semicolonies throughout the world. It was in a strong position to reconquer the Philippines from the Japanese fascist and quell the revolutionary forces here. Moreover, it was helped in a big way by the series of grave errors perpetrated by the Lava and Taruc revisionist cliques which consistently took the line of subordinating the revolutionary movement to the US scheme of granting fake independence to the Philippines. The gains made by the revolutionary forces in the course of the war, when the US forces temporarily retreated from the country, were squandered and lost. Recovering the Philippines, US imperialism proceeded to expand in Asia and oppose every anti-imperialist struggle in the region.

But beneath the surface of overwhelming US imperialist strength, the entire capitalist system had been profoundly weakened more than ever before. People's democracies under the leadership of communist and workers' parties emerged over a large area of the world, in Asia and Eastern Europe. In Asia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China emerged. The socialist countries encompassed one-third of humanity. National liberation movements surged ahead with unprecedented vigor in colonies and semicolonies. Thus, the economic territory of the entire capitalist system receded and could not but further recede.

The victory of the Chinese Revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of China came as the hardest blow to the imperialist powers soon after World War II. They lost their spheres of influence in this large country with a large population, comprising one-fourth of humanity, notwithstanding the massive military and economic aid by the US imperialists to the Kuomintang reactionaries. The imperialist front in the East was irreparably breached. The world significance of this great victory was incalculable. The impact of the Chinese Revolution in Asia alone terrified US imperialism. The oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America started to look up to China for revolutionary inspiration.

Soon after China's liberation, US imperialism launched a war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and failed to accomplish its objective of conquering the whole of Korea. Then, it formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and violated the Geneva Agreements on Indochina. Failing to learn its lessons from the Korean War, it once more launched a war of aggression in Vietnam and tried to defeat the people of South Vietnam, ruin the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and subjugate the whole of Indochina. At the height of the Vietnam War, 700 thousand US aggressor troops and 1.5 million puppet troops were used against the people's armed forces. About \$150 billion were spent by the US imperialists to carry out their war. But they were forced to withdraw in defeat. The Vietnam War accelerated the decline of US imperialism not only in Asia but also throughout the world.

The Chinese, Korean and Indochinese peoples are all neighbors and brothers of the Filipino people. Their victories are a great inspiration to the Filipino people and have objective effects favorable to the growth and advance of the Philippine Revolution. Aside from these victories, there is one outstanding phenomenon in Asia which brightens the prospects of people's war in the Philippines. This is the persistence of revolutionary armed struggles in Southeast Asia in general since World War II. Even at the height of its power, US imperialism could not suppress these; it found no effective use for its rift-ridden Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. The revolutionary armed struggle in Indochina has so far been the most outstanding and the most victorious among these. But all other persistent armed struggles in Southeast Asia, of which our people's war is one, promise to eventually grow in significance and effectiveness as the turmoil of the capitalist system worsens and US imperialism declines further.

The revolutionary armed struggles in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have served to stress the fact that since after World War II it has become possible for the peoples of colonial and semicolonial countries in the East to develop over a long period of time big and small revolutionary base areas, wage long-term revolutionary wars in which the cities are encircled from the countryside, and then gradually to advance on the cities and win nationwide victory. Chairman Mao correctly pointed out at the opening of this decade, "Innumerable facts prove that a just

cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.”

The revolutionary armed struggle in the Philippines, even as it was resumed only a few years ago with so many glaring disadvantages resumed from practically nothing in a small archipelagic country under the sway of one imperialist power and without the condition of either an open war among the reactionaries or an interimperialist war, has been able to persist. One important explanation for this phenomenon is the ever-worsening crisis of US imperialism and the entire capitalist system and the irrepressible advance of the world proletarian revolution. These external conditions have profound effects within the country.

The crisis of US imperialism and the entire capitalist system cannot but take a more bitter form in a semi-colonial and semifeudal Philippines than in the United States or any other capitalist country. This is because an imperialist country makes it a point to extract a higher rate of profit wherever it can do so, especially when it is making up for losses elsewhere. Increased exploitation entails increased oppression. Thus, the political crisis has found expression in the fascist martial rule and its intolerable abuses, the worst since the end of the Japanese fascist occupation. The economic crisis features the foreign monopolies, chiefly American, remitting superprofit with abandon on direct investments and loans, abetting a rate of and unemployment several times higher than in the capitalist countries and depressing the price of the country’s raw material exports. The inevitable result is that the people hate US imperialism and the Marcos fascist gang and they are readily moved to support and participate in armed revolution. They are confident of winning victory in the long run because they are aware of the defeats and general decline of US imperialism as well as the victories of revolutionary peoples abroad.

The world capitalist system is wracked today by a crisis unprecedented in gravity and turbulence since the end of World War II. The root cause of this is that US imperialism, while playing the role of main pillar and policeman of world capitalism for some time, has overprinted its money and overborrowed internally and externally; overconsumed and wasted the world’s resources; overexpended for its military establishment, particularly for its armaments, foreign military bases and wars of aggression; and suffered tremendous losses in the hands of the people. Because the economic territory available for imperialist exploitation has shrunk, the areas for intercapitalist accommodation have also shrunk and intercapitalist contradictions have had no course but to intensify. As a result, the class struggle between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie comes to the fore in every capitalist country.

The struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy between the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, is intensifying. They are fighting without letup for markets, fields of investment, sources of raw materials and strategic positions and they keep on bumping into each other. They covet each other’s spheres of influence. They make trouble in several areas of the world and try to manipulate the situation to their own advantage. They keep on trying to reverse the irresistible trend of history — countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. Bullying, aggression, intervention, subversion and control characterize the two superpowers’ behavior in international affairs. But instead of succeeding all the way, they incur the condemnation and resistance of the peoples of the world.

The two superpowers collude in trying to terrify the people with their nuclear arms, in demanding that the destiny of mankind be placed in their hands, in making disarmament agreements, in lulling the people with talks about détente and in making certain temporary settlements here and there so long as each stands to gain more than before at the expense of others or at least so long as one does not lose in the bargain though the other gains. But between rival imperialist powers in a capitalist world about to burst asunder, there is no course but for collusion to serve contention from the beginning, at every step and in the end. Each superpower is bent on ruling the world and eventually pushing the other out. Thus, both are feverishly engaged in arms expansion and war preparations. Here lies the danger to world peace and the possibility of a world war.

There is not a region in the world where the two superpowers are not in contention. Eastern Europe is far from the United States and in a Soviet sphere of influence but US imperialism covets it. Latin American is far from the Soviet Union and is a US sphere of influence but Soviet social-imperialism covets it. But even in these regions, not all the incentive belongs to the superpowers. There are countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and peoples wanting revolution as elsewhere in the world.

Western Europe and the whole Mediterranean area are being contested by two superpowers. US imperialism

banks on its old alliance with Western Europe, particularly on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and is concerned about the fact that its foreign investments are most concentrated in this region. Soviet social-imperialism banks on its being the dominant power in Eastern Europe through the Comecon and the Warsaw Pact and on the revisionist parties within Western Europe. Despite the US Soviet duet about détente and the Soviet proposal to set up a “European security system,” the reality stands out that US and Soviet military bases and naval fleets daily confront each other. But in the meantime, the countries of Western Europe singly and jointly and within or outside their Common Markets are becoming more and more at odds with the two superpowers; and the proletariat in every country is becoming more and more militant in a class struggle that the revisionist parties cannot lead to a revolutionary victory over the big bourgeoisie.

In the Middle East, a region that links Europe to Africa and Asia, US imperialism uses Zionist Israel as a lever for enlarging its privileges and profits in oil; and at the same time Soviet social-imperialism uses its arms supplies to extort its own privileges and make profits on the oil income of the Arab countries. The October War is still indecisive. But even as the two superpowers have their own selfish interests and manipulate the situation to their advantage, the Arab and Palestinian people remain firm in their struggle for their sovereign rights and for the return of the occupied lands and are vigilantly opposed to the US-Israeli combination as well as to the other superpower. The countries of Western Europe, adversely affected by the shenanigans of the two superpowers, are being compelled to deal directly and independently with the Arab countries and refuse to be herded by some superpower into any rash action.

In Africa, the two superpowers incessantly maneuver to take the place of the old colonial rulers. Both pretend to be in sympathy with the people’s struggles against old-style colonialism and for national independence. US imperialism exposes its own hypocrisy by its close links with the old colonial rulers and by its own rapacious schemes and activities. While being more deceptive, because it uses “revolutionary” language and uses the prestige of the revolutionary past of the Soviet Union, Soviet social-imperialism exposes its own hypocrisy by doing essentially what the other superpower does. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism continues to rage. Africa is a major part of the third world. Its countries, nations and peoples, like those of Asia and Latin America, are in the mainstream of the struggle against the superpowers.

In South Asia, Soviet social-imperialism has made use of the ruling Indian reactionaries to promote its hegemonic ambitions and to make trouble like threatening China and dismembering Pakistan. As a result of the Indo-Pakistani War, which it masterminded, it has secured several bases for its naval fleet in the Indian Ocean. It is so inebriated by its aggressive acts that it continues to dream of putting up an “Asian collective security system” under its control. US imperialism is more than ever concerned with maintaining its own foothold in this region and in launching a series of countermeasures. But the peoples of South Asia, including the peoples of India and Bangladesh, and a number of countries like Pakistan and Ceylon are opposing the two superpowers and their puppets.

In Southeast Asia, US imperialism wants to retain its hegemony over Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Philippines. These countries do not only serve as a “second line of defense” in the US military strategy for Asia but also are expected to be a great alternative source of petroleum. But the situation for US imperialism is becoming more and more complex and difficult, especially after its resounding defeats in Indochina. Soviet social-imperialism wants to take advantage of US decline and weaknesses in the region. Japanese capitalism has to be accommodated here because otherwise the China-Japan relations would develop beyond US-Japan relations. China has its own policy of friendliness towards all her neighboring countries. The peoples of Southeast Asia are engaged in revolutionary armed struggle under Marxist-Leninist parties. Should there be another world war, Southeast Asia is one region that is almost certain to become completely Red.

The scheme of US imperialism to use Japan as its anti-China spearhead and its fugleman in Asia is at odds with Japan’s own interests and needs as a capitalist country that can no longer be accommodated in US economic territory as adequately as before, especially when the Korean War and the Vietnam War were on. Likewise, the scheme of Soviet social-imperialism to entice Japan into an anti-China alignment by serving up its natural resources, especially oil and timber in Siberia, is at odds with the more economic terms of China-Japan trade and with Soviet refusal to restore the four northern islands to Japan. The peoples of China, Korea and Japan are firmly against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The desertion of the Soviet Union from the ranks of the socialist countries by becoming revisionist,

social-capitalist and social-imperialist does not make for an increase in the strength of the world capitalist system but instead makes for an increase in the virulence of interimperialist and intercapitalist contradictions. By usurping the social wealth and military prowess of the Soviet proletariat and people, Soviet social-imperialism has posed itself as the most formidable rival of US imperialism and also a competitor as well as prospective master-state of other capitalist countries.

On the part of revolutionaries the world over, the problem that has arisen with the emergence of Soviet social-imperialism is that here is one imperialist power with the special characteristics of being socialist in words and being imperialist in deeds and being liable to launch against socialist China a full-scale war of aggression because of new tsarist ambitions and blatant war preparations in pursuit of such ambitions. As time has proceeded, instead of being able to confuse people, Soviet social-imperialism has demonstrated its true nature not only by its own counter-revolutionary words but also by its wanton acts of aggression and counterrevolutionary deeds.

China has adopted and carried out a comprehensive program of defending and advancing its revolution, opposing the two superpowers and countering their maneuvers and the dangers of a world war posed by them, and promoting the world revolution as the antidote to the poison of imperialism and war. By undertaking the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, under Chairman Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has thwarted the restoration of capitalism within the most populous socialist society and has become consolidated as a strong bulwark of socialism and world revolution. As it continues to win great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, it enhances its ability not only to defend itself against one or two superpowers but also to fulfill its internationalist obligations.

China is playing a pivotal role in developing relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation among the socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism. It is extending tremendous support and assistance to the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations and at the same time encouraging them to be self-reliant and to maintain initiative in their own countries. Its external policy includes the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, specifically the Five Principles. This is an important weapon in the service of the world revolution because by it the broadest possible united front can be created against the two superpowers and contradictions even in the ranks of our enemies can be taken advantage of. It fully accords with Marxism-Leninism to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one.

Within the United Nations, China puts a great emphasis on promoting the struggle of the third world countries and small and medium-sized countries to assert their independence and state sovereignty against the two superpowers. The monopoly of the imperialists over international affairs is being shattered. Therefore, it becomes difficult for any single superpower to draw a following for launching a world war. As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens, there are bound to be more and more disagreements and conflicts between the two superpowers and between one or two superpowers and the dependent countries, whether also capitalist or developing.

As disorder reigns in the affairs of the two superpowers and the world capitalist system, the revolutionary forces of the world find the situation excellent for their anti-imperialist struggles. Should a world war still break out despite all efforts to prevent it, the outcome for the imperialists shall be worse. The last two world wars have proven that a world war leads to civil wars and a revolution of wider scope against imperialism.

In the world anti-imperialist struggle against the two superpowers, it is entirely correct for China and other socialist countries to raise their levels of socialist revolution and socialist construction and rely on their own proletariat and people and upon such a basis carry out an external policy that would foster unity with Asia, Africa and Latin America and take advantage of intercapitalist contradictions as well as contradictions between the two superpowers themselves. Under these circumstances, Marxist-Leninist parties the world over can thrive in leading the people in revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles in their respective countries.

The Philippine Revolution, particularly the people's war that we are presently waging, finds abundant support not only among the broad masses of the people in the Philippines. It also finds abundant support in the peoples and proletariat of socialist countries, colonies and semicolonies and capitalist countries. Support comes in the general form of fighting in common against one or two superpowers and, in cases to increase in the future, also in the form of direct and concrete assistance to the Philippine Revolution.

The New People's Army under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is now a long way in terms of experience and achievement from what it was at its founding six years ago. There is plenty of cause for jubilation and celebration.

The New People's Army has through the years and through ups and downs in varying areas steadily become stronger and more tempered by taking the correct ideological and political line set by the Communist Party of the Philippines. This Red army has stood out as the only army that the broad masses of the Filipino people can rely on in fighting for the completion of the national democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

There is no doubt in the minds of everyone that the New People's Army is in the forefront of the revolutionary armed struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique through the length and breadth of the land.

With the revolutionary party of the proletariat at its core, the New People's Army is in the countryside arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people, mainly the peasant masses, for the people's war. There are now two or three fighting fronts at various stages of development in each of the following regions: Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Mon-tañosa-Pan-gasi- Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The long-term strategy of our people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside. Our goal is to lure in the enemy deep into our territory, defeat him repeatedly at points of our own choosing and accumulate our small victories until such time that we become capable of advancing on his big towns and cities. The order of the day is to establish and develop guerrilla bases and zones on favorable terrain.

We are still in the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. We are specifically at its early substage. We are in the process of building up guerrilla forces and waging guerrilla warfare. We can launch only tactical offensives characterized by mustering local superiority over weak points of the enemy.

In our revolutionary armed struggle, we have killed several hundreds of enemy troops and wounded several more hundreds of them; disintegrated scores of "home defense units" (formerly called BSDUs and now CHDFs); and eliminated quite a number of local tyrants and informers. During the fascist martial rule, especially during the last year, we have inflicted a higher rate of casualties on the enemy than before.

We have exerted our utmost in carrying out the agrarian revolution step by step. We have worked for the protection of the homesteaders and national minorities in the hinterlands against fascist abuses, landgrabbers and merchant-usurers. We have made some modest gains in land reform in the plains. We have helped the peasant masses solve their production and marketing problems.

Trusting the masses and relying on them, we have indefatigably promoted the building of organs of democratic political power (barrio organizing committees and barrio revolutionary committees) and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists. Without the people's organizations, our full-time guerrilla fighters could not have had any foothold in the countryside and could not have dealt effectively with the enemy offensives.

In military operations, our full-time guerrilla fighters have been assisted in many ways by the local masses, especially such local armed organizations as the half-time guerrillas and the militia. The people are not only the eyes and ears of the New People's Army but they also participate in concrete offensive actions against the enemy and provide the necessary material assistance for the fighters.

In arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people, especially the peasant masses in the countryside, the New People's Army is helping create the basis for a nationwide revolutionary movement and a government of a national united front character.

The enemy unwittingly pays tribute to our success in organizing the masses by trying to evacuate them by armed force and by the vilest tactics from our guerrilla bases and zones. This is what he calls "base-denial operations" which is the preparation for an offensive that he launches against us. Our response to such an oppressive

action has been to encourage the masses to oppose consistently every forced evacuation, place among them some cadres who work under cover, make preparations for shifting and assign a stay-behind force to keep the enemy off-balance and strike blows against him.

We have been victorious not only in preserving our revolutionary armed forces but also in achieving both consolidation and expansion and dealing the enemy a number of hard blows. Such a victory can only be appreciated if we recognize the sacrifices that we have incurred and the tremendous odds that we have faced during the last six years, especially since the onset of the fascist dictatorship.

We pay high tribute to our revolutionary martyrs. They inspire us to fight ever more militantly against our enemy. We also pay high tribute to all our cadres and fighters who have undergone so much hardship and suffering in the course of enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." Their discipline and fortitude in the face of vicissitudes have consistently brought our revolutionary struggle from one level to a higher level.

If not for the high ideological and political consciousness of our cadres and fighters, our armed struggle would have long collapsed for want of a hard core in the face of the most malicious and destructive enemy campaigns. The fighting spirit of the New People's Army is boundless. Cases of treason and betrayal are the exception. It is generally the case that those who are captured by the enemy and who manage to get out of imprisonment insist on rejoining our fighting ranks.

Since we started from scratch, from a few rifles and handguns, the enemy has unleashed against us an ever rising wave of onslaughts. The gains of previous revolutionary armed struggles have been thrown away by the Lava revisionist renegades. We have had to fight the enemy in small separate areas of what is a small archipelagic country under one imperialist power.

So far, there have been no conditions comparable to those during World War II when two imperialist powers made the country a battleground. So far, we have not become a participant to anything like the Northern Expedition in China. And definitely, there has been no open war among the reactionaries in the areas where we have been fighting. On the other hand, we have been confronted with a unified fascist reaction.

Unlike the Indochinese countries, there is no common land border with any socialist country to facilitate the assistance necessary to counteract US imperialist support for its Filipino fascist puppets. Certainly, unlike in Cuba during the two-year revolt led by Castro, the US imperialists are very alert to the revolutionary advances of the New People's Army as an army led by a Marxist-Leninist party.

The New People's Army is fighting in its own time and under new specific conditions. The ever worsening political and economic crisis of the local ruling system, the accelerated crisis and decline of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system and the irresistible advances of the Third World and socialist countries constitute the objective conditions that favor the consistent advance and resilience of the New People's Army.

The fascist dictatorship is a desperate political measure that has only served to stress to the broad masses of the people the correctness and justness of our armed revolution against the armed counterrevolution in our semi-colonial and semifeudal country. Every semblance of basic democratic liberties has been suppressed and at the same time the people have been subjected to the most vicious forms of economic exploitation by the foreign monopoly capitalists, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The armed resistance being waged by the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army keeps shaking the fascist dictatorial regime and keeps its armed forces absorbed with the far north and far south of the country. At the same time, the seeds of armed revolution that we have cast throughout the country are irresistibly growing. The massacres, illegal mass arrests and detention, assassinations, torture, extortions, forced evacuations, arson and bombings perpetrated by the enemy have only served to make the ground more fertile for popular armed resistance.

The ranks of the antifascist and anti-imperialist united front are swelling. Sections of the Church, the Lopez group and other forces are intensifying their antifascist propaganda. Acting in accordance with General Order No. 1, by which he usurped all powers of the reactionary government, the fascist dictator has just rigged up another "referendum" to put stress on the fact that he has put away every pretense of respecting the right of suffrage. The putting up of "little Marcoses" all over the country is bound to aggravate what is already a serious split in the ranks of the reactionaries.

The fascist puppet dictatorship has served to magnify and multiply in the country the effects of the crisis of US imperialism and the world capitalist system. It is the shameless policy of this terrorist regime to give way to all the



unjust demands of its foreign and local masters at the expense of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The fascist dictator has bound up his resistance in power with the most anti-national and antidemocratic interests.

Inevitably, the broad masses of the people have become more determined than ever to fight for their national and democratic interests. There is no doubt that the objective conditions for carrying out an armed revolution have become more excellent than ever. What needs to be done is for us to work militantly for strengthening and enlarging the subjective forces of the revolution.

Long live the New People's Army!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

Broaden the national united front to isolate and destroy the enemy!

Long the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

## ***Going on the Ninth Year of Armed Revolution***

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We are exceedingly happy to have finished eight years of armed struggle since the establishment of the New People's Army by the Communist Party of the Philippines. We are now militantly going on the ninth year of our protracted people's war against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We are also going on the fifth year of fierce struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

We have advanced so far from that point of establishing the New People's Army within the context of criticizing and repudiating the Lava-Taruc revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and learning from the long history of the Philippine revolution as well as from victorious people's wars abroad.

We have accumulated so much experience of our own, both positive and negative, and on a nationwide scale we have continuously won victories, despite setbacks in particular areas at different times, through the twists and turns of the revolution.

### ***Towards a new and higher level of struggle***

Following the correct ideological and political line of the Party, the New People's Army is steadfastly moving towards a new and higher level of revolutionary struggle from that level achieved at the holding of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee.

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, especially in the light of Our Urgent Tasks, the progress of our revolutionary work is accelerating. We are about to move past that stage of concentrating on the development of a few guerrilla zones because of limited Party personnel and resources to a stage of more and more guerrilla zones in every region on the basis of previous guerrilla zones.

Since last year, we have expanded the rural mass base for the people's army at a rate faster than ever before. We are rapidly extending our operational areas with the use of the barrio liaison group. In this regard, we have flexibly used various methods for effecting initial linkage with the masses and for social investigation.

In the old and new operational areas, we have busied ourselves with forming the secret organizing groups and organizing committees by way of relying on the masses and letting the mass activists or mass organizers do their work. In some areas, the mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural enthusiasts are coming into full existence. In other areas, there are appropriate as well as inappropriate delays.

But even at the stage of organizing groups and organizing committees, we launch mass campaigns to support the people's army, develop the people's political power and improve the people's conditions in many respects. Among the several kinds of campaigns that we have launched, the campaign to reduce land rent and eliminate usury has been given the highest priority.

Under conditions that our revolutionary mass work is faring well, we have been able to form more armed or unarmed propaganda teams and full-fledged guerrilla squads as well as train militia units. From the ranks of the mass activists, we have been able to select the advanced elements to form local Party branches.

Of the eight regions where the people's army has guerrilla zones, six regions have registered significant increases in armed strength. Percentage increases are enormous but these proceed from small base figures. Of the two regions which have not registered any significant increase, one suffered a slight decrease of rifles and considerable decrease in ammunitions.

We continue to increase our armed strength through ambushes and raids on enemy units and confiscation of weapons from counterrevolutionary elements. The heroic feats of our Red fighters have glowed ever brighter from year to year. We have also gotten a number of arms without firing a single shot by developing comrades and friends in the course of political work.

In general, the units of the New People's Army are keenly aware of the relationship between mass base and military action. In this regard, they always try to avoid the pitfalls of either conservatism or adventurism. They are determined to undertake military actions only when they are sure of beating the enemy and capturing arms, aside from relatively easier actions such as those necessary for eliminating local tyrants, spies, traitors and incorrigible bad elements.

The New People's Army is more than ever conscious that a guerrilla force suffers stagnation or defeat when it

ensconces itself in what may be called a fixed military base or in a large permanent camp or formation. The point is to expand and consolidate the mass base and create more guerrilla zones so as to frustrate the enemy whenever it launches massive and prolonged “base-denial” operations.

When we speak of guerrilla bases, therefore, we refer to those guerrilla areas which are relatively the most reliable and most consolidated. Mass work is what saves guerrilla forces from being “roving rebels.” But our guerrilla forces must always maintain a high degree of mobility, especially in the face of enemy offensives. Even consolidation work should be accomplished in a relatively short period of time lest we become complacent in a limited area.

The Party’s grip on the gun has never been more firm. Under the overall leadership of the Central Committee, regional Party organizations are in effective command of regional army organizations. The purely military viewpoint, adventurism, commandism and sectarianism are being overcome while opposite extreme tendencies are being combated.

### ***Excellent conditions for the revolutionary struggle***

The conditions for advancing the revolutionary armed struggle are excellent. These are more favorable than ever before for the growth of the subjective forces of the revolution. The worsening of the political and economic crisis is quite rapid.

The fascist dictatorship is the result of crisis and at the same time is the cause of further crisis. There is no way out of the situation but to overthrow the Marcos fascist gang by armed force. The correctness of this line is clear to the broad masses of the people and even to the political rivals of the fascist gang within the ruling system.

It is under conditions of fascist martial law that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army have expanded throughout the country and linked themselves closely with the masses. There is no place in the countryside where the people do not welcome the Party and the people’s army. It is all up to us to move correctly.

If not for the fascist dictatorship, the tremendous armed resistance of the Moro people would not have broken out. Whatever is the outcome of current negotiations between Marcos and the Moro National Liberation Front, the Moro people are bound to continue the struggle for national self-determination and sap the strength of the fascist dictatorship and the ruling system. Marcos is in no position to satisfy the demands of the Moro people.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is increasingly becoming ill at ease. Among the reactionaries, maneuvers and countermoves are bound to accelerate and become more bitter as the fascist gang continues to privately monopolize power and the spoils of puppetry and receives harder blows from the revolutionary movement.

US imperialism, which is the mastermind of the fascist dictatorship, is manipulating and squeezing Marcos for all that he is worth and is openly indicating that he can be dispensed with anytime. Going too far in abusiveness, he has incurred the formidable opposition of the Catholic Church, an institution which now reflects the serious split among the reactionaries under the pressure of progressive currents.

Just as conditions for the armed revolution are excellent, so are those for a coup d’etat. Were the political rivals of Marcos more aggressive, they could actually force the issue on US imperialism now by getting arms for their followers from various sources.

The economic crisis is constantly undermining the fascist dictatorship. Parts and parts of the population directly suffer from the terrorist acts of the fascist dictatorship. But the economic crisis makes the broad masses of the people suffer. It has become so intolerable that despite all intimidations and repressive measures, mass protest actions and mass disobedience are developing.

The masses of workers have conducted widespread strikes and slowdowns. These are bound to become more extensive and more effective. The masses of peasants resent the emptiness of Marcos’ claims to land reform and curse Masagana 99 as camouflaged usury. They vigorously oppose all the landgrabbing schemes of the fascist dictatorship. The ground for the armed revolution has never been more fertile.

Inflation and unemployment, which victimize the toiling masses of workers and peasants mainly, have not spared the urban petty bourgeoisie. Even the national bourgeoisie are finding themselves bankrupted by pro-imperialist economic policies. Public debts and taxes are simultaneously soaring to the detriment of the entire people. A broad antifascist united front is developing fast under these conditions.

All the traditional raw-material exports on which the Philippines is dependent are depressed. In all the areas where these are produced, so many people have been put out of work or forced to receive starvation wages. Even

the big comprador-landlords who are being elbowed out by the Marcos fascist gangs are griping aloud. In these circumstances, the revolutionary armed struggle prospers.

US imperialism has been propping the Marcos dictatorship with loans through the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and private monopoly banks. These loans are used only to pay for old loans; to facilitate US direct investments; to allow superprofits remittances; to import uneconomic goods; to cover trade and budgetary deficits; to beef up the reactionary armed forces; to build uneconomic infrastructure projects; and to finance anything else but never for genuine development beneficial to the people.

The Philippines remains a military ward of US imperialism. The negotiations on the US military bases are a charade, a wornout trick, calculated to prolong US transgression of Philippine sovereignty. The Marcos fascist dictatorship continues to receive US military assistance far higher than the 1971-72 level. US military hold on the Philippines is a concomitant of its economic hold.

The local crisis and the world capitalist crisis have become so bad that the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been compelled to widen the diplomatic and trade relations of the Philippines. Marcos brags that he is being clever in this regard. But the broad masses of the people know that the ruling system no less, the Marcos fascist dictatorship especially, is floundering in a sea of troubles.

In the long run, it will become more and more obvious that Marcos' pretenses in the third world are self-defeating. The struggle of the third world people and countries is essentially one against the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and so it aids the world revolution in the final analysis.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is long overdrawn. There is no internal or external force capable of salvaging it. Every day that it continues to operate, the revolutionary antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement spreads and becomes stronger.

### ***Carry out our urgent tasks***

We must consistently, militantly and thoroughly respond to all the seven calls of Our Urgent Tasks. We have been guided by this document for only a short while. But we have made significant advances as a result. We are certain that we shall reap more victories by resolutely and creatively carrying out the broad and specific lines of the seven urgent tasks.

On the basis of our revolutionary mass work, we are determined to develop the armed struggle as the main form of our struggle and the New People's Army as the main form of organization for carrying it out. We must continue to understand though that offensive military operations are not yet the main preoccupation of our full-fledged guerrilla units. It is mass work for the purpose of successfully launching tactical military offensives and coping with enemy retaliation. We are still in the strategic stage of the defensive and, to be more precise, at its early substage.

Even only at the stage of the secret organizing groups and organizing committees, we can start to mobilize the masses for certain campaigns and develop revolutionary mass activities by giving full play to their initiative. On the basis of continuous social investigation, we in the Party should know how to guide and trust the masses.

Several mass campaigns of a directly political character can be launched, like pushing further the degree of mass organizing, social investigation and mass education on the national democratic revolution and on specific subjects of practical interest to various organizing groups; looking out for the enemy and putting unreliable elements under watch; and eliminating local tyrants, informers and incorrigible bad elements. Thus, the groundwork for the people's political power can be laid.

Several mass campaigns of an economic character have a political character. These include effecting the reduction of land rent and the elimination of usury; promoting thrift for production through mutual exchange of labor and simple forms of cooperation; fixing prices of products in favor of the peasants; adjusting wage rates in favor of farm and other workers; and raising productivity to improve the livelihood of the masses. The masses are then able to give abundant material support to the people's army.

Several mass campaigns of a military character have a political character. These include military-political training of militia units; carrying out courier work, reconnaissance and intelligence; letting militia units participate in combat operations in the manner that they are capable of; finding out who the gun owners are and persuading those who can be persuaded to give their arms to the people's army; and raising special funds for purposes of acquiring arms.

Several mass campaigns of a cultural character have a political character. These include all forms of

propaganda on the entirety or any aspect of the national democratic revolution; combating illiteracy with the use of simple revolutionary reading materials; undertaking cultural activities (choral and dramatic performances) that have revolutionary orientation; and promoting sports and improving health and sanitation conditions. Through these activities, the fighting spirit and physical fitness of the masses can be raised.

The different forms of mass organizations that we wish to establish in the countryside can gain life and vigor only through launching mass campaigns. These campaigns develop the masses as the foundation of our people's war. Only by relying on the masses and their activities and by getting their support through campaigns can we become self-reliant and advance from victory to victory.

The revolutionary forces now developing in the rural areas are basically, though slowly at present, capable of strengthening themselves by simply relying on the local people. But development of these forces— their expansion and consolidation— can be enhanced and hastened if the revolutionary forces in the urban areas strengthen themselves. Under the leadership of regional Party committees, the revolutionary forces in the rural and urban areas should be coordinated through effective underground methods.

The New People's Army can expand and multiply its guerrilla zones in two ways. One is to advance wave upon wave (expansion on the basis of consolidation over contiguous areas). Another is to leapfrog propaganda teams or expansion teams in new priority areas.

In connection with the expansion or multiplication of guerrilla zones, the revolutionary forces in the urban areas can help in a systematic manner. Party cadres and mass activists of worker, student or other social backgrounds can be sent to the guerrilla fronts for some brief training. Then they can be assigned to where they are most suitable or most needed. Sending Party members and mass activists to their native towns and barrios is in general an effective method of expansion.

The revolutionary forces in the urban areas may also find ways of creating legal mass organizations on a wide scale. Our Party cadres and mass activists can thus spread out to poblaciones or reach down immediately to the barrios. By developing Party groups within mass organizations, local Party branches may be created in the barrios even before the arrival or emergence of any unit of the people's army. Then it would be easier to push the revolutionary armed struggle forward on the basis of mass work.

We are keenly interested in the expansion of the revolutionary forces not only for the purpose of promoting the revolutionary armed struggle but also for the purpose of preparing for the event that the Marcos fascist dictatorship is overthrown by a coup d'état. We do not wish to leave too many vacant places where the agents of anti-Marcos big comprador-landlords would simply replace the agents of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

As the advance detachment of the proletariat, we must have foresight. Such foresight should move us to work harder and accomplish our tasks faster. The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is a passing phases in the downward course of the ruling system. We must take full advantage of the ever rising spontaneous hatred of the people for the fascist dictatorship everywhere in the country.

# ***Red Salute to the New People's Army,***

## ***Persevere in Protracted People's War***

March 29, 1994

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines formulated and approved the Rules of the New People's Army (NPA) and subsequently established the NPA on March 29, 1969, in line with the 1967-68 basic rectification document, Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party, the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Since then, 25 years ago, the NPA under the leadership of the Party has made great advances and won great victories in the Filipino people's armed revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Today, the NPA stands as the largest, strongest and most tempered army ever nurtured and developed by the revolutionary proletariat and the other exploited people in Philippine history. It has surpassed the army of the old national democratic revolution of 1896 to 1902 in terms of revolutionary content and direction and in terms of strategy and tactics, nationwide scope and perseverance. It has also far surpassed the old people's army that was established in 1942.

The NPA is a revolutionary army tested and tempered in the crucible of 25 years of fierce revolutionary struggle. It resolutely combated the US-Marcos regime from 1969 to 1986 and was a major and indispensable factor for its overthrow. The imperialists and the local reactionaries decided to remove the fascist dictator in order to preempt the advance of the revolutionary forces. But the NPA has continued to fight and win brilliant victories against the succeeding big comprador-landlord regimes of Aquino and Ramos and overcome every escalation of armed counterrevolution, including the most deceptive propaganda.

We salute the heroic and valiant New People's Army, the proletarian revolutionaries, the Red commanders and fighters for their great achievements. They have scored great victories by pursuing the correct revolutionary line under the leadership of the Party, through hard work, courageous struggle and sacrifices. We pay our highest respects to the revolutionary martyrs who have made the supreme sacrifice by selflessly giving up their lives in the service of the people. The broad masses of the people cherish and support the NPA because it fights for their national and democratic rights and interests.

Through the twists and turns of the armed revolution, errors in line, erroneous tendencies, shortcomings and setbacks of varying scales have occurred at different times. But these have always been overcome through criticism and self-criticism and through comprehensive rectification as a process of clarifying and implementing the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The current rectification movement has won overwhelming and resounding victory. The reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles and the rectification of accumulated gross deviations, errors and shortcomings have raised to a new and higher level the fighting will and capabilities of the revolutionary forces and the entire people against foreign monopoly capitalism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

### ***Basic principles of the New People's Army***

In line with the current rectification movement being conducted by the Party, let us uphold the basic revolutionary principles that have correctly and successfully guided the NPA. Without these basic principles, it would have been impossible for the Party even only to establish the NPA and start the people's war. The concrete semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions that impelled and justified the establishment of the people's army have persisted and worsened. The people's war continues until the ruling system is overthrown and national liberation and democracy are achieved.

The establishment of the NPA along the proletarian revolutionary line was the fruit of the struggle between those who upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and those who peddled modern revisionism in the Philippines and internationally. Only after the establishment of the CPP on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was it possible to establish the NPA and overcome the long train of Right and "Left" opportunist errors of the Lava revisionist renegades in the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties and the gangsterism of the Taruc-Sumulong clique among the roving remnants of the old people's army.

In applying Marxism-Leninism on the concrete conditions of the Philippines, the Party correctly analyzed and described Philippine history and circumstances. In Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party, the Party Constitution, Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, Rules of the New People's Army and Philippine Society and Revolution, the Party clarified the character of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the new democratic character of the current stage of the Philippine revolution, the motive forces and targets, the strategy and tactics, the tasks and socialist perspective of the revolution.

Since the very start, the Party has clarified that correspondent to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the new-democratic revolution for achieving national liberation and democracy is necessary. The basic social conditions have not changed but have deepened and worsened under the weight of neocolonialism. The ruling system is in chronic crisis. The crisis has plunged from one level to another since 1969. It has consistently and increasingly made the ground ever more fertile for protracted people's war.

Under the pretext of looking for an easier and quicker way to power, the "Left" and Right opportunists have discarded the Marxist-Leninist analysis of Philippine society. They have metaphysically credited US imperialism and the Marcos fascist dictatorship with having industrialized and urbanized Philippine society to the extent of negating the strategic line of protracted people's war and validating putschism or reformism as the way to power. In the early 1980s, it became fashionable for some petty-bourgeois dilettantes to adopt or be swayed by either the official development theory promoted by the U.N., IMF and World Bank or the theory of dependent capitalism promoted by the neo-Kautskyites and to disregard the analysis of the particular mode of production in the Philippines.

As Lin Piao had erroneously extrapolated that the fate of the world was one-sidedly to be decided by the countryside of the world, there were those who extrapolated that the fate of the world was to be one-sidedly decided by the metropolis of the world. This latter extrapolation most suited the Right opportunists who argued for bourgeois reformism against the line of protracted people's war in the Philippines. On the other hand, the "Left" opportunists grabbed the claim of a high degree of industrialization and urbanization in order to propose shortcuts to the seizure of political power. Uprisings abroad, irrespective of historical context and social content, were touted as models to emulate.

The NPA is under the absolute leadership of the CPP. This is in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principle that the working class through its advance detachment is the leading class in the current new-democratic stage and in the subsequent socialist stage of the Philippine revolution. The Party must command the gun in order to use it as an instrument for overthrowing the exploiting classes, effecting national and social liberation, empowering the working people and ensuring the rule of the working class in socialist society until communism is attained.

The Party is at the head and at the core of the NPA. It sets the line of the NPA ideologically, politically and organizationally. The Party's organs of leadership lead the NPA at various levels of command. Within the NPA, there are Party units and Party cadres to ensure the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA. The principle of democratic centralism guides the Party as well as the people's army.

It is wrong to propagate and carry out the line that the NPA is independent of the Party and that it must have an independent and separate machinery. This was the noxious line pursued by the renegades Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara while they were still in commanding positions within the NPA. It was their license for converting certain parts of the NPA into their independent kingdoms, engaging in militarism, gangsterism and gross malversation of funds, together with Filemon Lagman. All the aforementioned criminal gangsters had the same political and organizational line as Ricardo Reyes and Benjamin de Vera in whipping up the "Left" opportunist line of combining urban insurrectionism and military adventurism.

It is likewise wrong to counterpose the revolutionary armed struggle to the revolutionary united front, misrepresenting the former as purely military and the latter as purely legal and political. The Right opportunists sought to convert certain legal organizations into their independent kingdoms and sought to use the united front as a vehicle for liquidating the vanguard role, the independence and initiative of the Party and for misleading the revolutionary forces into parliamentarism, reformism and pacifism.

Armed struggle is the principal form of revolutionary struggle in the Philippines today and until political power is seized nationwide. The legal form of struggle is secondary even as these are important and indispensable. The revolutionary armed struggle, like the legal forms of struggle, runs along the revolutionary class line of the united

front. The united front is principally for promoting the armed struggle and secondarily the legal struggle. And there can be no revolutionary united front without the class leadership of the proletariat through its advance detachment.

In building the people's army in the countryside under the current social circumstances, the Party is performing the proletarian revolutionary duty of wielding the most effective weapon for overthrowing the enemy and seizing political power. After all, the central task of any revolution is the seizure of political power. The genuine proletarian revolutionary party does not shirk the responsibility of waging armed revolution where and when conditions permit.

There is revolutionary class logic in pursuing and carrying out the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength over an extended period, until it is possible to seize the cities in a nationwide offensive. The protracted people's war allows the working class and its party to forge the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of the united front and victory; and to build the organs of democratic power even as the enemy is still entrenched in the cities.

The majority of our people are peasants. They are the main force of the new-democratic revolution, while the proletariat is the leading force. The agrarian revolution is the main content of the democratic revolution. This must be accomplished. Otherwise the proletariat and the Party cannot gain the mass support of the peasantry and base the strengthening of the people's army and the advance of the protracted people's war on this support.

Revolution is a mass undertaking for the seizure of political power and for the radical transformation of the society by the revolutionary class. The revolutionary forces and the people in the Philippines have no choice but to wage a revolution that decisively puts an end to oppression and exploitation by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and proceeds to socialist revolution.

So long as the objective of the Party and the NPA is to carry out the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution, there is no other way but to pursue the people's war. The Philippine revolution differs fundamentally from liberation movements seeking decolonization through negotiated neocolonial compromise. It also differs from those seeking mere bourgeois democracy against despotism through popular urban uprisings. Certainly, it differs from the coups d'etat engineered by Soviet social-imperialism in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and other countries.



# ***Carry the People's War Forward***

March 29, 1995

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I convey warmest comradely greetings and congratulations to the Red commanders and fighters as well as the Party cadres and members in the New People's Army on the occasion of its 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary of establishment.

The Filipino people and the Communist Party of the Philippines cherish you for your hard work, fearless struggle and sacrifices. We joyfully celebrate the victories of the NPA in its long history and in the past year.

## ***Victories of the New People's Army***

Let me cite your most brilliant achievements in reaffirming basic revolutionary principles, in serving the people, in further strengthening your ranks and in fighting the enemy.

1. You have strengthened your unity by upholding and defending the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, which is the revolutionary party of the proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and by resolutely pursuing the general line of the people's democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, now chiefly represented by the US-Ramos regime.

2. You have frustrated the major campaigns of the enemy to destroy the NPA under the US-inspired "total war" policy or low-intensity conflict strategy even as these have been assisted by the ultra-Left opportunist currents of premature strategic counteroffensive, urban insurrectionism and militarism and the Right opportunist currents of reformism, capitulationism and liquidationism.

3. You have triumphed in the rectification movement against the opportunist traitors, have overcome the errors, crimes and damage perpetrated by them and have reinvigorated the armed revolutionary movement. You have summed up your experience at various levels, drawing positive and negative lessons, criticizing and repudiating errors and raising your fighting will and capabilities against the enemy.

4. You have firmly followed the line of trusting and relying on the masses and you have put revolutionary politics in command of all your activities, including military training and combat, mass work, production and so on. You have integrated armed struggle, land reform and mass base building, all within the framework of the people's democratic revolution.

5. You have persevered in the strategic line of protracted people's war, which is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength until it becomes possible to seize the cities. You have streamlined your organization and redeployed your units for mass work, carried out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of widening and deepening mass base and have significantly increased the number of tactical offensives nationwide in the past year.

6. You have expanded and consolidated the mass base in scores of guerrilla fronts and hundreds of guerrilla zones, have recovered areas previously lost due to enemy onslaughts and grave errors and have opened new areas for revolutionary work. Your guerrilla fronts cover significant portions of more than 60 provinces and more than 600 municipalities, far beyond the capacity of the reactionary armed forces to occupy and control.

7. You have organized a great number of appointive temporary organs of political power (barrio organizing committees) and people's organizing committees in expansion work and proceeded to organize the elective permanent organs of political power (barrio revolutionary committees), militia and self-defense units and the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, children and cultural activists in consolidation work.

8. You have mobilized millions of people for their empowerment and social benefit in the course of campaigns for land reform, mass education, higher production, health and sanitation, self-defense, environmental protection and so on. These campaigns are being undertaken by the mass organizations and the organs of political power.

9. You have increased the number of Red fighters and Party members within the NPA by training and tempering them through studies, practical work and struggle. You have also encouraged the cadres and advanced mass activists from the urban-based legal democratic movement to learn from your ranks and the people and to join the armed revolutionary movement.

10. You have become far more self-reliant than ever before by adopting guerrilla warfare and removing the unnecessary and unsustainable costs of prematurely larger military formations and by relying on the contributions

of the people, on your own production and on taxation.

### ***Fertile ground for the people's war***

The socioeconomic and political crisis of the domestic ruling system is the fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of all the revolutionary forces. The chronic character of this crisis makes possible and necessary the development of protracted people's war.

The US-Ramos regime viciously opposes and works against national industrialization and land reform. The Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) and other related economic policies of the regime, dictated by the foreign monopolies and their international agencies (IMF, World Bank, WTO and ADB), cannot industrialize the Philippines by the year 2000 but can only aggravate and deepen the agrarian, underdeveloped and semifeudal character of the economy.

The liberalization of investments, trade, foreign exchange and credit in favor of the foreign monopolies and big compradors is further ruining the economy. The growing trade and budgetary deficits, the mounting foreign and local public debt, the sale of state assets (enterprises and land) and dependence on short-term speculative capital from abroad are all manifestations of the bankruptcy of the economy. The claim of investment-led growth by 5.1 percent in 1994 is false and misleading because the GNP is in fact the sum of goods and services without real industrial development and is now puffed up by the estimated income of overseas contract workers, short-term speculative capital, overpriced energy and infrastructure projects, falsified data about increased agricultural production and so on.

The budget of the reactionary government is as absurd and counterproductive as ever, overloaded by debt service, military expenditures, overpricing of supplies and the overcompensation and corruption of the bureaucratic capitalists. The claim of budgetary surplus amounting to 18 billion pesos is false. It is the result of the nonrecurrent revenues from the privatization of state assets, the postponement of expenses for infrastructure and social services, nonpayment of the advances made by the Philippine National Bank and so on. While it uses tax exemptions to benefit the foreign investors, the regime increases the tax burden on the people, especially through the expanded value-added tax and wasted the revenues on debt service, military expenditures and bureaucratic corruption.

The exploitation of the workers and peasants and even the middle social strata is accelerated. The rapidly rising costs of subsistence and production relentlessly cut down their real incomes. The policy of the regime is to press down their incomes, do away with the workers' job security through casualization and even the land tenure and ancestral rights of peasants and ethnic minorities. Accumulated unemployment goes beyond 40 percent. Seventy-six percent of the population fall below the poverty line. There is a general breakdown of social services and infrastructure. The social, economic, political and cultural rights of the people are being suppressed comprehensively.

Millions of people have left the country to become low-paid migrant workers because of deteriorating economic and social conditions. There is a high popular awareness that as a matter of policy the reactionary government pushes the Filipinos to accept low wages abroad and does not protect them in order to make the labor export more saleable and increase the foreign exchange earnings from this. Thus, a giant wave of public outrage has arisen from the unjust execution of Flor Contemplacion in Singapore.

As the socioeconomic crisis worsens, the social unrest spreads and becomes more intense. Thus, since last year, mass protest rallies and strikes have intensified nationwide. Among the issues were the "Philippines 2000", IMF structural adjustment loans, antilabor policies, the oil price hike, the expanded VAT, the GATT issue and the violence of the reactionary state. The social discontent is already so widespread and intense that a wave of mass protests can easily arise from any of so many specific social issues. Under current conditions, the armed revolution can advance.

The class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class reigns over the country. The open rule of terror against the working people has persisted in the form of the US-directed total war policy or low-intensity conflict scheme since the fall of the Marcos fascist autocracy. The bourgeois reformists and the special pyswar agents commit a grave offense to the people and the revolutionary movement and support the US-Ramos regime by claiming that there has been democratization since 1986.

Human rights violations are rampant and have become more brutal, especially in the course of base-denial operations or forced mass evacuations in the countryside. Since 1986, more than two million people have become

refugees as a result of aerial and ground bombardments and bulldozing. Massacres, selective murders, illegal arrests and detention, torture, arson and looting have been perpetrated by the military, police and paramilitary forces. These barbarities are a clear manifestation of the crisis of the ruling system and in the inability of the exploiting classes to rule in the old way prior to 1972.

The increasingly conspicuous predominance of the political descendants of the Marcos fascist dictatorship exposes the rottenness of the ruling system. This is accompanied by the persistence of the armed reactionary factions, the rise of military politicians and the growing involvement of military and police officers in criminal syndicates.

The political crisis of the ruling system is bound to take the form of violent contradictions among the reactionaries as the socioeconomic crisis limits the ground for amicable relations among them and as the revolutionary forces carry the people's war forward and the Moro people intensify their own struggle for self-determination.

The crisis of the world capitalist system interacts with and aggravates the crisis of a neocolony like the Philippines. The global crisis of overproduction generated by the use of job killing high technology for profit and by the overextended abuse of finance capital is driving the global centers of capitalism to compete with each other and yet unite to further exploit the countries of the third world and the former Soviet bloc. This is pushing the Philippines further into a worse condition of neocolonial underdevelopment.

This crisis of capitalism has already caused a new world disorder which discredits and scatters the attention of the imperialist powers. It favors the development of the people's war in the Philippines and the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale. The people's war waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines is outstanding and exemplary amidst the new world disorder wrought by monopoly capitalism, neocolonialism and revisionist betrayal of socialism.

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### ***Call for the Intensification of the revolutionary struggle***

The Communist Party of the Philippines calls for the intensification of both the armed revolutionary movement based in the rural areas and the legal democratic movement based in the urban areas. The directive of the Party to the NPA is clear: carry out the rectification movement through to the end and carry forward the people's war through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base.

Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in the people's democratic revolution because it is the way by which the oppressors and exploiters of the people are overthrown and democratic power of the people is established. Social revolution is impossible without the people's democratic power, replacing the state of the exploiting classes.

At the same time, it is absolutely necessary to advance the urban-based legal democratic movement. It is the way to arouse, organize and mobilize the people on a wide scale. The mass protest actions and strikes are the most potent weapon of the legal democratic movement so long as these adhere to the national democratic line and is based on solid mass organizing.

The forthcoming legislative and local elections are a farce, a variety show staged by the reactionaries for conjuring the illusion of democracy. These elections limit the electorate to a choice of personalities and factions that will continue to oppress and exploit them.

As a matter of principle, the revolutionary forces can neither participate in these elections nor entertain the question of participating in them or not, as if participation were a real choice. In fact, the reactionaries ban the revolutionary forces from participation. However, without proclaiming participation, the revolutionary forces can oppose the reactionary candidates and support the relatively patriotic and progressive candidates in appropriate ways in accordance with the CPP's united front policy.

The formal negotiations of the NDFP and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, which is scheduled to open on June 1 in Brussels, Belgium, provide the revolutionary forces with one more specific form of legal struggle through the duly-authorized NDFP negotiating panel.

In the course of these negotiations, the NDFP negotiating panel is duty-bound to pursue the line for national

liberation and democracy as the line for a just and lasting peace. There should be no presumption that these negotiations are by themselves the way to a just and lasting peace. The NDFP negotiating panel must resolutely uphold, defend and advance the position of the revolutionary forces and frustrate the attempts of the GRP to spread false illusions and undermine the revolutionary movement.

The NDFP confronts the GRP across the table on equal legal terms in a foreign neutral venue and under “mutually acceptable principles” and “no precondition which negates the character and purposes of peace negotiations (no surrender in principle and in fact). The revolutionary forces and the people must intensify their mass struggles in order to push the basic demands for national liberation and democracy and strengthen the position of the NDFP in the negotiations.

I am confident that the New People’s Army will be able to raise its fighting will and capabilities to a new and higher level and win ever greater victories in mass work and guerrilla warfare in order to advance the people’s war in the year ahead.

- Long live the New People’s Army!
- Pursue the correct revolutionary line set by the Communist Party of the Philippines!
- Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

# ***Protracted People's War and Diplomacy***

December 5, 1995

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## ***Introduction***

My assignment in this anti-imperialist conference is to discuss protracted people's war and diplomacy. I propose to discuss first the protracted people's war in the Philippines. Then, I shall discuss diplomacy and the relation of this to people's war.

### ***Protracted people's war***

The protracted people's war in the Philippines cannot be discussed without priorly understanding the character of Philippine society and the corresponding character of the Philippine revolution.

Philippine society today is semicolonial because in form the political system is independent but in fact it continues to be dominated by imperialism behind the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class. The dominant political parties and the series of ruling cliques represent these exploiting classes and are subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism. The apparatuses of state power are dependent on and controlled by US imperialism.

Philippine society is semifeudal because its socioeconomic system is basically agrarian, without basic industries, and is run by the aforesaid exploiting classes to serve foreign monopoly capitalism. In the cities, the big compradors reign over the import-dependent enterprises in the commercial and industrial sectors in combination with the direct subsidiaries of foreign monopoly firms. In the countryside, the landlords own the vast tracts of land for the production of export crops and staple food.

In correspondence to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the character of the Philippine revolution is national-democratic or in other words anti-imperialist and antifeudal. The principal tasks of this revolution are to fight for the people's national sovereignty and achieve national liberation against imperialism and its local puppets and to realize as the main substance of democracy the social liberation of the peasant majority of the people through land reform.

Pursuing these tasks began with the old democratic revolution of 1896. But it was frustrated by the intervention of US imperialism in 1898 and by its war of aggression, starting in 1899. The current revolution in the Philippines is therefore a resumption of the old democratic revolution. But at the same time, it is a democratic revolution of the new type. The class leadership is no longer that of the bourgeoisie but that of the proletariat. The revolution is no longer within the context of the world bourgeois democratic revolution but that of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

The new-democratic revolution cannot be accomplished without overthrowing the power of imperialism and their local puppet reactionaries. Therefore, the road of armed revolution has been once more taken by the people in order to get rid of the counterrevolutionary state and free themselves from oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Upon the nationwide seizure of political power, the proletariat and the people can proceed to socialist revolution.

As the advanced detachment of the leading class in the revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines has adopted the general line of national democratic revolution through protracted people's war since the reestablishment of this party on 26 December 1968. This general line is based on domestic concrete conditions and the rich historical revolutionary experience of the Filipino people and is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the advances made in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction in the '60s.

In people's war, the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength in the countryside over a long period of time until it is possible to seize the cities is in accordance with the revolutionary class line of the CPP. This class line seeks to bind the proletariat and peasantry in a basic alliance as the foundation of the national-democratic revolution as well as of the consequent socialist revolution upon the nationwide seizure of political power. In the concrete semifeudal conditions of the Philippines, the worker-peasant alliance is effectively developed through people's war.

The comprehensive revolutionary class line of the CPP is to uphold the leadership of the proletariat, rely mainly on the peasantry, win over the middle social strata of urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie and take

advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the worst reactionary puppet clique at every given time.

In the countryside, the antifeudal class line requires the proletariat to 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 despotic landlords.

The people's war is a revolutionary mass undertaking. It is a politico-military process which entails three integral components. These are the revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of the mass movement.

The CPP conceives of a probable course of development in people's war. This involves the strategic stages of defensive, stalemate and offensive. Up to this time, the New People's Army is in the stage of the strategic defensive within which it can launch tactical offensives. It is determined to grow from small to big and from weak to strong in the countryside where the peasant majority of the people are and where the terrain affords room for maneuver.

In the long course of people's war, it is possible for the revolutionary movement to carry out land reform in stages from the minimum program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, fair prices for farm products and the raising of production in agriculture and side occupations to the maximum program of land confiscation from the landlords and free distribution of land to the peasants.

In mass base building, the CPP arouses, organizes and mobilizes the masses. Mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists, children and others are built and carry out mass campaigns on various basic issues. The appointive provisional organs of political power and then the elective regular organs of political power are formed. The people's democratic government attend to problems in mass organization, public education, land reform, finance, production, defense, health, culture, arbitration and so on.

#### ***Diplomacy of the people's democratic government***

So much for the general explanation of protracted people's war. I wish to start discussing diplomacy in its proper sense. In the simplest dictionary definition, it means the conduct of relations between states directly through their respective heads or through representatives.

The revolutionary forces and the people led by the CPP are building a new revolutionary state even as the old reactionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class is still well entrenched in the cities. The new revolutionary state seeks to displace the old reactionary state in more and more areas of the countryside until it becomes possible to do so in the cities.

I have referred to the revolutionary organs of political power. These have been formed since the very beginning of the protracted people's war. These are now in thousands of villages in the Philippines. These are the foundation of higher levels of political power at the municipal, district, provincial, regional and national levels. At whichever level, the appropriate leading organ of the CPP can exercise sole governmental authority until the organ of political power, appointive or elective, can arise to assume administrative functions. The NDF, as the underground united front organization, helps to prepare the way for the emergence of organs of political power at levels higher than the village level. The CPP is at the core and leads all organs of political power.

Since 1972, the CPP has promulgated the Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. This amounts to the constitution of the organs of political power. But so far, there is yet no public proclamation of the provisional revolutionary government at the national level. In the latter half of the 1980s, some regional and provincial governments were proclaimed prematurely and erroneously, unduly exposing regions and provinces where the revolutionary forces and the masses were relatively strong.

The CPP is now avoiding the public proclamation of provisional governments at levels higher than the village level. It has decided that it is better to gain further strength and broaden participation than to beat the drums, blow the trumpets and attract enemy onslaughts. It has recognized that to form organs of political power prematurely at higher levels is to draw cadres away from basic revolutionary tasks at the grassroots and towards unnecessary and costly bureaucratic verticalization.

For quite some time, since the 1970s, the CPP and the NDF have related discreetly with foreign governments and offices which take an anti-imperialist stand in addition to ruling revolutionary parties and movements abroad. But even when there is a presumption that the CPP or the NDF is representing the people's democratic government in dealing with a foreign government, there has yet been no open and explicit proclamation of the relations

as diplomatic in character. So, the CPP and NDFP have preferred to call these relations protodiplomatic.

In recent years, the revolutionary forces and organs of political power led by the CPP have authorized the NDF to represent them in protodiplomatic and diplomatic relations with foreign governments. Insofar as there is yet no open and formal diplomatic recognition extended by any foreign government, it may be said that the informal and discreet relations that the NDF has with certain governments or offices thereof have a protodiplomatic character.

At the point that the US was about to launch its war of aggression in the Persian Gulf in 1990, the NDF co-signed with the representative of the Iraqi government a document against the impending war of aggression. In connection with the prospect of peace negotiations with the Manila government, the NDF has been in official contacts with several states and interstate agencies and has been the subject of official references in the communications of several states and in resolutions passed by European governments, including those of the Swiss parliament and European Parliament.

The revolutionary organs of political power and the revolutionary forces have authorized the NDF to engage the Manila government in exploratory talks about peace talks and in formal peace talks. In both types of talks, the NDF has faced up to the reactionary government in the Philippines on an equal footing within the purview of international law.

The NDF has retained its revolutionary integrity and upheld the Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. So has the Manila government stuck to its counterrevolutionary character and 1987 constitution. Both parties can engage in formal peace negotiations only because they have agreed in The Hague Joint Declaration of 1 September 1992 on a framework of mutually acceptable principles such as national sovereignty, democracy and development, and social justice and of there being no precondition whatsoever that would violate the character and purpose of peace negotiations.

The Hague Joint Declaration also sets forth by mutual agreement the substantive agenda which includes such headings as the following: (1) mutual respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, (2) social and economic reforms, (3) political and constitutional reforms, and (4) end of hostilities and disposition of forces.

As in any peace negotiations, the two contending parties agree to engage in these upon the premise that they try to address the root causes of the war. The NDF takes firmly the position that the revolutionary forces and organs of political power that it represents can engage in the peace negotiations only if such basic problems of the Filipino people as foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are addressed.

The position of the NDF is that under international law the NDF and the revolutionary movement it represents are guided by a constitution, have the inherent status of belligerency, acquired through revolutionary hard work and struggle, have a national structure of political authority and military command and exercise effective control over a significant portion of the Philippine population and territory.

Indeed, the NDF and GRP are co-belligerents in a civil war. The GRP is absolutely wrong whenever it claims anywhere that the revolutionary forces and organs of political power represented by the NDF are merely insurgent forces. How can the revolutionary forces in the Philippines be considered a mere police problem, when their just revolutionary cause is clear, they encompass millions of people and the enemy deploys its regular military forces against them and has spent hundreds of billions of pesos in more than 26 years?

It has been the consistent position of the NDF since 1990 that exploratory talks and formal peace talks with the GRP be held in a foreign neutral venue, with the cooperation and assistance of a foreign state or interstate agency. The NDF has learned well the lessons drawn from the ceasefire talks and ceasefire agreement with the GRP in 1986 and 1987. There are serious costs to the revolutionary government, if talks were to be held in Manila or in any guerrilla front in the Philippines.

In connection with the question of venue for exploratory talks from 1990 to 1995, the NDF and the GRP have mutually agreed several times to communicate in parallel to some governments as possible host. They mutually agreed to approach the Belgian government separately and in parallel to request it to host the opening of the formal peace negotiations. The Belgian government, through its foreign ministry, graciously agreed to host and facilitate the formal opening of peace negotiations last 26 June 1995.

The GRP has suspended its peace negotiations with the NDF since 27 June 1995 after failing to release NDF consultant Sotero Llamas from detention in compliance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. However the GRP and the NDF have had back channel communications and are looking forward to the resumption of their negotiations subsequent to the release of Llamas. The two parties are exploring the venues for

the meetings of the negotiating panels and the reciprocal working committees in Europe.

### ***Relationship of people's war and diplomacy***

Let me now discuss the relationship of the protracted people's war and the diplomacy that is arising from the GRP-NDF peace negotiations. Are these not contradictory with each other? Don't the peace negotiations undermine or run counter to the protracted people's war.

Of course, we recognize that the two different things are contradictory. But we must know what is the principal thing and the secondary one and we must also see the identity that makes the two things related and significant.

It is clear to the NDF as a matter of principle that the protracted people's war is the principal thing and that it goes into peace negotiations as a secondary thing in order to carry forward the unwavering line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. The peace negotiations are one more form of struggle that has arisen between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary governments in the Philippines.

The NDF has made clear to everyone that even as it wisely and properly conducts peace negotiations through its duly authorized negotiating panel these are secondary not only to the revolutionary armed struggle, which is now the principal form of struggle, but also to the legal mass movement of the patriotic and progressive forces. The overriding principle over all forms of struggle is to fight for national liberation and democracy. Otherwise, peace negotiations become a mode of capitulation.

The peace negotiations as conducted by the NDF is one more form of legal struggle which is not superior to the legal mass struggles but which is superior only in one respect, that these negotiations allow the NDF to face the GRP as an equal under international law. There are quite a number of legal forms of struggle that involve operating within the legal and political framework of GRP.

What is identical in the revolutionary forces engaging in both protracted people's war and in peace negotiations is the aim of fighting for a just and lasting peace across the battlefield as well as across the negotiating table. So as not to confuse the people, the revolutionary forces always make clear that the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy is the same line for a just and lasting peace. So far, the protracted people's war has given solid results along this line whereas the peace negotiations have not yet begun even only to tackle the first item in the substantive agenda.

The formal peace negotiations between the NDF and the GRP signify a high level of national and international recognition for the strength already achieved by the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. For a long period of time, the GRP regarded the NDF as a containable police problem and as unworthy of being talked to in formal peace negotiations. But at this point in time, the GRP has already co-signed five documents with the NDF.

Two of these documents, The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees of 1995, are signed and approved by the Chairman of the National Council of the NDF and the President of the GRP. The rest are derivative documents within the competence of the negotiating panels. Amidst the provisions of equality, mutuality, joint capacity, reciprocity and the like, there is not a single term, phrase or clause which detracts from the revolutionary integrity of the revolutionary forces and organs of political power or which suggests capitulation of principle or arms on their part.

The NDF can enter into peace negotiations without the GRP being able to impose its constitutional, legal and political presumptions on the NDF only because of the proven strength of the revolutionary forces and organs of political power.

Through its highest political and military officials, the GRP has expressed a serious regard for the growing strength of the revolutionary forces in view of the revitalization, consolidation and expansion of that strength as a result of the rectification movement undertaken by the CPP since 1992. In the course of peace negotiations with the GRP, it is perfectly the legitimate right and interest of the NDF to assert its status of belligerency under the laws of war and to seek international or diplomatic recognition of this status of belligerency.

Whether there are peace negotiations or not or whatever is the progress of these negotiations, it is also possible for foreign governments to recognize said status of belligerency or the political authority of the revolutionary forces and seek from the NDF safe conduct and protection for their citizens, NGO operations and business concerns in the Philippines so long as the strength of the revolutionary forces are growing and the areas under their control are expanding.

Having foresight, the NDF is already studying how diplomatic missions and consular offices can be established in order to relate to and cooperate with foreign governments and foreign nationals.



# ***On the Combination of Legal and Illegal Forms of Struggle***

December 5, 1995

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## ***General comment***

As a student and teacher of political science, let me comment on the combination of legal and illegal forms of struggle waged by the proletariat and the people against the big bourgeoisie. I try to speak in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and, of course, the historical experience of the proletariat.

Whenever I refer to the revolutionary party of the proletariat, I mean the party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in particular by its component theory of state and revolution. Such a party may already be waging armed revolution or if not yet doing so recognizes the necessity of this in the attainment of socialism.

In any country where the big bourgeoisie reigns, the party of the proletariat that aims to carry out socialist revolution runs the risk of being suppressed someday. The class dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie exists to prevent the proletariat from taking power and establishing socialism.

While it can still use imperialist and neocolonial methods of exploitation and pretend to be democratic and civil in its homeground, the big bourgeoisie has a repertoire of peaceful methods for coopting, undermining, cutting down and isolating the revolutionary party of the proletariat, short of unleashing all-out fascist repression. But when such a party cannot be undermined, cut down and isolated through peaceful methods and instead grows in strength until it is perceived as a real threat to the very life of the ruling capitalist system, then the big bourgeoisie carries out violent suppression.

It is revisionist to believe that the proletariat can evade the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and peacefully bring about the socialist revolution. According to Marx and Engels, the class dictatorship of the proletariat must replace that of the bourgeoisie in order to bring about socialism. So far, there is yet no historical instance of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. But there is ample proof that the peaceful transition from socialism to capitalism is possible.

## ***In industrial capitalist countries***

In industrial capitalist countries, the party of the proletariat wages legal struggle as the main form of struggle for a long period of time, for so long as it is possible and necessary. It is foolhardy to play with an armed insurrection when the severity of the crisis does not yet render the big bourgeoisie incapable of ruling in the old way, when the people are not yet desirous of overthrowing the state and when the party of the proletariat is not yet strong enough to lead a successful revolution.

For the party of the proletariat to wage any form of armed struggle that is untimely is to invite total destruction by the big bourgeoisie, which has centralized and concentrated in its hands the means of coercion, livelihood and communications. And yet the revolutionary party of the proletariat that is not waging any armed struggle must combine illegal forms of struggle with the legal forms of struggle in order to prevent the big bourgeoisie from effectively conducting surveillance, penetrating, controlling, redirecting, framing up, discrediting or marginalizing all the proletarian revolutionaries in the short run and in order to develop a powerful underground in preparation against fascist suppression and for armed revolution in the long run.

While the big bourgeoisie can still afford legality to the party of the proletariat, it uses the intelligence services, the mass media, the schools, churches, civic associations and a two-party or multiparty system to push said party of the proletariat to the margin of electoral and other political processes.

When the crisis of capitalism becomes severe to the point that the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the revolutionary mass movement becomes too strong for toleration by the big bourgeoisie, then the previous lack of or incompetence at the illegal forms of struggle will certainly result in the total destruction of the revolutionary forces.

From one industrial capitalist country to another, there may be illegal forms of struggle other than armed struggle which vary according to the bourgeois laws obtaining. For instance, in certain industrial capitalist countries, it is illegal to simply keep guns without license. In the United States, it is legal for individuals and gun clubs

to keep a wide array of guns without license.

In all industrial capitalist countries, the intelligence services of the bourgeois state exert all efforts to know the entire list of members of a working class party. Even if there is no law against secret membership in such a party, there is a presumption or anticipation of illegality attached to the secrecy of the membership of any portion of that party.

However, the best teacher in the secrecy of the most important operations are the big bourgeois who keep their business and political secrets well. They use secrecy to prepare policies, laws and contracts not only against each other in their competition but most importantly against the proletariat and the people.

In fighting the big bourgeoisie and in preparing against the worst that this class can unleash, the revolutionary party of the proletariat is required by concrete conditions of class exploitation and oppression and by its historic mission of realizing socialism to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle. For one thing, it cannot naively expose all its personnel to the coercive apparatuses of the bourgeois state or put all its eggs in the basket of parliamentary struggle, especially when counterrevolutionary currents are running high.

In this general comment, I refrain from specifying what illegal forms of struggle the party of the proletariat must undertake in any industrial capitalist country. The proletarian revolutionaries in this type of country are wise and competent enough to know and use these in their own country.

### ***In the Philippines***

The Philippines is a semicolonial and semifeudal country where it is necessary to wage the national-democratic revolution and where protracted people's war has been carried out for more than 26 years.

Before the revolutionary armed struggle began in 1969, there was a period of predominantly legal struggle. In most of the 1960s, an anti-imperialist and antifeudal legal mass movement was carried out by the proletarian revolutionaries on domestic and international issues in order to recover from the crushing defeat of the armed revolutionary movement in the early 1950s and early 1960s and in order to prepare the way for the resumption of the armed struggle.

It became possible to resume the armed revolution in 1969 because the revolutionary forces previously combined legal with illegal forms of struggle. The proletarian revolutionaries used the legal forms of struggle to arouse, organize and mobilize the people nationwide within a short period of time but at the same time made secret preparations for the resumption of the armed struggle.

Even when the armed struggle becomes the principal form of struggle, the legal forms of struggle are indispensable. The coordination and combination of the legal and illegal forms are necessary. These two forms of struggle are complementary, dialectically interact and support each other's development.

In theory and practice, the armed struggle is the principal form of struggle because it is that form of struggle which enables the proletariat and people to seize power and build organs of political power in one rural area after another and ultimately to overthrow the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords nationwide and establish the people's democratic state.

The legal forms of struggle in the cities and countryside can propagate the line of the national democratic revolution on a wide scale and even ahead of the propaganda and organizing capability of those armed units waging the armed struggle. Legal forms of political and organizational work can prepare the advance of the armed revolution.

There are various forms of legal struggle. These include legal mass struggles conducted by class or sectoral organizations and their alliances, work within reactionary institutions, the electoral process, legal defense of the victims of human rights violations and the peace negotiations.

The legal forms of struggles can be successful if there is a powerful underground secret network in support and there are many open legal activists who cannot be easily illegalized even as the reactionary state attempts to illegalize them. These activists have to make sure that they cannot be illegalized. Otherwise, they shift to the field of revolutionary armed struggle if their urban-based legal work becomes untenable.

The urban-based democratic mass movement must be mainly legal and defensive in character even if verbally offensive, articulate and militant. The protest mass actions must not be conceptually and practically mixed up directly with armed struggle. Even outside the mass actions, the armed city partisans must not engage in punitive actions at a rate and to an extent that prejudice the mainly legal and defensive character of the legal democratic mass movement.

From period to period in the course of the protracted people's war in the Philippines, there have been changes in what is considered legal and illegal. In the period preceding the martial rule of Marcos, it was legal to form organizations with an anti-imperialist and antifeudal character and for them to launch mass actions. Under martial rule, these were banned.

For a long time, extending to the period of the Ramos regime, mere membership in the CPP or mere possession of publications considered subversive could be a cause of detention or punitive action. Upon the repeal of the antiradicalism law in 1992, the U.S.-Ramos regime tried to conjure the illusion of less repression.

But currently there are serious moves to amend the 1987 constitution in order to prolong the rule of Ramos, eliminate a number of formal guarantees in the bill of rights of the 1987 constitution and enact an antiterrorism law which is far more draconian than the discredited and repealed Antiradicalism Law.

In the Philippines, whatever are the fluctuations in what is legal and what is illegal, the fundamental fact is that there is a joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and that many of the oppressive laws issued by the Marcos fascist autocracy persist. The most horrible violations of human rights are perpetrated by the counterrevolutionary state against the workers, peasants and the rest of the people in campaigns of anticommunist suppression.

Whatever the fluctuations are in the lawmaking of the counterrevolutionary state, the revolutionary movement has learned to coordinate and combine the legal and illegal forms of struggle and use these to advance both forms of struggle.

The CPP has adeptly utilized and coordinated the legal and illegal forms of struggle. When this coordination is well done, the revolutionary movement grows in strength and advances.

# ***Salute the New People's Army on Its 27<sup>th</sup> Founding Anniversary***

**March 29, 1996**

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On behalf of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I salute the Party cadres and members, Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army on the occasion of the 27<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding on March 29.

We congratulate you for your heroism and perseverance in protracted people's war in order to carry out the new-democratic revolution and for the victories accumulated over a long period of time. We congratulate you for rectifying errors and rebuilding your strength in the course of the second great rectification movement and for your victories in the course of revolutionary struggle against the US-Ramos regime.

The people cherish and nurture you because you fight for their national and democratic rights and interests against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and because you are the decisive instrument for overthrowing the reactionary state, establishing the people's democratic state and realizing the socialist future.

As the great Mao taught us, "Without the people's army, the people have nothing." With the people's army, the people can liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation, build their own democratic power and create a new Philippines that is independent, free, just and progressive.

## ***I. Victories of the New People's Army***

The Communist Party of the Philippines has realized its absolute leadership over the New People's Army by setting the correct ideological and political line, building the army as a revolutionary force for mass work and combat, building the Party at the core of this army and recruiting fighters from among the best sons and daughters of the people.

As a result of the rectification movement, the revolutionary party of the proletariat is more than ever firmly committed to the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and to the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The NPA is directly restrengthened and revitalized by having a correct party at the leadership and core. In turn, the NPA as the main organization of the people with a high proportion of Party membership provides the Party with a powerful revolutionary base.

The Central Committee and regional committees of the Party have correctly summed up the revolutionary experience of the NPA, drawn lessons from it and set forth the revolutionary tasks. They have reaffirmed basic revolutionary principles and policies and upheld the great achievements of the NPA. At the same time, they have criticized and repudiated the major subjectivist and opportunist errors that have wrought damage on the revolutionary forces and the mass base in more than 15 years.

In restrengthening and revitalizing the NPA, the second great rectification movement has cast off the pernicious currents of modern revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism in the ideological field and "Left" and Right opportunism in the political field. This is similar to the first great rectification movement against the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. Rectification of major errors was necessary for reestablishing the Party in 1968 and the NPA in 1969.

After pretending to be revolutionaries and yet trying to liquidate the armed revolutionary movement ideologically, politically and organizationally, the revisionists, incorrigible opportunists and all renegades have openly gone to the side of the enemy. Their current counterrevolutionary standing and behavior are literally visual aids to the rectification documents of the Party.

The proletarian revolutionaries and the Red commanders and fighters have won overwhelming and resounding victories against major errors. Nonetheless, criticism and self-criticism are being conducted not only against the lingering influence of major errors in the past but also against the specific errors and shortcomings in the past and current work of particular organs, units and individuals that are loyal to the revolutionary cause and are ever desirous of improving the methods and style of work and struggle.

The rectification movement and the comradely conduct of criticism and self-criticism at various levels

constitute the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general political line. At the same time, standardized politico-military training in the NPA, special courses of mass organizations and formal courses in Party education at various levels are being vigorously promoted.

Revolutionary education, putting politics in command, has strengthened the unity of the NPA with the Party and the people and raised the conscious discipline and fighting morale of the Red commanders and fighters. More than ever, we have the confidence to implement and put into full play the longstanding policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations, with the Party Central Committee setting the correct ideological and political line and the NPA having the flexibility of tactics in carrying out guerrilla warfare.

We are carrying out the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This is in consonance with the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society whose chronic crisis is ever worsening. Together with the entire people, you are carrying out the principal form of struggle, which is armed struggle based on rural mass work.

We pursue the revolutionary class line of the proletariat regarding all classes in the country in waging the national-democratic revolution. Along the general line, we pursue the antifeudal class line in the countryside where the forces of the New People's Army can base themselves among the peasantry, the most numerous exploited class, have room for maneuver and accumulate armed strength until they can ultimately seize the cities. Within the current stage of the strategic defensive, we carry out tactical offensives in order to accumulate victories.

As a result of the rectification movement, the New People's Army has been reoriented, retrained and redeployed for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base. There are no more companies and battalions being maintained the expense of mass work and as an unbearable logistical burden. There are only a few oversized platoons as centers of gravity in large guerrilla fronts on mountainous terrain.

The typical guerrilla front now has a platoon as the center of gravity for many squads which are dispersed for extensive mass work. These are divisible into armed propaganda teams and are augmented by the local people's militia. Thus, the NPA has retained scores of guerrilla fronts, expanded these and recovered areas previously lost. The unit serving as center of gravity itself does mass work even as it takes on a radius smaller than that of the squads for expansion work.

The current deployment of forces allows the NPA to use small teams, squads, platoons or even a company for tactical offensives. The use of a company for tactical offensives or for campaigns to implement policies and laws (e.g., land reform, taxation, protection of the environment, etc.) requires the prior approval and guidance of the regional Party committee.

The scale, frequency and intensity of the tactical offensives have relied on the extent of mass work already achieved. When tactical offensives are launched, the capacity of the mass base to provide logistical and intelligence support and frustrate enemy reaction is taken into account. The people's army can flexibly use the tactics of dispersal, concentration and shifting in a fluid guerrilla war only if there is a mass base that provides all necessary support and room for maneuver.

At this point in time, in practically all guerrilla fronts, the NPA is capable of using teams, squads or platoons for tactical offensives without causing strain on the mass base. In making a judgment about launching a tactical offensive under the principle of decentralized operations, the guerrilla front command has to weigh all factors on our side and the enemy's and the implications and consequences of an armed action.

The expansion and consolidation of the mass base have raised the ability of the NPA to discover and create the opportunities for tactical offensives. The tactical offensives of the NPA have gradually and steadily increased on a nationwide scale and on the scale of specific guerrilla fronts. Several scores of armed tactical offensives of varying sizes, including ambushes, raids and arrests were successfully carried out in the previous year on a nationwide scale. These have increased the armed strength of the NPA.

Hundreds of NPA operations to implement policies and laws were carried out. The NPA has encouraged and supported the campaigns initiated by the local organs of political power and mass organizations to conduct revolutionary education, achieve land reform, raise production, improve health conditions, train the militia and self-defense units, undertake cultural performances and so on. It has also interdicted logging for export in extensive areas in Northern Luzon and Mindanao and prevented the intrusion of counterrevolutionary groups, including "NGOs", financed by the reactionary government and imperialist agencies to undermine and slander the

revolutionary movement.

The NPA is the main instrument of the Party to achieve self-reliance in the revolutionary mass movement. It gathers the contributions of the masses. It enforces the tax policy. It engages in a significant of production for its own needs. It confiscates arms and other logistics from the enemy.

The enemy and the bourgeois mass media have deliberately suppressed news about the tactical offensives of the NPA in order to conjure the illusion of a weakening revolutionary movement. In due time, the scale, frequency and intensity of the tactical offensives will increase and the psywar personnel of the enemy and the reactionary media will find these difficult to deny. The Red commanders and fighters are highly conscious that the emphasis on rectification and mass work in the previous years is to create the basis for extending and intensifying guerrilla warfare.

All organs and NPA commands have been instructed to keep and accumulate prisoners of war, who hold the rank of second lieutenant or municipal mayor (active in armed counterrevolution) and upward, for the purpose of exchanging prisoners of war under international law and through the NDF Negotiating Panel, unless trial for grave criminal offenses takes precedence on the basis of strong evidence. The discretion of NPA units to release captives of lower rank remains the same but the release must be made to representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The leading and staff members of the Central Committee and regional Party committees are in the main based in the countryside. They are either secured by special units or by the units serving as the centers of gravity of the regional and guerrilla front forces of the NPA. They share the weal and woe of the Red fighters and the masses and learn from their situation.

The Central Committee oversees the development of the armed revolutionary movement and reallocates relative surpluses in personnel, arms and funds from one region to another and directs the regional Party committees to raise the general level of development of the guerrilla fronts under them without impairing the principle of self-reliance.

The Central Committee has paid special attention to areas damaged by the counterrevolutionary renegades for a long period of time and in their desperate effort to misrepresent and stop the rectification movement. It has wisely required the expansion and consolidation of the mass base, preparatory to tactical offensives against the enemy. The Party and the NPA have successfully prevented the provocations of the enemy and his special counterrevolutionary agents from deflecting them from the necessary tasks of rectification and mass work. In due course, the tactical offensives will increase dramatically.

Current successes continue to demonstrate that the correct methods of expansion and consolidation worked out and applied in the first ten years of the armed revolutionary movement, remain valid and effective. A great deal of the mass work since 1992 has been to recover the mass base previously lost due to the "Left" opportunist errors of building prematurely larger NPA units and rejecting painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing. In the course of the rectification movement, the mass base has steadily and significantly expanded on a nationwide scale.

In expansion work, social investigations are being conducted; initial contacts, liaison groups, people's organizing groups and barrio organizing committees are being formed; and meetings of varying scales according to situation and purpose are being held. The prior existence of progressive or friendly legal organizations in the expansion areas has been helpful.

In the work of consolidation, the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and others are being formed, barrio revolutionary committees are being elected by the representatives of the mass organizations and people's militia units are being trained to augment the guerrilla units.

Mass campaigns have been carried out to effect the minimum land reform program and raise production, train the people in self-defense, raise the cultural level of the people, improve public health and sanitation, prevent landgrabbing and the devastation of the environment by the logging and mining firms, and so on. In the process of consolidating the mass base, local Party branches have been built among the advanced revolutionary mass activists.

The local organs of political power have been built under the leadership of the proletariat through the Party even while the reactionary state is still entrenched in Manila and other cities. The Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government is the constitutional guide for these organs of political power.

In pursuing the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, the Party and the NPA scored victories in integrating the revolutionary armed struggle, genuine land reform and building the mass base by building the mass organizations and the organs of political power.

On a nationwide scale and in the countryside, we have continued to succeed in employing the policy and tactics of the national united front and the antifeudal united front. Our united front policy is one for promoting both armed and legal forms of struggle and mainly for armed struggle. The entire united front policy is not reducible to legal struggle even as there are united front organizations that concentrate on legal struggle.

The main foundation of the united front is the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry. Upon this foundation, the alliance of the basic forces of the revolution (including the petty bourgeoisie) has been developed, as in the National Democratic Front; the alliance of the positive forces of the revolution (including the middle bourgeoisie) has been encouraged and the contradictions among the reactionaries have been taken advantage of in order to isolate and destroy the most reactionary force at every given time.

It is necessary to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force. But it is equally necessary to expose and oppose the anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets that specialize in undermining and attacking the revolutionary forces. These grouplets are directed and financed by the imperialists and the exploiting classes to attack the revolutionary forces from within and from the flanks.

In dealing with the problem of incorrigible opportunists, renegades and traitors, the Party has concentrated on the two-line ideological, political and organizational struggle and has distinguished those ideologically and politically in error from those with criminal accountabilities. The criminal wrongdoers have the right to due process in the revolutionary justice system but are subject to battle operations when they are armed and resist arrest.

The psy-war and intelligence agencies of the imperialists and local reactionaries have orchestrated the renegades and their foreign collaborators in the campaign of vilification against the revolutionary movement on a national and international scale. The full scope of the campaign is clear. It is a major part of the low-intensity conflict scheme instigated by US imperialism and carried out mainly by the Ramos regime.

As a result of the rectification movement, the legal democratic mass movement has dramatically advanced. The basic legal mass organizations, sectoral and multisectoral alliances have strengthened and developed themselves politically and organizationally and have launched protest mass actions and mass campaigns on a nationwide scale on a wide range of issues.

Revolutionary mass activists in the urban and rural areas have come forward to become proletarian revolutionaries. An increasing number of them have joined the New People's Army and render revolutionary service in the countryside. Service in the mass movement for a certain period of time is a prerequisite for recruitment into the NPA.

The NPA has also gradually created teams of armed city partisans from among those who have served in NPA units for a number of years, who know the urban areas well and who are not identifiable by the enemy and the renegades. These teams of armed city partisans are under the appropriate NPA command based in the countryside and are within the compass of Party organs concerned.

The Party is in a better position than ever before to coordinate the revolutionary struggle in the countryside and the cities, in different islands and the armed and legal forms of struggle. In view of the development of the revolutionary forces, communications between the urban and rural areas and on a nationwide scale are difficult or impossible for the enemy to break.

Contrary to the claims of the US-Ramos regime, the personnel and arms of the NPA are increasing. By aggravating the chronic crisis of the ruling system, the regime itself unwittingly serves as the NPA's best recruiter. By deploying its military, police and paramilitary forces against the revolutionary forces and the people, it likewise serves as the NPA's best supplier of arms and logistics. The failure of the regime in its campaigns of suppression is demonstrated by the government's ever increasing military budget. The invention of ghost surrenderers has become a major racket of both civil and military officials who personally appropriate money from "amnesty and rehabilitation" funds.

The NPA is determined to develop the protracted people's war in strategic stages and to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base in the current stage of the strategic defensive. The rectification movement has clearly demonstrated what is correct and effective in ideological, political and organizational as well as in military strategy and tactics.

## ***II. Favorable Domestic Conditions for Protracted People's War***

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system is rapidly worsening. The objective conditions in the Philippines are favorable for carrying forward the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. All that is needed is to develop the subjective forces of the revolution along the correct ideological and political line against blatant counterrevolution and against the currents of subjectivism and opportunism.

The policies and measures undertaken by the US-Ramos regime under the dictation of the foreign monopoly firms and banks directly and through the IMF, World Bank and WTO have deepened and aggravated the backward and agrarian character of the economy. The so-called Medium-Term Development Program of the US-Ramos regime is a program of anti-industrialization rather than one of making a newly industrializing country.

There is not a single heavy or basic industrial project to start breaking the fundamental preindustrial and agrarian character of the economy. There is heavy importation of manufactured components for the reassembly plants and equipment and structural steel for infrastructure projects and real estate projects to bloat the gross output value of industry. Imported luxury cars and computer gadgets are accounted as producer goods. There is a proliferation of "industrial zones" even in areas where no industrial plant whatsoever is being built.

The regime does not even pretend to undertake any kind of land reform and has in fact abandoned the bogus land reform programs of its predecessors. Peasants who were previously issued "land transfer certificates" and "emancipation patents" are being compelled to give these up. Nevertheless, the regime cynically promises technical and credit assistance, instead of land distribution and puts up the signboard of "agrarian reform communities" in areas where there are no more "land reform beneficiaries".

All sorts of tactics are being used by the regime to dispossess peasants and ethnic minorities of their land. Most outrageous is armed force and intimidation used in varying degrees against them. Vast tracts of agricultural land are being taken over by foreign and local corporate real estate speculators and plantation owners. The World Bank-financed National Integrated Protected Areas (NIPAS), the Integrated Forest Management Agreement and the Mining Law of 1995 are new legal devices to drive off peasants and ethnic minorities from the land and alienate the public domain to foreign and local corporate landgrabbers.

Under the latter law, more than 6 million hectares or 22 percent of the Philippine land area are being offered to foreign mining corporations for the exploitation of mineral, timber, water and other resources. The plunder and destruction of the environment by the logging and mining firms are ruining agriculture, fisheries animal husbandry and other means of livelihood of the people.

The economic and financial resources under the control and disposal of the reactionary government are misdirected towards the showy consumption of imported goods in a few urban centers, high bureaucratic and military overspending, graft-ridden public utility and other infrastructure projects, real estate speculation and export enterprises in agriculture and import-dependent manufacturing.

The country is deliberately prevented from building the basic industries to produce capital goods, basic metals and basic chemicals. The illusion of industrialization is conjured by larger importation of finished components for reassembly and repackaging and consumption-oriented equipment in the industrial and service sectors. Agricultural production for domestic consumption has fallen. The agrarian economy is paradoxically importing larger amounts of food products, including rice, corn, sugar and dairy products.

The yearly claim of increase in gross domestic product does not mean increased production and improvement of social conditions of the people but accelerated bloodsucking by the foreign monopoly firms and banks, the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists. The income from the export of agricultural products, mineral ores, low value-added reexports and cheap labor keeps falling far below the expenditures for imported goods and services, debt service and profit remittances.

The aggravation of the Philippine economic crisis is clearly manifested by the growing foreign debt burden, accelerated local public borrowing, the use of highly speculative foreign capital, the privatization of state assets and various ways of increasing the tax burden and accelerating inflation, like the expanded value-added tax and repeated oil price increases. These are desperate and self-defeating devices being used by the reactionary state to tide itself over the ever growing budgetary and trade deficits.

Unemployment is rampant. The cities are glutted with odd jobbers in shanty communities. The countryside has a huge surplus of farm workers competing for a few odd jobs. They are the effluence of poor and lower middle peasants and earlier generations of farm workers, with no land to own or tenant. They are churned up in the main



by the sheer increase of population and not by the capitalist mechanization of farms.

The employed workers are subjected to a policy of pressing down wages and are deprived of job security and trade union rights. Large areas of the country are being designated as "industrial zones" that are union-free and strike-free zones in order to encourage foreign investments. Military, police and paramilitary forces of the state as well as private armed gangs are being used to attack the workers and bust the unions.

The peasants are subjected to severe feudal and semifeudal exactions by the landlords and merchant-usurers. There is a reversal from the fixed rent system (mislabelled as land reform by the reactionary state) to the old share-cropping system. Landgrabbing is being carried out on a widening scale by the bureaucrat capitalists and by agricultural, logging, ranch and mining corporations. These use the military, police and paramilitary forces as well as private armed gangs to attack the peasants and the ethnic minorities. In the most scandalous cases, as in Agusan del Sur and Davao Oriental, aerial bombings, artillery fire, strafing, bulldozing, arson and massacres have been used to drive the people off the land.

Inflation, heavier taxes and rising costs of public utilities are cutting down the real income of the broad masses of the people. The urban petty bourgeoisie is finding its small and limited income cut down and is facing less income opportunities. A large number of college-educated people are driven to seek overseas employment as low-paid bottom jobbers without the rights of the workers in the host country.

The middle bourgeoisie, which is producing for the local market and using relatively high, is also directly hard pressed or squeezed out by the foreign monopolies and the comprador big bourgeoisie which are favored by the policy of import-liberalization and by the incentives to the production of low value-added consumer goods for reexport.

Social unrest is widespread and intense. The legal democratic mass movement of the workers, peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie is surging forward. The mass protest actions are rising and spreading. An increasing number of workers and educated youth are eager to join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. The peasants and farm workers are enthusiastically joining and supporting the revolutionary armed struggle. The NPA recruits its Red fighters from them in the main.

The political crisis of the ruling system, which was totally exposed under the US-Marcos regime, has not abated. The open rule of terror has continued despite the thin bourgeois-democratic veneer of the institutions and processes monopolized by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Unable to find a way out of the ever worsening socioeconomic crisis, the US-Ramos regime is using many of the repressive laws, the enlarged coercive apparatuses and campaigns of suppression that have been extended from the 1972-86 Marcos fascist dictatorship in order to intimidate rival political factions and the entire people.

Not satisfied with the official terrorist devices carried over from the period of the US-Marcos regime, the current regime has been trying to amend the 1987 constitution of the reactionary state and push bills under the pretext of combating terrorism and crime in order to accumulate power, go beyond the six-year limit of the presidential term, do away with the formal guarantees of civil and political rights, outmaneuver rival factions and coerce the entire people. At the same time, the most ruthless criminal syndicates are run by military and police officers.

The rapidly worsening socioeconomic crisis is constricting and straining the capability of the reactionary political factions to amicably divide the spoils of political power among themselves. Behind their unity against the people and their common use of the reactionary institutions and periodic elections is an intensifying competition in building private armed groups and in gaining influence among factions of military and police officers.

The political factions, which are direct descendants of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, are clearly dominant because they have the biggest funds and are linked to the strongest factions within the reactionary armed forces. In the temporary use of the Aquino faction to head off the revolutionary movement in 1986, the United States made use of General Ramos to ensure the continuity of armed counterrevolution. Thus, the political descendants of Marcos, though factionalized, have made a comeback to hog the political and electoral arena, coopt or marginalize the anti-Marcos reactionaries and frustrate the people's demand for justice.

The memory and living forces of Marcos are being rehabilitated nationally. The political stocks of the family are rising. After ten years since his fall, no criminal case has been finally decided in the Philippine reactionary courts against his biggest criminal cohorts. The more than 10,000 victims of human rights violations who have won their tort case against the estate of Marcos in a US court continue to suffer injustice in the hands of the

Philippine reactionary state. Their continuing victimization cry for revolutionary justice.

There is the so-called general peace agreement among the factions of Ramos, Enrile and the Marcos family within the reactionary armed forces. This has long been pushed by the Pentagon and has been arranged behind the scenes. It was formally staged in order to counter the dramatic defection of Brig. Gen. Raymundo Jarque to the National Democratic Front. The so-called general peace agreement is poised against other factions and against the people. But conflicting material interests persist even among the currently dominant factions.

Factionalization of the reactionary armed forces, police and paramilitary is due not only to the dictates of their national political leaders but also due to the fact that military and police officers at all levels are driven by their own rapacity and they use their subordinates in the most brazen criminal activities. They grab land, business concessions and cut into the operations of others. They run criminal syndicates for the protection of gambling, prostitution, illegal logging, smuggling, kidnap for ransom, murder for hire and robbery.

Huge amounts of public money are allocated for the "modernization" of the armed forces and the police. Consequently, the president himself and high military officials make the most money from the contracts to purchase supplies locally and from abroad. The official pay of military, police and paramilitary forces are kept low. Thus, their morale is extremely low. Military and police personnel at all levels engage in criminal activities on a wide scale. The CAFGU and CVO paramilitary personnel have also become the private and armed gangs of local tyrants or have turned to outright banditry, except in instances where the NPA has either won over or disintegrated the CAFGU and CVO units.

The United States still controls the reactionary armed forces and police through indoctrination, strategic subordination, officer training, military supplies, logistics and so on. Despite the dismantling of the US military bases, US military forces continue to have access to Philippine territory and military facilities. The cost of maintaining the US military bases in the Philippines has merely been eliminated and US military forces have shifted to using Philippine military facilities maintained by the reactionary government.

In an attempt to increase US military assistance and induce the return of US military bases, the US-Ramos regime has made provocations against China in the Spratly islands. Like a true and trusted mercenary of US imperialism, the regime has enthusiastically engaged in US-instigated war games and allowed the use of Subic for port calls of US warships in a show of support for the Taiwan regime against China.

The US-Ramos regime has failed to work out the terms of capitulation that would satisfy the Moro National Liberation Front. The MNLF is willing to accept autonomy under the current oppressive state on the condition that the MNLF leadership is granted the privilege of ruling the non-Moro majority of the people in 13 provinces, if not the whole of Mindanao. The sole interest of the regime is to prolong the ceasefire agreement with the MNLF by engaging in "peace" negotiations as well as to insist on elections as the method for determining the leaders of designated provinces.

In the meantime, both the Manila government and the MNLF are already overtaken by the growth of other armed Moro organizations challenging the claim of the MNLF to represent the entire Moro people. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) has displaced the MNLF in many Moro areas and has built an army stronger than that of the MNLF. The regime is facing a far more complex situation than ever before in the Moro areas. Anticipating the rise of armed conflict in these areas, it has deployed most of the combat forces of the Philippine Army there.

Since February this year, the reactionary armed forces have deployed two-thirds of the Philippine Army in the Moro areas and have provoked armed hostilities with the MILF. The MNLF has to resume armed struggle or else further lose initiative to the MILF. The growing armed resistance of the Moro people is creating favorable conditions for the NPA to expand and intensify the armed revolution on a nationwide scale, as in the first half of the 1970s but this time at a new and higher level.

The peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP are at a standstill. The US-Ramos regime is responsible for the violation of the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) by failing to release NDFP political consultant Sotero Llamas and for the unilateral suspension of the formal meetings of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on the day after the opening session of the formal peace negotiations hosted by the Belgian government in Brussels on June 26, 1995.

The NDFP Negotiating Panel has consistently adhered to the line that a just and lasting peace is possible only through the completion of the struggle for national liberation and democracy and that peace negotiations when

properly conducted are merely one more form of legal struggle, subordinate to the armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement. The US-Ramos regime has thus failed to use the rumors or siren song of peace to confuse and split the ranks of the revolutionary forces and the people.

As a result of the rectification movement, the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement are revitalized and resurgent. These are the most unrelenting and powerful forces that pressure and strain the ruling system because of its inherent rottenness, as glaringly manifested by the socioeconomic and political crisis, the violence-prone rivalry of political and military factions, the terrorism and criminality of military and police officers and the outbreak of armed hostilities in the Moro areas.

The imperialists and the local reactionaries have failed to destroy the armed revolutionary movement with frontal campaigns of military suppression and deception under the total war policy. They have also failed to split and weaken this movement by using psychological warfare, orchestrating the revisionist renegades and reformists (including those who swung from "Left" to Right opportunism) and the anticommunist petty bourgeois grouplets. John Negroponte, Generals Ramos and Almonte must be terribly embarrassed.

The incorrigible "Left" and Right opportunists of the past are pathetic even as they are obnoxious. First, in the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship they credited Marcos with having industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to the extent of having lifted it from semifeudalism. Then in the time of Aquino they started to claim that there was democratization and a decline in human rights violations. Finally, in the time of Ramos, they have openly sought to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement and completely exposed their counterrevolutionary anticommunist character.

The anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets formed by the renegades are Sanlakas, a Trotskyite and criminal gang, and the Siglaya, a mixed bag of admitted anti-Marxist neoliberals, Trotskyites, bourgeois populists and Gorbachovites. They have taken to the same anticommunist track like the old revisionist Confredem, the proto-Trotskyite Bisig, the "social-democrat" or Christian democrat Pandayan and the "popular democrats" based in the CIA-instituted Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM).

These anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups band together on the line of opposing Marxism-Leninism and the national-democratic revolution. The worst elements claim that the revolutionary forces and the people led by the CPP are inherently antidemocratic, that the struggle for national liberation is passe and that nothing can be done against the global power of capitalism except to seek reforms endlessly and to make occasional legal protests. They are against so-called Stalinism of the revolutionary forces but condone Kampanyang Ahos and beg for civility and pluralism under the bourgeois reactionary state. They are puppets of foreign funding agencies and use the latest phraseology from the ideological and propaganda mills of the imperialists.

Having criticized and repudiated "Left" and Right opportunism and having restrengthened and revitalized themselves, the Party, the NPA and the NDFP have raised their revolutionary consciousness and militancy to a new and higher level and are in a position to win ever greater victories through revolutionary struggle and to take full advantage of the chronic crisis and inherent rottenness of the ruling system.

### ***III. The rapidly worsening global crisis of capitalism***

The crisis of the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening and generating the new world disorder. As a neo-colonial agrarian adjunct of foreign monopoly capitalism, the Philippines cannot find relief for its own domestic crisis. On the other hand, this crisis is being aggravated and deepened by the ever deteriorating terms of trade for raw-material exports and the reexport of low value-added manufactures and by dependence on foreign credit, foreign speculative capital, sale of state assets to foreign investors in order to cover trade and budgetary deficits.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system is the result of the contradiction of the forces and relations of production. It is accelerated and deepened by the most wanton abuse of finance capital, adoption of higher technology and the rapid disemployment of the proletariat, both blue collars and white collars, in the industrial capitalist countries for the purpose of maximizing the profits of the supermonopolies.

The adoption of higher technology and the massive elimination of jobs have resulted in the higher concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the supermonopolies, in massive bankruptcies of monopoly firms losing in the competition, in massive unemployment and therefore in the destruction of productive forces in the industrial capitalist countries as well as on a global scale, in the lesser industrial capitalist countries and in the far more numerous underdeveloped countries.

In the past year, the supermonopolies could make profits to please the stockholders only by eliminating jobs

in huge numbers, forcing those who remain on the job to do the work of those displaced and using low-paid part-timers and outside jobbers. But in all industrial capitalist countries, including such global centers as the United States, Japan and the European Union or principally Germany, the national rates of productivity and profitability have fallen. There is a new round of global recession going on.

In trying to recover from its strategic industrial decline since 1975 and to solve its colossal budgetary and trade deficit problems, the United States is upsetting the balance of its relations with Japan and Western Europe by pushing its lead in high technology, reviving its manufacturing capacity, undervaluing the US dollar and carrying out a trade offensive. Nevertheless, the United States has failed to solve its fundamental economic problems and is still caught up with a large inventory of what it overproduced in 1994 and 1995. Frictions are increasing among the global centers of capitalism on various issues in their international organizations (UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, G-7, OECD and the like) even while they use these to unite in exploiting the people of the world.

Within the industrial capitalist countries, social unrest has risen dramatically as a result of high rates of unemployment and cutbacks on social programs. General strikes have surged among the workers and youth. The biggest so far has been the general strike in France last December. Although the monopoly bourgeoisie and its major political parties are discredited, the better times of the past, the powerful mass media, the bureaucratic dominance of the labor aristocrats, the petty-bourgeoisification of the proletariat and the influence of classical and modern revisionism continue to have adverse effects on the working class movement.

The proletariat and the rest of the people are not only being materially harmed by disemployment, degradation of wage and living conditions and cutbacks on social programs but are also daily provoked by the bourgeois propaganda with the insult that they are parasites who are either overpaid or are on social welfare. At the same time, the supermonopolies ceaselessly use the state and its resources in so many ways for their corporate benefit while they push cutbacks on social programs.

The monopoly bourgeoisie also spreads the chauvinist propaganda that migrant workers take away jobs from the local workers and that third world countries have industrialized under the auspices of monopoly capitalism and have taken away industries, jobs and markets from the industrial capitalist countries. The counterrevolutionary presumption is that imperialism has spread rather than stunted industrial development in the world.

The fact is that the industrial capitalist countries have historically and currently de-capitalized and kept down the technological level of the general run of their neocolonial adjuncts. To only a few of these have they shifted labor-intensive low-technology manufacturing to penetrate the local or regional market and make available cheaper consumer goods for themselves.

Still fewer are economies like those of South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil allowed by the US in the course of the cold war to acquire an industrial foundation or some basic industries. Most of the countries that have acquired these after World War II owe these to either socialist policy (as in China, North Korea and Eastern Europe) or to national bourgeois policy (Argentina, India, Egypt and the like).

The large-scale destruction of productive forces continues in the former revisionist-ruled countries. Heavy and basic industries have either been closed, cannibalized or made to operate far below capacity. The persistent bureaucrat monopoly capitalists as well as the private monopoly capitalists opt for big comprador operations in collaboration with the leading imperialist countries.

On their part, the foreign monopoly capitalists keep a policy of dumping surplus consumer products as well as quick-profit and non-productive speculative capital on the former Soviet bloc countries. So far, the drive of the West is mainly to take over oil and other natural resources from Russia and the Central Asian republics and secondarily to operate some subsidiary plants using the cheap but highly skilled workers and give some market accommodation in the West to certain cheap agricultural, textile and metal products.

The blatantly anticommunist regimes that previously replaced the revisionist regimes have been rapidly discredited by their own subservience to the Western imperialists, their rapacity in privatization schemes and failure to solve the problem of economic depression, social misery and disorder. Thus, the main revisionist parties have been winning elections by using a medley of nationalist, social-democratic and neoliberal slogans.

The conditions for civil war and the rise of military fascism exist all over the former Soviet revisionist-ruled countries. But there is yet no revolutionary party of the proletariat that has done a comprehensive and profound criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration and proceeded to prepare the forces of armed revolution within and outside the official armed forces. So far, the civil wars in Chechnya, Tadjikistan,

Georgia and the like are being fought by competing bureaucratic cliques using the slogans of nationalism, religion, neoliberalism and social democracy.

The European Union has maneuvered the US into assuming main responsibility for the Dayton accord over Bosnia. At the same time, the US is also taking advantage of the violent turmoil in Bosnia and the Balkans to make bilateral military alliances with Central and Eastern European countries, expand the NATO and neutralize Russia with a "partnership for peace". The civil war in Bosnia among the Serbs, Croats and Muslims has been significant, if only because it is the first war to break out in Europe in which the NATO combat forces have been directly embroiled. It can be expected that war will flare up again in Bosnia after the scheduled withdrawal of US troops.

Imperialism still means war. The danger of a global war will most likely arise in the future when the political forces subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism in Russia will be supplanted by military fascists determined to revive the industrial and military power of Russia and restore an imperial order and the foreign capitalist powers unite and compete to intervene in the affairs of the former Soviet bloc countries and nearby countries. In the absence of a genuine proletarian revolutionary party, the military fascists are in the best position to ride on the rising wave of resentment over the misery and the enlargement of the NATO.

The widescale destruction of productive forces in the third world countries has deepened and accelerated. The general run of these countries are dependent on raw-material production and continue to suffer from deteriorating terms of trade. The limits on foreign borrowing, local public borrowing, taxation and privatization of state assets have been exhausted in many countries.

Africa is the continent most devastated economically by neocolonial methods of imperialist and social-imperialist exploitation and oppression. Thirty-three of the third world's 50 poorest countries are here. The African countries dependent on agricultural and mineral products for export have been depressed by the global overproduction of raw materials since the late '70s and by the deteriorating terms of trade with the industrial capitalist countries.

Oil producing countries like Nigeria in West Africa or Algeria in North Africa have not escaped the long running crisis of overproduction in raw materials. As a result, the crushing debt burden, state bankruptcies and austerity measures have generated a turbulent situation, characterized by coups and counter-coups and civil wars between bureaucratic cliques with at least one side manipulating the slogans of ethnocentrism and religion. There is massive displacement of people and massacres in the African continent.

In South Africa, the big bourgeoisie of the white minority, continues to control the urban and industrial enclaves and the security forces. As in other parts of Africa, the leaders of national liberation movements coming to power are coopted and develop into bureaucrat capitalists. The miserable conditions of the masses persist and remain ripe for revolutionary work.

In Latin America, the original stage of neocolonialism since the 19th century, most of the countries have remained backward and agrarian, contrary to illusions of development conjured by imperialist propaganda. In the minority are countries which are relatively better off historically with some basic industries, reassembly plants, ranches and oil resources, like Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Chile. But even in these latter countries, the economies are rapidly deteriorating.

The collapse of the Mexican economy has exposed the devastating effects of imperialist "free trade", privatization and the free flow of speculative capital; and has had adverse repercussions in the whole of Latin America, East Asia and elsewhere. The armed revolutionary movement in Chiapas is a new storm signal for the whole of Latin America even as the long-running revolutionary armed struggles in Peru, Guatemala and Colombia continue.

The mass movement is developing in the whole of Latin America and the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses are preparing themselves against the danger of military suppression. They have learned from the betrayals of classical and modern revisionism and one-sided focus on urban-based struggles, or on any form of military struggle (insurrectionist, focoist or urban guerrilla) which is inspired by the theory of spontaneous masses. The Cuban people and government continue to defend their national independence and the level of social welfare they have achieved even as the imperialists exert all effort to subjugate Cuba through the US embargo as well as through West European investments.

In the Near East, Turkey is both the site of an intensifying struggle between revolution and counterrevolution and is at the crossroads of turbulent currents in the Balkans, Middle East and Central Asia. The US and the

European Union use Turkey as a base for counterrevolution and imperialist intervention. But the revolutionary movement of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples persevere in armed struggle.

In the Middle East, the scheme of the US to control the oil resources and put the Palestinian and Arab peoples under control in favor of the US-Israeli tandem is widely resented and is a constant source of conflict. Following the Gulf war, the US has not only punished Iraq but has effectively captivated its oil-producing allies with the most expensive military contracts as a way of draining their oil income. The misuse of the oil income by the royal families has already resulted in lower living standards and incited mass protests. The imposition of Pax Americana is a guarantee for bigger armed conflicts within and among countries in the region.

Central Asian countries, like Afghanistan and Tadjikistan, continue to be the scenes of brutal civil wars between bureaucratic cliques, utilizing or opposing the slogans of nationalism and religion. Various imperialists and competing factions of the local reactionaries are scheming to control the oil resources here.

In South Asia, the semifeudal economies are in grave crisis. As elsewhere in the third world, the imposition of IMF-World Bank-WTO policies on these economies have resulted in worse crisis. The promotion of cheap labor-intensive and low-technology manufacture of consumer goods for the industrial capitalist countries does not change the feudal and semifeudal fundamentals and does not save them from the crushing deficits and foreign debt burden. The huge Indian economy, with heavy and basic industries, continue to be undermined by further compradorization through tighter integration with the world capitalist system since the late '80s.

The worsening economic crisis is generating social turmoil and revolutionary armed struggle. Revolutionary mass movements and armed struggles are dramatically rising up in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are determined to undertake people's war and turn South Asia, especially India, into a globally significant stage for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

In East Asia, all the economies are taking a downturn. Japanese monopoly capitalism has not recovered from the bursting of its bubble economy, is going into heavy deficit spending and local public borrowing and is confronted with intensified competition from US monopoly capitalism. In view of the crisis of the industrial capitalist countries, the lessened consumption of such countries and repercussions of the collapse of the Mexican economy, the export of consumer manufactures from the "tiger economies" of Asia and the coastal provinces of China is adversely affected.

The repercussions of the collapse of the Mexican economy on the export-oriented manufacturing in the region includes the lessened inflow of foreign speculative capital since last year and the tendency of the US and other foreign investors to take advantage of the greatly cheapened labor in Mexico, now running at US\$4 to 5 per day, compared to around US\$4 per day in East Asia. NAFTA is now in the process of taking away the glow from the *maquiladoras* (reassembly plants) of East Asia.

The Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and other countries in Southeast Asia are now dramatically exposing the same economic disease that has stricken Mexico. This consists of the false promise of industrialization through reassembly plants, ceaseless foreign trade deficits due to the overconsumption and corruption of a few and the destructive results of dependence on foreign loans and foreign investments of a quick-profit character.

Countries in East Asia which have a socialist background are under economic, political and military pressures by the US to further privatize and open up their economies. The US is obsessed with seeking to discredit and dissolve the state enterprises and to demand political liberalization in correspondence to the economic liberalization. It has used both "engagement" and "containment" in order to impose its hegemony over China.

The United States has insisted on using Okinawa and other parts of Japan as well as the whole of South Korea as military bases to oppose the reunification of Korea and to threaten China. It has also used the countries of Southeast Asia to whip up anti-China attitudes up to a certain level and has supplied more weapons to Taiwan in order to oppose reunification with China.

We have a special interest in the development of the revolutionary forces in our neighboring countries in East Asia. We strongly support all of them. We support the Japanese and other peoples in fighting against both US and Japanese monopoly capitalism. We support the reunification of Taiwan with China and South Korea with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. We support the advance of the democratic movement and all the revolutionary forces in Indonesia, Malaysia, Indochina, Thailand, Burma and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Amidst the worsening crisis and disorder in the world capitalist system, there are armed revolutionary

movements led by working class parties guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. These are the parties which seriously answer the central question of revolution and inspire the proletariat and people of the world to wage revolutionary struggle against monopoly capitalism and for socialism.

While upholding the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism among proletarian revolutionaries, the Communist Party of the Philippines stands firmly in political solidarity with all revolutionary forces and people fighting for their national liberation and independence against imperialism. We unconditionally extend political support to the Cuban, Korean, Chinese, Libyan and other peoples and governments in defending their national independence and territorial integrity against encroachment by the imperialists and their lackeys.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is leading the New People's Army and carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle not only in the immediate and concrete interest of the Filipino people along the line of national-democratic revolution but also in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and along the broad international united front against imperialism. We are conscious of the exemplary character of the Philippine revolution and its being a contributory factor to the international communist movement and the world anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

Adhere to the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Carry forward the new-democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war!

Widen and deepen the mass base and carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare!

Fight in the interest of the Filipino people and the people of the world!

Long live the New People's Army!

# ***Intensify Guerrilla Warfare According to Capabilities***

**Message to the New People's Army, March 29, 1997**

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As we celebrate the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army, we congratulate the Red commanders and fighters for their heroic revolutionary struggle against the enemy and for all their victories in carrying out the rectification movement and in serving and forging closer links with the people. Our victories are the fruit of hard work, struggle and sacrifices.

The New People's Army as the main organization under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is a military, political, productive and cultural force. Distinguished from other mass organizations, it is a politico-military force. In accordance with the Party's call for raising the armed revolution to a new and higher level, the New People's Army is directed to intensify guerrilla warfare on a wide scale, on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

Five years have passed since the launching of the rectification movement in 1992. The two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionary opportunists has served to weed out the incorrigibles and renegades and to strengthen all the revolutionary forces in an all-round way. On a nationwide scale, the mass base has been expanded and deepened in comparison to the dismal situation in the 1988 to 1991 period during which the gross damage caused by long-running "Left" opportunist errors became conspicuous and the Right opportunists wished to take advantage of this in order to liquidate the Party, the people's army and the armed revolution.

The general advance has been made despite the vile attempts of a handful of counterrevolutionary renegades to frustrate the rectification movement and wreck the revolutionary movement from 1992 to 1994. As a matter of course, the advance is uneven in various regions and guerrilla fronts due to varying objective conditions and subjective factors. At any rate, the intensification of guerrilla warfare must always be made according to the capabilities of the revolutionary forces and the particular situation obtaining.

Waging the people's war is absolutely necessary in carrying out the new-democratic revolution. Armed struggle is the principal form of revolutionary struggle. It carries out the central task of the revolution, which is the seizure of political power. The strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength through tactical offensives until it is possible to seize power on a nationwide scale allows the Party and the people's army to build Red political power in the countryside even while the counterrevolutionary state is still entrenched in the cities.

As soon as it was established on March 29, 1969, the New People's Army could do mass work and launch tactical offensives in the small radius of the second district of Tarlac. There is no reason why guerrilla warfare cannot be intensified on the basis of the current all-round strength of the revolutionary movement, which is greater than that either in 1969 or 1992. As before, advances in the revolution can be made only with victories in tactical offensives within the current stage of the strategic defensive.

## ***The people demand armed revolution***

Since the armed revolution started in 1969 under the leadership of the reestablished Party, the broad masses of the people have advanced from one level to a higher level of revolutionary resistance and have achieved great revolutionary feats. Their revolutionary determination has risen upon the intensification of oppression and exploitation. The ever worsening chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system exacts a heavy toll on them. The broad masses of the people demand armed revolution in order to achieve national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism -now chiefly represented by the US-Ramos regime.

The agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy has aggravated and deepened. The lack of industrial development has resulted in a huge accumulation of unemployment. Wage and living conditions are cut down by chronic inflation and by direct and indirect taxation. The regime has a deliberate policy to deprive the workers of their trade union rights and cheapen labor for the purpose of attracting foreign investments.

The peasant masses suffer the most oppression and exploitation. There is no genuine and thoroughgoing land reform to relieve them of their suffering from rising land rent and soaring costs of production and subsistence.



Land is rapidly being accumulated in the hands of foreign and domestic corporations and the traditional landlords. Military and police campaigns of suppression are carried out to grab the land from the poor peasants and ethnic minorities for the benefit of old and new types of landlords and the mining and logging interests.

The middle social strata also suffer from the crisis of the ruling system. Their incomes are eroded by the ever rising level of inflation and taxation. The rural bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie are adversely affected by the policy of trade and investment liberalization dictated by the imperialists and their multilateral agencies to the puppet regime. Certain sections of the exploiting classes are aggrieved by the drive of the Ramos ruling clique and its favored big compradors and landlords in seeking to monopolize the spoils of office and perpetuate themselves in power.

Contrary to claims of economic growth, the economy is bankrupt. It is bloated by spending for counter-productive activities and overconsumption by a few. This is financed by an ever growing foreign debt and domestic public debt, speculative foreign capital in the stock and bond market, foreign funds in the real estate bubble, proceeds from sale of state assets, income from export of cheap labor and increasing taxation at the expense of the mass of consumers.

The foreign trade deficit is ever widening. Food production and manufacturing for domestic consumption as well as traditional exports are stifled by rising costs of imported inputs and by the dumping of cheaper surplus products from abroad. The favored low value-added manufacturing-for-export entails a huge amount of payments for imported components; and the profits are kept abroad by the multinational corporations and big compradors. Luxury goods (cars and computer equipment) for the exploiting classes and the high bureaucrats are a big drain and are misrepresented as producer goods.

The natural resources continue to be plundered with impunity. Logging for export and overfishing in inland and marine fishing grounds are unabated. Open pit mining combined with high-tech methods accelerates the extraction of mineral resources and causes permanent damage to and pollution of the environment. The regime and its monopoly capitalist masters are utterly unconcerned about the destruction of the lives and livelihood of the people and the pollution and erosion of extensive tracts of agricultural land and make no compensation or indemnification whatsoever for such destruction.

The sale of state assets and the rising tax burden at the expense of the common people have increased the revenues of the reactionary government. But these in turn are being spent for the most counterproductive purposes. Most glaring are the expenditures for the military and police forces, the so-called modernization of the equipment of such forces, ghost projects in the congressional pork barrel under various names and guises and acquisition of motor vehicles and office equipment. Corruption has reached the most scandalous proportions in the use of public funds, privatization of state assets and sale of national patrimony to the multinational corporations. In the last three years, the illusion of budgetary surplus has been conjured by the delay in the payment of obligations of the reactionary government.

The so-called exit of the Philippines from the restrictive policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in June does not mean financial independence but means sinking deeper into the quagmire of foreign trade deficits, foreign indebtedness, dependence on foreign speculative capital and intolerable tax burden imposed on the people. All these have been caused by such IMF policy dictates as deregulation, trade and investment liberalization and privatization. More than ever, the Philippines remains in the clutches of the imperialists and their multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization, Asian Development Bank and the like.

In real terms of domestic production, there is a ceaseless deterioration of the economy. And there is the availability of mostly borrowed funds and the shameless culture of corruption among the bureaucrat capitalists. There is consequently more intense rivalry among political factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The economic crisis whips up the political crisis of the ruling system.

There are manifestations that General Ramos wishes to extend his stay in power beyond 1998 or to put in his place his military clone, in the person of his long-time sidekick General de Villa. This is generating public outrage. There is the glaring propensity of the ruling clique to monopolize the spoils of political power.

However, regardless of who shall become the new president in 1998 within the existing ruling system, the oppression and exploitation of the people will not cease but will aggravate. By then, the accumulated and aggravated problems of the system will fall on the head of whoever becomes the chief political representative of the local exploiting classes.

The exploiting classes are united against the people but are factionalized against each other. The factionalization extends to the reactionary armed forces, many of whose officers are themselves politically ambitious and are divided among themselves in running and favoring their own political factions and criminal syndicates. So long as the revolutionary movement is growing and advancing, the reactionary elections expose the bitter rivalries of the reactionaries and are a process of destabilizing rather than stabilizing the system.

The reactionary military and police forces are rotten to the core. The huge amount of money that goes to them is used mainly for the acquisition of equipment and corruption of civil officials and military officers. Thus, the ordinary troops and policemen as well as some officers are disgusted. The truce among the contending factions of the military and police officers under the US-Ramos regime is temporary.

The capitulation of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to the Manila government has not ended the Moro people's struggle for self-determination. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is carrying on the armed struggle which the MNLF had in fact given up since the Tripoli Agreement of 1976. Nevertheless, the MNLF is taking advantage of its accommodation with the Manila government to maintain and increase its armed strength.

Christian chauvinist groups are also feverishly arming themselves. As in other parts of the country, reactionary politicians in Mindanao are using the paramilitary forces and their private security agencies as their own private army in collusion with military officers. With the spread of firearms, the stage is set for more intense and wider armed conflicts in Mindanao and elsewhere.

A great number of enemy troops are tied down in the Moro provinces and in many areas in the country where they are being used in order to push out the poor peasants and ethnic minorities from their land and to serve the landgrabbing operations of mining, logging, real estate and plantation corporations.

Relative to the more than 70 million people in the Philippines and the scale of some 300,000 square kilometers, the existing military and police forces cannot use sheer armed force to quell the revolutionary movement so long as the latter employs the strategic line of protracted people's war and in this period takes initiative and launches tactical offensives within the strategic defensive.

Notwithstanding "Left" opportunist as well as Right opportunist errors pushed previously by the renegades, the proletarian revolutionaries have prevailed in the Party, the NPA and the NDF and the enemy has failed to suppress the revolutionary forces through the US-instigated "low-intensity conflict" strategy. This uses a great deal of psychological warfare to complement military tactics of gradual constriction and forward troop deployment against the guerrilla bases. Exactly when the enemy tried to use renegades to decapitate and liquidate the revolutionary movement, the Party launched the rectification movement to weed out the renegades, rectify errors and revitalize the revolutionary movement.

The clamor of the broad masses of the people for revolutionary change is manifested in the ever growing strength of mass organizations in the urban and rural areas and in militant mass actions against the imperialists and their local lackeys. Among the outstanding protest mass actions in the previous year were those against the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference leaders' summit and imperialist globalization, the repeated oil price increases, the moves to amend the reactionary constitution in order to make it more repressive and exploitative provisions and extend the term of Ramos, the alienation of the national patrimony, and the violations of the rights of the people, especially the workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, ethnic minorities, student youth, teachers and others.

The New People's Army and the people in the guerrilla fronts have carried out armed resistance at a level conditioned by the focus of rectification, redeployment and mass work. There have been major actions against military and police forces and antipeople projects of the reactionary state, local tyrants, despotic landlords, all sorts of landgrabbers, logging, mining, real estate and other companies and criminal syndicates.

An outstanding achievement of the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people is that the United States, the strongest imperialist power, and the local exploiting classes have failed in nearly three decades to destroy the revolutionary forces. The prolonged Marcos fascist dictatorship failed. So have the post-Marcos regimes despite pretenses at being civil and democratic.

No further amount of foreign intervention and assistance of whatever kind can enable the counterrevolutionary state to quell the revolutionary movement. Driven by their rapacity and cupidity, the imperialists are doing everything to extract superprofits from the Philippines under the slogan of trade and investment liberalization, increase the foreign trade deficits, increase the debt burden, aggravate the underdevelopment of the country and make the

ground more fertile for armed revolution.

The new world disorder, which is the making of the imperialists themselves, will ultimately undermine and weaken them as they intensify the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the people and make the crushing debt burden more intolerable for all their neocolonial client-states. The new world disorder is increasingly reducing the ability of the imperialists to intervene in so many areas of armed conflict in the world. They are themselves becoming increasingly preoccupied with domestic social contradictions and with their own inter-imperialist contradictions.

Although the special partnership of the United States and Japan in the Asia-Pacific region is for oppressing and exploiting the people, these two imperialist powers have serious contradictions between them. The much touted growing economies of East Asia, like the “tigers” and China are subordinated to the imperialists. But their export-oriented sweatshop manufacturing is now faced with recessive economies of the imperialists and their drive to dump their own surplus manufactures.

The flames of the people’s war in the Philippines helps to light up the world in transition from the period of imperialist success in the cold war, revisionist betrayal and neocolonialism to a period of resurgence of anti-imperialist resistance and struggle for socialism. We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The new world disorder caused by imperialism is the eve of social revolution on an unprecedented scale.

### ***Fighting tasks of the New People’s Army***

The central task of the new-democratic revolution is to overthrow the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The principal instrument of the Filipino people and the Communist Party of the Philippines for seizing political power is the New People’s Army.

The strategic line of protracted people’s war enables the revolutionary forces and the people to gain political power in the countryside and to maintain and expand their influence nationwide even before the nationwide seizure of political power and even as the enemy is still entrenched in the cities. Since 1969, there has been dual political power in the Philippines. One is Red political power in portions of the countryside and the other is White political power elsewhere.

#### *1. Uphold the absolute leadership of our Party*

The Filipino people must be led by the proletariat in order to complete the national-democratic revolution and then advance to the socialist revolution. Otherwise, the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords will continue to oppress and exploit the people in a systematic and all-round way. Neither the urban petty bourgeoisie nor the middle bourgeoisie can lead the democratic revolution to victory. And certainly, neither one is interested in proceeding to the socialist revolution.

The proletariat can accomplish its historic mission of building socialism only through its advanced detachment, its revolutionary party. Otherwise, the proletariat and the people cannot fight in a united and effective way towards the goal of socialist revolution. The Party sets forth the current general line of new-democratic revolution and the aim of socialist revolution. It defines the strategy and tactics of people’s war. It ensures that revolutionary politics is in command of the NPA and is in command of the gun and not the other way around. It is at the head and at the core of the people’s army.

Having won victory in the rectification movement and defeated the counterrevolutionary revisionists, opportunists and liquidationists, the Party is more than ever qualified to serve as the vanguard of the proletariat and lead the entire people and its army in the armed revolution.

The Central Committee is in charge of the centralized leadership in an all-round way, ideological, political and organizational. But it cannot know all the specific details that are crucial in the timely operations of the people’s army. Thus, there is the policy of decentralized operations under the guidance of centralized leadership and allowing lower Party organs and army commands to take decisions within their respective jurisdiction and according to the concrete circumstances and capabilities of the revolutionary forces.

Since the early ‘70s when the enemy could blockade the forces of the people’s army for extended periods, there has been a fundamental change in the political and technical capabilities of higher and lower organs of the Party and command levels of the people’s army to communicate with each other in order to achieve unity of will and coordination. The Party takes the responsibility for availing of the political and technical means to harmonize

centralized leadership and decentralized operations and achieve all-round development of the New People's Army.

### *2. Carry out politico-military training vigorously!*

There is the general principle of learning to fight through fighting. But it is also an undeniably correct principle to sharpen ourselves and our weapons by carrying out politico-military training. Although political education and military training are distinguishable, the people's army should never separate but must always integrate the two. It is an army not only for combat but also for making revolution and serving the people.

Basic politico-military training can be done within the squad and in the convergence of several squads. Higher levels of training can be conducted by the guerrilla front and regional commands for the purpose of exchanging experience, raising the level of revolutionary consciousness and the level of tactics and technique and preparing for bigger-size tactical offensives. The units of the people's army must be rotated in functions of politico-military training, mass work, production and participating in tactical offensives.

There must also be politico-military training of the reserves. These are the militia units for the locality as well as the self-defense units within the mass organizations. These units cannot become defined and cannot be conscious of their role unless they undergo politico-military training appropriate to their character and level.

A mobile politico-military training school or certain ranking cadres can make the rounds to undertake politico-military training. The regional Party committees must define the appropriate content of the politico-military training for the people's army at various levels and for the militia in communities and self-defense units in mass organizations. Generally, the content is a combination of subjects in Party and mass education and military training.

The politico-military training school takes into consideration the capabilities, talent and interest of those who volunteer to serve in the people's army. Those who are not yet ready or qualified for combat duty may be trained and assigned to other lines of work in support of the armed struggle in the countryside. This flexible policy serves to maximize forces, instead of losing them.

### *3. Deploy the units of the people's army correctly!*

In every guerrilla front, there must be a center of gravity. This consists of squads that are most immediately under the guerrilla front command and are relatively concentrated within a certain radius. They do mass work and can be subdivided into armed propaganda teams within the radius.

The center of gravity is responsible for securing the guerrilla front command, doing consolidation work within its radius, dispatching cadres who lead politico-military training in the entire guerrilla front, undertaking some production work, enforcing the tax policy and rotating its squads to serve as core of the strike force and carry out tactical offensives in combination with the guerrilla squads that know best the target in their spheres of operation.

Depending on the circumstances, the other squads of the guerrilla front can be subdivided into armed propaganda teams and dispersed for mass work in a much wider radius than that of the center of gravity. It is necessary to disperse most of the guerrilla squads (subdividing into armed propaganda teams whenever possible) in order to expand and consolidate the mass base. Without their mass work, it is impossible to carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare.

On the scale of a guerrilla district (be it a guerrilla base or zone) or even the squad as a basic guerrilla unit, there must be a correlation of relative concentration and relative dispersal. In terms of function, there must be a dialectical correlation of consolidation and expansion work. The guerrilla district commander must also be able to rotate the Red fighters in various functions, including tactical offensives.

It is not only the armed personnel of the people's army that do mass work in connection with the armed revolution. Correct tactics include the use of semilegal teams as well as fully legal teams of cadres and advanced activists in mass organizations to do mass work in coordination with the people's army. They can widen the scale of NPA operations and can help to create, expand and consolidate guerrilla fronts.

### *4. Rely on the masses!*

The antifeudal line must be pursued in order to fulfill the main content of the democratic revolution. The revolutionary armed struggle must be integrated with land reform and the building of the mass base.

The minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving farm-gate prices of the peasants' produce and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupation must be carried out. The power of the despotic landlords and landgrabbers must be isolated and destroyed.

Development of contacts and liaison groups, social investigation, formation of people's organizing groups and the barrio organizing committees must be used for rapid expansion. Consolidation of the mass base must be

achieved through the full formation of mass organizations, election of barrio revolutionary committees and building local Party branches.

There must be a coordination of the rural-based and urban-based mass organizations. Such coordination under the leadership of the Party allows them to help strengthen each other. Right now, it is possible for rifle-carrying units of the people's army to march in the countryside but not yet in urban areas. From the countryside, it is possible for the armed revolutionary movement over an extended period of time to advance wave-upon-wave towards the urban strongholds of the enemy. It has also been possible for armed city partisans to operate underground.

Only with an ever expanding and deepening mass base in the rural areas can the New People's Army carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare and develop the people's war from one strategic stage to another. Such mass base allows the NPA to use the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare in the most advantageous way possible in the Philippines and have the widest area for maneuver, using flexible tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting according to circumstances.

#### *5. Launch tactical offensives to accumulate strength!*

In every region where there are guerrilla fronts, there is a certain capacity to launch tactical offensives. These must be launched in order to arouse the people to wage revolutionary resistance, increase the armed strength of the people's army, defend the democratic power of the people and weaken and destroy the political power of the enemy.

While doing mass work, we can observe the enemy and know his strength and weaknesses. We can therefore easily discover or create the opportunities for launching tactical offensives. These can take the form of ambushes, raids, sniping at enemy units, sparrow warfare and arrests and other punitive actions on specific enemy elements.

To assure ourselves of victory, we must have accurate information, use the element of surprise and the superiority of our strength on the weak points or weak parts of the enemy. Rather than go into action against any hard point or superior force of the enemy and be uncertain of victory, we can bide our time and resort to evasion until the enemy exposes his weak points and weak parts. In the aftermath of any tactical offensive, we must be ready to withdraw safely from the battle site and render ineffective any enemy counteraction.

In our tactical offensives, we must target the most notorious perpetrators of human rights violations (especially the principal political and financial beneficiaries of the late fascist dictator), units of the regular armed forces, the national police, diehard elements in the paramilitary forces, vigilante groups, security units of hostile companies, criminal syndicates, and elements with blood debts to the people, including local tyrants, renegades with grave criminal responsibilities, informers and other bad elements.

In areas where the enemy forces are concentrated and move in big formations and we cannot immediately undertake annihilative tactical offensives or are still preparing to undertake them, the people's army can wage such small unit harassment operations of an attritive character at the expense of the enemy as sniping, grenade throwing, mine laying and other sparrow operations with the objective of undermining enemy morale and exacerbating conflicts and differences within and among enemy units.

While the current call is to intensify guerrilla warfare and launch annihilative tactical offensives, all units of the people's army must be mindful of defense at both the strategic and the tactical level. The enemy has been fielding aggressive small-unit operations and taking advantage of night vision equipment. We can counter these with mass work, correct tactics and acquisition of our own night vision and other necessary equipment for defense and offense.

When the enemy is armed and dangerous and, if given the slightest chance, will use his weapons, the people's army is justified to take the initiative in giving battle and using every possible means to render such an enemy incapable of fighting. But it can take captives and arrest suspects and treat them according to the law of the revolutionary movement. Whenever circumstances permit, the people's army prefers to disarm enemy units without firing a single shot or accept the surrender of enemy personnel, with no further punitive action, except through due process.

On behalf of the revolutionary forces, including the Party and the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front has issued the Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocols I and II and has deposited this document with the Federal Council of the Swiss Government in order to express good intention

and gain a high moral and legal ground by adhering to Protocol I ahead of the GRP. It demands that the GRP, including all its armed personnel, comply with the obligations under international humanitarian law.

In accordance with existing united front policy, there is a classification of the exploiters. There are those who are relatively enlightened and those who are not. Enlightenment is demonstrated by certain exploiters by following the policy of the people's democratic government on the defense of national patrimony, land reform, wages, environmental protection, taxation and so on.

Those who are not yet enlightened are given the opportunity to become enlightened and perform their responsibilities. Those who refuse to become enlightened and are found guilty of hostile acts against the people and the revolutionary forces are subject to punitive action commensurate to the seriousness of the criminal offense. Punishment includes fines, banishment from the locality for a certain period of time, confiscation of assets and other penalties for criminal liability.

In the overriding interest of the entire people, there are existing bans on logging for export, open pit mining by foreign companies and on various schemes to grab the land from the peasants and ethnic minorities and destroy the environment. The people's army is duty-bound to take the appropriate action, from warnings to military action against any armed reaction.

In accordance with revolutionary principle, the revolutionary forces take a stand against the entire counterrevolutionary state and its electoral system which in general is decided by the exploiting classes and its reactionary political agents and not by the people. But it is also a function of the united front to take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries. Under the united front policy, it is possible and necessary to distinguish among the reactionaries who are our allies and who are our enemies, even as we are conscious that said allies are temporary and unstable.

We are inevitably confronted with the process and outcome of the reactionary elections and must act accordingly, especially in areas where we have a mass base and influence. We can employ tactics of the united front policy even as we adhere to revolutionary principle. We have employed similar tactics in the legal democratic mass movement.

Tactical alliances, even if informal, in periodic reactionary elections have the objective of winning over progressive and friendly candidates, opposing and isolating the diehard counterrevolutionary ones, exacerbating the contradictions within the ruling class, contacting and developing new allies and friends, creating conditions for utilizing the local reactionary governments for the benefit of the revolutionary government and movement and gathering support for the revolution.

It has long been our policy and practice to classify barangay councils, mayors, governors and members of congress as allies, neutrals or enemies. We develop allies among elective and appointive officials of the reactionary government and we are always ready to fight the hostile ones. And certainly, we do mass work among the ordinary employees of the reactionary state.

There is the Breukelen Joint Agreement on March 18, 1997 between the GRP and the NDF negotiating panels to accelerate the peace negotiations and to strive to complete these before the end of June. This agreement is premised on best efforts and, therefore, is not really over-optimistic. There is also the requirement that the first two headings of the substantive agenda must be approved first by the principals before negotiations on the third heading can be started.

The current course of the peace negotiations does not adversely affect the conduct of the armed revolution. All revolutionary forces are determined to fight for a just and lasting peace along the general line of national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The GRP's unilateral "suspension of offensive military operations" has been proven false and hypocritical by the intensification of brutal enemy campaigns. In the course of the peace negotiations, the NDFP has been exposing and condemning the brutalities of the enemy.

In line with the US-inspired "low-intensity conflict strategy", the counterrevolutionary state uses psychological warfare to sow intrigue and cause a split within the revolutionary movement and to isolate the revolutionary forces by separating the urban petty bourgeoisie from them and using anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets ("popular democrats", "social-democrats", Trotskyites and "people's socialists") to pose as Left, "third force" or democrats, to spread anticommunist propaganda and to operate paper coalitions, sham mass organizations and "NGO" projects, which are financed by the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

The principal counterrevolutionary opportunists and revisionists have completely and openly gone over to the

enemy and deserve total condemnation. Romulo Kintanar has publicly taken the oath of membership in the Ramos ruling party, Lakas. Ricardo Reyes, Arturo Tabara and Filemon Lagman are paid agents of the Strategic Studies Unit of the Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (ISAFP) and are notorious for their criminal activities. They are wrangling among themselves, as manifested by the split between Sanlakas and Siglaya and by the repudiation of Lagman by his own gangmates. Centrism, which sought to unite what is correct and wrong and blur the two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and counterrevolutionary opportunists, continues to be proven completely bankrupt.

At any rate, the people's army must interdict the personnel and activities of anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets. Whatever fancy lingo they echo from abroad, they are opposed to the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat and are ideological and political special agents of the imperialists and local reactionaries. Although they use propaganda and money to counter the revolution, they are fundamentally of the same counterrevolutionary character as the paramilitary forces, the armed fanatical cults and the "special operations teams" of the reactionary armed forces.

The Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) and Institute of Popular Democracy are blatantly CIA-directed instruments of anticommunist propaganda, intrigue and intelligence gathering. The PRRM has a long history of being a direct instrument of the US in "counterinsurgency" in the countryside, together with the "community development" officially undertaken by the reactionary government and the "social action" and "free farmers" organizing of the clerico-fascists. In fact, the original anticommunist NGOs were organized upon the instigation of US CIA agents and their Filipino assets.

The revolutionary movement must distinguish the NGOs that are malignant instruments of the "low-intensity conflict strategy" from those that are benign and deserve the trust and confidence of the NDFP and the people. The policy towards NGOs is based on the history and current circumstances. We can consider the good and bad aspects of the NGOs and identify, isolate and render ineffective the counterrevolutionary NGOs and the NGO racketeers.

The objective of the enemy in trying to whip up anticommunism among the urban petty bourgeoisie, is to disable them from acting as a basic revolutionary force and deprive the revolutionary mass movement of the educated youth who can become revolutionary activists and be remolded into proletarian revolutionary cadres. The urban petty bourgeoisie has been the favorite target of the imperialist ideological and political offensive, using both barefaced bourgeois liberalism and pseudo-Left phrasemongering to spread anticommunism.

But the imperialist propaganda has been rendered less effective by the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system and by the vigorous advance of the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic movement. The most telling way for the revolutionary movement to assert that the struggle between the armed revolution and armed counterrevolution is still at the center of the political stage is for the New People's Army to intensify its tactical offensives. It is the way for the revolutionary forces and the people to fight the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation, gain strength and defeat the enemy.

It is the internationalist duty of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front to pursue the people's war along the general line of the new-democratic revolution. Amidst the new world disorder generated by the crisis of monopoly capitalism, the people's war in the Philippines inspires and contributes to the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale.

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino people!

# ***Resolutely Pursue the People's War***

## **Message on the 29<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the New People's Army**

**March 29, 1998**

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With utmost joy, we celebrate the 29<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the New People's Army (NPA). We salute all the Party members in the people's army, the thousands of Red commanders and fighters and the tens of thousands of people's militia who serve as auxiliary to the people's army.

We congratulate all of them for the hard work and sacrifices and all the victories won in the long course of the people's war and in the year past. We pause to pay our highest tribute to the memory of our revolutionary martyrs.

The NPA is the main mass organization and principal weapon of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people in waging the new-democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This revolution can be accomplished only by resolutely pursuing the people's war.

The NPA has a glorious record and standing because the Red commanders and fighters have a high revolutionary consciousness, are well-disciplined, exert their best in different types of work and fight the enemy without fear of death or sacrifice.

The best sons and daughters of the people are in the NPA. They serve the people. They fight for national and social liberation. The people therefore cherish and nurture them.

### ***1. Victories in the previous year***

The Second Great Rectification Movement, initiated and directed by the Party Central Committee, has continued to strengthen the Party leadership and the Party core within the NPA. In effect, the people's army has become stronger politically and organizationally as a force for fighting, propaganda and production.

The nationwide reorientation, retraining and redeployment of the NPA have been basically completed under the guidance of the rectification movement. Our painstaking mass work has yielded significant results. There is an ever-widening and deepening mass base for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare.

Revolutionary politics is in command. We uphold and apply the general political line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. For the entire country our revolutionary class line is to uphold the proletariat as the leading class, build the worker-peasant alliance, win over the urban petty-bourgeoisie, further win over the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

In the antifeudal struggle in the countryside, the proletariat rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

We have promoted the mass line of "from the masses to the masses" in both concrete substance and correct style of work. By relying on the masses, the NPA has become a self-reliant force with an inexhaustible source of strength. We have successfully combated "Left" and Right opportunist currents and have engaged in timely criticism and self-criticism in order to raise the level of consciousness, militancy and efficiency in the performance of tasks.

The peasant masses welcome and are heartened by our self-criticism. They enthusiastically help their army overcome its weaknesses and shortcomings. Our links with the masses are closest where the people's army seeks out and enjoys most the supervision from the masses.

In politico-military training of the Red commanders and fighters, we give the uppermost attention to political education. This provides the revolutionary reasons for military training, operations and improving technique. Their ever rising level of revolutionary consciousness enables the Red commanders and fighters to perform effectively their fighting and other tasks in the service of the people.

There is an increasing proportion of Party members within the NPA. The Party groups and branches are conscientious and active. Because Party education has been stepped up, Party members in the army units are more equipped to give ideological and political education to the Red fighters.

The stress on political education and mass work since the start of the rectification movement has given ample



opportunity for the Red fighters to move up from basic mass education and politico-military training to basic Party education and recruitment.

The reorganization of the NPA has enabled us to sustain and develop around 60 guerrilla fronts on a sound mass base. The typical total force in a guerrilla front amounts to a company but it is divided into one platoon as the center of gravity and the other platoons are dispersed to cover a wider radius for mass work, subdividing into squads and further subdividing into armed propaganda teams, depending upon the concrete circumstances.

Many experienced cadres formerly bound by administrative and office work have been deployed to mass work. They share their knowledge and experience with new recruits. This has speeded up organizing work and at the same time helped in the training of new recruits.

Every unit of the NPA develops close links with the masses. The NPA has consolidated and expanded the mass base in the guerrilla fronts. We have a mass base running in millions in more than 60 provinces. However, we need to increase the proportion of those enlisted in peasant and other types of mass organizations. In certain areas our influence is strong and the masses give support to the NPA but solid organizing still lags far behind.

The requisites of expansion include the assignment or deployment of an armed propaganda team, the social investigation, agitation-propaganda meetings, appointments to barrio organizing committees as temporary organs of political power and the formation of people's organizing groups as the embryos of the full-fledged mass organizations of peasants, workers, women, youth, children and cultural activists.

The requisites of consolidation include the building of the local Party branches, the full-fledged mass organizations, the election of barrio revolutionary committees as regular organs of political power and the working committees that oversee mass organizing, education, land reform, production, health, self-defense, settlement of disputes among the people and cultural affairs.

To fulfil the main content of the democratic revolution, the campaign for land reform is carried out as the most important campaign in the countryside. The peasant associations are given full play in realizing their demand for land reform. In view of the current strength of the revolutionary movement, the minimum land reform program is still being carried out on a widening scale.

Wherever there are rural-based enterprises, the NPA encourages the workers to organize themselves and raise their demands for better working and living conditions. There is also cooperation and coordination between the people in the barrios and those in town centers in various types of campaigns. Legal forms of organization and struggle speed up organizing and expansion.

Consolidation work provides the stable basis for expansion work. The NPA expansion units have been able to expand to new areas or recover previously lost areas when the local Party branches, the organs of political power and the mass organizations perform functions in the consolidated areas. There is crying need to expand or recover areas along the coastline, lines of communication and transport and in the plains where the masses are concentrated.

Because of its consolidated and expanded mass base, the NPA has been able to launch tactical offensives within its capabilities in different parts of the country. Last year, we were able to capture a significant number of weapons from the enemy through raids and ambushes. Our initiative in battle was so high that we wiped out enemy units or captured enemy officers and men.

The tactical offensives in the second half of last year embarrassed the enemy nationally and internationally because they occurred soon after the highest military officials of the enemy boasted that the NPA had disintegrated and had been driven to remote areas and because two of these were carried out in town centers close to the national capital region and close to the headquarters of the Second Infantry Division.

The enemy's embarrassment was aggravated when he was compelled to negotiate the release of the prisoners of war after the failure of AFP pursuit operations. High-ranking police officers who had been taken prisoner in Rizal and Mindoro were released by the NPA to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) under the NPA policy of lenient treatment and upon humanitarian considerations under the Geneva Conventions and its protocols. Reciprocally, the enemy released a number of political prisoners.

Brilliant tactical offensives have been undertaken in response to the call of the Party for intensifying tactical offensives within our capabilities. As it is in the nature and law of things, there is uneven development. Some regions or guerrilla fronts have better conditions and higher capabilities than others. There are cases where the mass base is sufficiently wide and deep but the determination, experience and skills to plan and carry out tactical

offensives are deficient.

The Party performs its role of absolute leadership over the people's army by looking over the objective conditions and the general and particular levels of capabilities, sets the line of march, raises the general level of development and encourages those lagging behind to catch up. The Party committee directly leads the corresponding NPA formation in its territory or area of responsibility.

## ***II. Crisis situation of the enemy***

Short of launching a full-scale war of aggression against the Filipino people, US imperialism has engaged in all forms of intervention in a futile attempt to destroy the armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people.

These interventions have included instigating the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the post-Marcos sham democracy and massive doses of military assistance, loans and psychological warfare. The revolutionary forces have withstood all these and have become recognized throughout the world as exemplary in persevering in people's war for so long and in addressing thereby the central question of revolution.

Now, the world capitalist system is in an unprecedentedly grave crisis. The global centers of capitalism themselves are being shaken by the contradiction between the overaccumulation of finance and productive capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the rising levels of unemployment and deterioration of wage conditions among the proletariat on the other.

The social character of the forces of production, including high technology and a well-educated and well-trained work force is so high, but the avaricious character of private monopoly appropriation knows no bounds. The drive of the monopolies to accumulate and concentrate constant capital and cut down variable capital for wages is reducing the market in all types of goods and generating one crisis of overproduction after the other, resulting in the financial strangulation of the proletariat and people and all the countries under imperialist domination.

The myth of the global "free market" has become totally discredited in so short a time. The devastation of the productive forces become far more rapid under the neoliberal economic policy than under its Keynesian predecessor. The imperialist countries are increasingly in cut-throat competition. The United States is relatively in the best economic position only at the expense of Japan and the European Union. But all of them are on a stagnant course, with overall falling rates of growth and profitability.

The few economies which were touted as new emergent markets have collapsed. They were artificially turned into areas yielding the highest rates of profit through the heavy infusion of speculative capital to finance upper class consumption, bureaucrat operations, privatization, real estate speculation and so on. The overproduction of goods in export-oriented manufacturing proved fatal. In the end, the mounting trade deficits and debt burden turned the so-called Asian miracle into a catastrophe, taking the form of currency and stock market meltdowns.

In countries formerly ruled by revisionist cliques and one big country currently ruled by a revisionist clique, the economies continue to break down, de-industrialize and degenerate due to their full integration in the world capitalist system under the traditional imperialist powers.

The ranks of countries suffering from third world conditions of agrarian backwardness have expanded. Social unrest and turmoil have spread and intensified on an unprecedentedly wide scale. The global conditions for revolution are favorable.

Countries geographically close to the Philippines are in grave social and economic crisis. The reactionary puppets in the neocolonial client-states are dumbfounded. Anti-imperialist and class struggles are resurgent. The Philippine revolution stands to benefit from this developing revolutionary situation in East Asia, particularly Southeast Asia.

The Party, the NPA and the NDFP are completely vindicated in consistently standing up against the neocolonial policy of the imperialist powers, from Keynesian to neoliberal terms, and against the policy dictates of the IMF, World Bank and WTO on the Philippine puppet state.

The Philippines is stricken with a far worsened social and economic crisis. This is the result of denationalization, privatization, deregulation, liberalization and labor flexibility, all policies dictated by the imperialists and followed unquestioningly by their local running dogs. Advantageously there are already the revolutionary forces, long tempered in the course of the people's war and revitalized by the rectification movement to further arouse, organize and mobilize the people against the imperialists and their reactionary stooges.

Great storms are brewing in the Philippines. The broad masses of the people are outraged by the abrupt

reduction of their incomes and sources of income. Since July last year, devaluation and widespread loss of jobs have ravaged the lives of the people. There is an exceedingly fertile ground for all forms of resistance.

The people are revolted by the huge amounts of foreign debt and local public debt that have been squandered on all kinds of anti-industrial activities. These have been characterized by high consumption of the exploiting classes and by the superprofit-taking by the foreign monopoly firms. The export income from low value-added manufacturing and raw materials were always falling far below the expenditures for imports.

The urban-based legal democratic movement of workers and other urban poor, the women, youth, the low-income professionals and the middle social strata is rising and is bound to confront the entire ruling system with massive protest actions against unemployment, rising prices and poverty.

The rural-based armed revolutionary movement is bound to grow and gain strength. The peasant masses and ethnic communities despise the US-Ramos regime for violently opposing land reform and unleashing the wanton landgrabbing operations of the foreign mining, logging, plantation, real estate, tourist and other companies.

In increasing numbers, overseas migrant workers are being laid off and forced to return home. They abhor the long running misuse of their foreign exchange earnings by the regime. They are restless as job opportunities have grown scarcer than ever before in their own country and abroad.

The Party aims to develop and coordinate the mass struggles in both urban and rural areas. It also encourages Party members and the most advanced activists to join and serve the people in the countryside. As a matter of fact, a significant part of the reinvigoration of the NPA is the inflow of cadres and mass activists who come from the ranks of workers and educated youth.

Currently, the reactionary classes are engaged in an electoral exercise. This cannot stabilize the political and economic situation. This can serve only to exacerbate the political crisis of the ruling system, especially the factional strife among the reactionary factions.

Encouraged by popularity polls, the strongest opposition presidential candidate is convinced that he will win, if he is not cheated. Thus, if he does not win and the candidate of the ruling party wins, then there will be massive unrest in the country. The ruling party proved its ability to cheat in the 1995 reactionary elections.

However, no matter who wins the presidential contest, there will be no fundamental change within the semi-colonial and semifeudal system ruled by the big compradors and landlords and in the policy of subservience to the IMF, World Bank and WTO and the foreign monopoly firms.

The Party has denounced the current electoral process of the reactionary state as a farce and as a real instrument for imposing on the people their oppressors and exploiters. At the same time, the Party pointed to the need to apply revolutionary dual tactics and united front tactics in dealing with progressive and reactionary allies and in taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries.

The counterrevolutionary state is fundamentally rotten. The leading politicians, high bureaucrats and high military and police officials are characteristically corrupt and subservient to the imperialists and exploiting classes.

High military and police officers take many high positions in the bureaucracy, engage in private business transactions and run criminal syndicates. As the economic and political crisis worsens they have established a base from which to seize overall political initiative and gain dominance within the ruling system.

Despite the capitulation of the Moro National Liberation Front to the Philippine reactionary government, the Moro people are determined to fight for self-determination and democracy. For this reason the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and other armed Moro organizations continue to wage armed resistance to the Manila government. This armed resistance objectively helps the NPA because the enemy military and police forces are compelled to divide their strength and thereby become weaker.

On March 16, 1998, the negotiating panels of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines signed the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. This is a highly important document. By a certain measure, it addresses the people's outcry for respect of human rights and international humanitarian law. In the hands of the revolutionary movement, it is beneficial to the broad masses of the people.

But there should be no illusion that a just and lasting peace is just around the corner. There is no basis for thinking that negotiations have laid aside the revolutionary process. In the peace negotiations, there are two more difficult topics of the substantive agenda to negotiate (social and economic reforms and political and constitutional reforms) before the question of ending the armed conflict and redistribution of forces can be discussed.

In the event that the Party and the NDFP decide to call for a ceasefire of short duration in order to conduct extensive consultations with the people on a nationwide scale, there should be no relaxation of vigilance and no reduction of firmness and militancy. Party members and Red fighters should attend to their work and should not expose themselves to enemy surveillance. Experience of ceasefires in the past has proven that recklessness has fatal consequences sooner or later.

The enemy has called for a prolonged ceasefire with his own motivations, like undermining the fighting morale of the revolutionary forces, inducing an unwarranted leap to an indefinite, repeated or permanent truce, getting an endorsement for his electoral process and ruling system and collecting surveillance stocks.

The Party and the NDFP are fully aware of such motivations. But they have frankly told the GRP that they can run the risk of a ceasefire of a certain duration, if there will be an exchange of approvals of the comprehensive agreement, if all the political prisoners are ordered released and if extensive consultations on a nationwide scale can be conducted by the NDFP without interference from the GRP.

In the absence of a well-founded and complete basis for a just and lasting peace, the revolutionary forces are resolved to pursue the people's war. Likewise, the enemy is bent on continuing the civil war, as can be seen in his current strategic policy and plan to have the Philippine Army take over functions of the Philippine National Police, to redeploy the Army combat units in forward positions against the NPA and to escalate the campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces and the people.

### ***Look forward to the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary***

The entire Filipino people, the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP look forward to the celebration of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the NPA next year. Towards the celebration of such a historic milestone, the Red commanders and fighters are called upon to fulfil their fighting tasks and win still greater victories in the people's war for national liberation and democracy.

1. Follow the class leadership of the proletariat and the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and carry the rectification movement through to the end!
2. Carry forward the general line of the new-democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!
3. Pursue the people's war more vigorously than ever before, carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare at the current stage and launch tactical offensives within our capabilities!
4. Carry out land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and give full play to the initiative of the masses in all campaigns for their social betterment and liberation!
5. Expand and consolidate the mass base, build the organs of political power and mass organizations and create more guerrilla fronts!
6. Train and develop Red fighters from the mass movement in the rural and urban areas!
7. Combine the experienced fighters with new fighters in the NPA units and in tactical offensives!
8. Engage in educational and cultural campaigns to raise the fighting spirit of the Red commanders and fighters and the broad masses of the people!
9. Enforce the tax policy of the people's revolutionary government, collect voluntary contributions of the people on the basis of benefits won and engage in production campaigns in order to foster self-reliance!
10. Learn from each other and strengthen the weaker regions and guerrilla fronts and bring them to a new and higher general level of development!

The conditions for making revolution are excellent. The entire world capitalist system is in grave crisis and disorder. The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system has plunged to a new depth. The Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy can surge forward to a bright future.

# ***Fight the Enemy Until Victory Is Won***

## ***in the New Democratic Revolution***

March 29, 1999

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On behalf of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I salute all the Red commanders and fighters and convey to them warmest comradely greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the New People's Army.

The New People's Army has won great victories in fighting heroically for the national and democratic rights, interests and aspirations of the Filipino people. It is the principal weapon of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people in waging the principal form of revolutionary struggle and inspiring other forms of struggle. Its place in Philippine history is assured.

The armed revolution waged by the New People's Army under the leadership of the Party continues the Filipino people's unfinished struggle for national independence and democracy and has surpassed all previous armed struggles waged against US imperialism and the local reactionaries in the last hundred years.

First of all, the NPA is waging a protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective. Secondly, the NPA has gained all-round strength nationwide, surpassing in this regard the achievements of the revolutionary army of the old democratic revolution, the People's Army against Japan (Huk-balahap) and the People's Army for Liberation.

Following the absolute leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the NPA has accumulated significant strength since starting from scratch on March 29, 1969. It has surmounted tremendous odds and has advanced from victory to victory. Our revolutionary armed struggle will continue until complete victory is won.

### ***Brilliant victories of the New People's Army***

Upon its reestablishment, the Party proved itself a true and serious revolutionary party of the proletariat by conceiving of the New People's Army in the Party Constitution and establishing it in three months' time. The NPA was born out of the First Great Rectification Movement against the Lava dynasty and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and inherited the good remnants of the old people's army and their revolutionary experience and mass base.

The people's army came under the test of severe attacks by the enemy from 1969 onward and went through the prolonged unbridled terror of the Marcos fascist dictatorship to build its nationwide foundation and strengthen itself by fighting the enemy. The Red commanders and fighters have won astounding political and military victories by adhering to the line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war and by waging guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

But in the late 1970s, "Left" and Right opportunist lines started to overlap with and subvert the correct line and the continuing successes of the armed revolution. The opportunists superimposed such erroneous lines as the "strategic counteroffensive" and "Red Area-White Area recombinations" on the correct line and wrought havoc in different regions at various times from the early 1980s until the early years of the current decade.

Since 1992, the Central Committee of the Party has led and carried out the Second Great Rectification Movement to reaffirm the basic revolutionary principles, sum up experience and set forth the tasks. The Party and the people's army have identified, criticized and repudiated the errors that have harmed the revolutionary cause and have proceeded to score great achievements in carrying out the constructive tasks of the revolution.

The victories of the New People's Army shine brilliantly on the pages of Philippine history. But we must never forget that these victories as well as the lessons learned from experience are paid for by sacrifice, hard work and fierce struggle. Let us therefore take a pause to pay the highest tribute to our martyrs and heroes.

Let us not become complacent with our achievements. Let us remain ever vigilant and militant. No matter how far we have gone forward in the revolutionary struggle, the counterrevolutionary state of big compradors and landlords still stands and needs to be overthrown and smashed completely. We must fight until the enemy is defeated and the new-democratic revolution triumphs.

We have a sound basis for raising the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level until complete victory is

won. The rectification movement has revitalized and further strengthened the entire Party and the Party organization within the NPA and has raised the level of revolutionary consciousness and militancy among the Red commanders and fighters.

The NPA has grown far stronger than in 1992 when the rectification movement started. Total NPA strength amounts to several regiments. By having been reoriented, reorganized and redeployed for mass work, the NPA has been able to increase the number of guerrilla fronts to eighty-one (81) nationwide.

The typical guerrilla front has a total force of a company, with a platoon as the center of gravity and the other units spread over a wider radius. In certain regions, main guerrilla units sew up various guerrilla fronts and are capable of region-wide maneuvers.

The thousands of men and women serving full-time in the NPA are augmented by tens of thousands of those in militia and self-defense units. All of them draw support from the organs of political power, the mass organizations and the broad masses of the people.

There is an ample mass base for further expansion and further consolidation of mass work and for carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever widening and deepening mass base. Every increase of tactical offensives is related to an increase in mass base within a guerrilla zone, within a guerrilla front, within a region and on a nationwide scale.

The NPA has been able to carry out tactical offensives, like raids and ambushes, as well as various types of actions to enforce the laws and policies of the people's democratic government. In seeking targets for tactical offensives, it constantly looks for the weak points of the enemy or tries to force him to make mistakes and expose his weak points.

The tactical offensives of the NPA have increased gradually and have forced the enemy to acknowledge its growing strength. The enemy's officialdom and the bourgeois media have given much attention to the capture of high-ranking military and police officers by the NPA from 1997 to the present, as in the current case of one general and several other officers. Thus, the enemy propaganda that the revolutionary movement is disintegrating or disappearing has been repeatedly disproved. The principal function of the NPA is to fight and defeat the enemy. It carries out only those battles it can win. Over a protracted period of time, it launches battles of quick decision to seize weapons from the enemy, accumulate strength in the countryside and goes through stages and phases of development until it becomes capable of seizing power in the cities.

But the fighting function cannot be successfully carried out. The NPA is the main organization of the Party not only for destroying the enemy forces but also for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses. Through mass work, it draws support from the people as the inexhaustible source of strength.

The NPA has persevered in conducting revolutionary mass education, building various types of mass organizations for workers, peasants and farm workers, fishermen, women, youth, children and cultural activists and in promoting mass campaigns. The most important of these campaigns is the one for land reform because it responds to the main demand of the peasantry and seeks to realize the main content of the democratic revolution.

In the countryside, the Party and the people's army rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the split between the enlightened and evil gentry (while the minimum land reform is still being carried out) in order to isolate and destroy the power of the evil gentry. The class line that runs through the antifeudal united front is in consonance with the general line of the new-democratic revolution.

In waging the people's war, the NPA follows the principle of self-reliance. It recruits the fighters from the people, organizes production for the army and families of the fighters, receives contributions from the people, seizes weapons from the enemy and collects taxes from the enlightened gentry and from enterprises that follow the laws of the people's democratic government. Resources raised by the New People's Army are for the maintenance and growth of the Party and the NPA as well as for the social needs of the people.

### ***Exceedingly favorable conditions for people's war***

The objective conditions for waging people's war are exceedingly favorable in the Philippines. The semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system is in grave crisis. Factions and cliques of the big compradors and landlords and even within the ruling circle of the US-Estrada regime are seriously contending with each other over the diminished economic ground for mutual accommodation.

The broad masses of the people are undergoing intolerable suffering from the economic and social crisis.

They are outraged by the return to power of the Marcos family and the worst political descendants of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, headed by the former movie actor Joseph Estrada. These scoundrels have recovered their ill-gotten wealth and are again plundering the country.

For some years to come, there is no way for the US-Estrada regime to override the longrunning global crisis of overproduction of raw materials and the current crisis of overproduction of low-value added semimanufactures. The drying up of international credit for financing consumption-driven trade deficits makes conspicuous the crushing foreign and local public debt burden and the backward agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy.

The regime aggravates the economic and social crisis by auctioning off the national patrimony and economic sovereignty to the foreign monopolies. It opposes national industrialization and land reform and offers to the foreign monopolies 100 percent ownership of land, banks, manufacturing, public utilities, social services, telecommunications, mass media, retail trade and all kinds of enterprises.

The people are victimized by rapidly mounting mass unemployment, abrupt peso depreciation, inflated prices of food and other basic commodities, heavier tax burden and rising fees for deteriorated social services. Not satisfied with these, the regime is pushing legislation to abolish the right to strike and the minimum wage law and encouraging the foreign monopolies and domestic landgrabbers to amass land under various pretexts.

In charge of an economy laid prostrate by the imperialists and their local running dogs, the regime is ready to give away everything to the imperialists, not only economic privileges but also the privilege of bringing in military forces that enjoy extraterritoriality and are immune to prosecution for crimes that they commit on Philippine soil. Preparations are underway for the amendment of the reactionary constitution to further violate the national and democratic rights of the people.

Vainly trying to stop the rise of the people's resistance, the regime is carrying out a policy of repression without formally declaring martial law, especially against the working people and ethnic communities. It is encouraging the military, police and paramilitary forces to perpetrate extrajudicial killings, kidnappings, torture and the most brutal acts to force people to abandon their homes and farms.

All of these violate the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) mutually approved by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. The regime has been violating all other bilateral agreements in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. It has in fact terminated these negotiations.

We have no problem with ending the peace negotiations as a form of legal struggle. We have conducted these along the clear line that a just and lasting peace can be attained only by pursuing the new-democratic revolution through the protracted people's war. Having strengthened the revolutionary forces and the mass base, we are in a position to intensify the people's war from year to year.

We cannot tolerate the brazen attempts of the enemy to junk The Hague Joint Declaration and impose on the NDFP a framework of capitulation and self-criminalization. The GRP has violated so many provisions of the CARHRIHL, such as those pertaining to the release of political prisoners, the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime, the repeal of repressive decrees, the end of policies and campaigns that brutally victimize entire communities and take away their homes and land and the formation of the Joint Monitoring Committee.

In violation of the framework of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and the CARHRIHL, the GRP has refused to negotiate the issue of prisoners of war, has viciously misrepresented the acts of revolution as common crimes and has arbitrarily "suspended" the safety and immunity guarantees for NDFP negotiating personnel and consultants, also in brazen violation of the JASIG.

The treacherous Estrada regime demands that the peace negotiations be held and put under its mercy in Manila as in 1986 and 1987 and arbitrarily rejects the stipulation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) for a neutral venue abroad. And yet, repeal of repressive decrees, the end of policies and campaigns that brutally victimize entire communities and take away their homes and land and the formation of the Joint Monitoring Committee. In violation of the framework of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and the CARHRIHL, the GRP has refused to negotiate the issue of prisoners of war, has viciously misrepresented the acts of revolution as common crimes and has arbitrarily "suspended" the safety and immunity guarantees for NDFP negotiating personnel and consultants, also in brazen violation of the JASIG.

The treacherous Estrada regime demands that the peace negotiations be held and put under its mercy in Manila as in 1986 and 1987 and arbitrarily rejects the stipulation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) for a neutral venue abroad. And yet, it refuses the peace negotiations to be held in the territory of the people's democratic government or within a neutral zone between the territories of the GRP and the revolutionary government.

It is just fine that an already isolated regime, daily buffeted by a severe economic and political crisis, challenges the revolutionary forces to intensify the people's war. Instead of trying to explore the possibility of truce and alliance with the current enemy through peace negotiations, the revolutionary forces must develop alliances with all possible forces at various levels in order to isolate and destroy the enemy. It is within the realm of probability that a broad united front can put the Estrada regime to an end before its term runs out.

Among the recent alliances that we can publicly announce and consider as highly significant is the formal alliance between the NDFP and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. This is an alliance for armed struggle and its significance is not only regional but national because it can effectively deliver lethal blows against the enemy.

If there were no revolutionary armed struggle, a ruling system or regime can muddle through an economic and social crisis. But the revolutionary armed struggle exists and can intensify. The ensuing aggravation of the political and socioeconomic crisis can be fatal to the Estrada regime.

To complement the revolutionary armed struggle, the Party is vigorously building the united front. This involves an echelon of alliances, such as the basic worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of the progressive forces (including the urban petty-bourgeoisie), the alliance of patriotic forces (including the middle bourgeoisie) and the temporary alliances with the reactionaries opposed to the enemy.

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

The current crisis of the world capitalist system does not allow the imperialist countries to let foreign loans and direct investments flow to the Philippines up to any level comparable to that during most years (1972-79) of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and during four years (1993-97) of the Ramos regime.

We can therefore be sure that the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system will worsen and the entire ruling system will weaken in the face of a rising broad mass movement and the tactical offensives of the New People's Army.

There is a chronic crisis of overproduction in all types of goods in the world. There is a contraction of the world market. The so-called emerging markets have sunk and are still sinking further in the direction of the raw-material producing countries depressed since the late '70s. Under the "laissez faire" or "free trade" policy rationale of "neoliberal globalization", the monopoly bourgeoisie has accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital, the destruction of productive forces and shrinkage of the global market.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is intensifying all the basic contradictions in the world, such as that between the imperialist countries and oppressed peoples, between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat and among the imperialist countries. The whole world is in turmoil.

The social turbulence is most acute and widespread in Asia, Africa, Latin America and most of the former Soviet bloc countries. Using the slogans of bourgeois nationalism, fascism, racism, ethnocentrism and religion, reactionary forces are generating widespread disorder in their factional strife. This disorder is conducive to the rise of revolutionary forces among the people, if there were a resolute and courageous Marxist-Leninist party to lead them.

The imperialist countries are wracked by the contradiction of inflated productive and financial assets and the reduced incomes of the proletariat and the rest of the people. There is chronic mass unemployment, most conspicuously in Japan and in Europe. In the United States, touted to have a high employment rate, regular jobs are being lost and replaced by part-time jobs. Thus, the class struggle of the proletariat is breaking out into the open even in the imperialist countries.

Cut-throat competition and protectionism under various guises are arising among imperialist countries. Inter-imperialist contradictions appear to be restrained only because the imperialist countries are united in further oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and in carrying out wars of aggression and "police actions" under the guise of "peacekeeping" and "humanitarian missions" in various parts of the world, especially in the Balkans, Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Africa.

The imperialist countries are competing for markets, fields of investment, sources of raw materials and



positions of strength. However, still under the chieftainship of the US, the Western imperialists have enlarged the NATO up to the borders of Russia. The US-Japan security partnership is geared for aggression in East Asia. The imperialist countries are stirring up trouble everywhere and are generating conditions of war.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is actively propagating the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and the applicability of protracted people's war in many agrarian countries where the peasant masses can be the main force of the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Together with other Marxist-Leninist parties waging or supporting people's war, the CPP has recently undertaken the International Seminar on Mao and People's War.

The Party maintains bilateral relations with parties in all types of countries and is active in various multilateral gatherings to promote at the least the global anti-imperialist struggle and at the most the world proletarian revolution. In all cases, the Party respects the independent and equal rights of parties to conduct revolutionary struggle according to the concrete conditions and judgment of such parties.

### ***Fighting tasks of the New People's Army***

The central task of the New People's Army is to destroy the counterrevolutionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and enable the working class and the peasantry to establish the people's democratic state. Such task can be accomplished over a protracted period of time along the general line of the new democratic revolution.

Right now, thanks to the people's army, there are local organs of political power, now comprising the people's democratic government, even as the reactionary government is still entrenched in the cities. Two kinds of government now exist in the Philippines. The revolutionary government aims to replace the reactionary government in due course.

Without the people's army, the people have nothing. They would only be subjected to oppression and exploitation, without any hope of creating their own political power and achieving national and social liberation from the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

It is clear that the New People's Army is mainly a fighting force for defeating the enemy. But it cannot perform its fighting tasks without performing the tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people to defend, promote and advance their national and democratic rights and interests.

The NPA must ceaselessly carry out mass work in order to further develop a strong foundation for carrying out the central task, to have an inexhaustible source of strength and to be able to recruit the best sons and daughters of the people. The broad masses of the people cherish and nourish the people's army only because it serves them and fights for their rights and interests.

Revolutionary politics must be in command of the New People's Army. This army must follow the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, serve as the main organization for carrying out the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution set forth by the Party and pursue the mass line of learning from the masses and trusting and relying on them.

The Party acts as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and the Filipino people and determines the general line and direction of the revolution. It wields both the people's army to destroy the counterrevolutionary state and the united front to rally the people in their millions to the revolutionary cause.

Even while the NPA is based in the countryside in pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, it is of utmost importance for the Party to coordinate all forms of mass struggle that arise and develop in both urban and rural areas.

To strengthen the bonds between the revolutionary forces in the rural and urban areas, workers and educated youth must be encouraged to join the people's army and serve the masses in the rural areas. The Party must deploy them accordingly. They bring with them much-needed knowledge and skills even as they must first learn from the masses that they seek to serve in the localities.

The deployment of cadres and mass activists from the cities to the countryside facilitates the coordination of the struggles in the urban and rural areas and prepares the day when the New People's Army shall be able to seize the cities on a nationwide scale.

The new-democratic revolution has a socialist perspective. We seek to overthrow the existing counterrevolutionary state and bring to an end the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in order to proceed to the socialist revolution as the next stage of the Philippine revolution.

At this moment, the new-democratic revolution being carried out in the Philippines is one of the outstanding revolutions in the world. That is because we have a people's army successfully following the strategic line of protracted people's war.

Now and in the future, the Philippine revolution serves not only to realize the national and social liberation of the Filipino people but also to make its contributions to the advance of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world.

Long live the New People's Army!

Carry forward the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war!

Fight until complete victory!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

# ***Win the Armed Revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century!***

## **Message for the 31<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of the New People's Army**

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On behalf of the Communist Party the Philippines and the Filipino people, I salute the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army for their revolutionary unity and their heroic struggles, sacrifices and victories in carrying forward the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We celebrate the great and glorious history of the New People's Army and we congratulate you for the current advances in the revolutionary struggle. You have increased and consolidated our armed strength and revolutionary mass base in the course of the Second Great Rectification Movement. You have won significant victories in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people and in launching tactical offensives against the enemy.

We are all happy that the NPA has rallied to the call of the Party to intensify the armed revolution and win complete victory in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The NPA is well prepared to advance from victory to victory because of its cumulative experience and strength and because the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is ever worsening.

It is the sacred duty of the NPA to wage the protracted people's war for as long as there is the need to fight for national and social liberation against oppression and exploitation. The broad masses of the people aspire for the complete victory of the Philippine revolution.

We must defeat US imperialism and the local exploiting classes and complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy. From the victory of the new-democratic revolution, we shall proceed to the socialist revolution and further onward to communism.

### ***1. Great achievements of the New People's Army***

The ongoing new-democratic revolution is a continuation of all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal domination. We continue the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy at a new and higher level.

The big difference between the old and the new democratic revolution is that the former was led by the nascent liberal bourgeoisie and the latter is led by the working class through its advanced detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, it is based on the worker-peasant alliance and it is aimed at laying the ground for the socialist revolution.

The leadership of the Party and the working class enables the Filipino people both to solve the land problem, which is the main problem of the democratic revolution, and to accomplish the new revolutionary tasks in the global era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party has set the correct revolutionary class line, the general political line and the strategic line of protracted people's war. Thus, the NPA has advanced from the Katipunan and Philippine Revolutionary Army of the old democratic revolution.

The NPA has surpassed the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People's Army against Japan) and the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) because our Party since 1969 has clarified more than ever before the basic conditions, character, motive forces, enemies, stages and tasks of the Philippine revolution. We have cast away the revisionism and opportunism of the old communist and socialist merger party.

We have grasped the basic teachings of Comrade Mao on the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. At the same time, we have drawn lessons from our own experience and have contributed to the further development of the theory and practice of protracted people's war. The NPA has become the most powerful revolutionary army in the entire history of the Filipino people. It has surpassed all previous revolutionary armies in the Philippines in terms of nationwide scope and being deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. The Party has achieved the historic feat of building the New People's Army by relying on and trusting the masses and through hard work and arduous struggle under the principle of self-reliance.

From its small beginning of 60 fighters with nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac in 1969, the NPA now has a sum total of more than a score of battalions armed with high-powered weapons, augmented by tens of thousands of people in militia and self-defense units. From a mass base of

50,000 to 80,000 in 1969, we now have a mass base of millions in more than 80 guerrilla fronts spanning the entire length and breadth of the country.

The NPA has built its strength by conscientiously adhering to the mass line and valiantly fighting the enemy. It has become tested in so many battles and has overcome so many campaigns of suppression launched against it by the enemy. It has persevered and strengthened itself against such task forces of division strength as Task Force Lawin and Task Force Saranay from 1969 to 1972, a 14-year fascist dictatorship with national campaign plans of suppression, like Cadena de Amor and Oplan Katatagan, and the Aquino and Ramos regime's national campaign plans, Lambat Bitag I, II, III and IV.

The enemy flatters and fools himself when he claims falsely to have won a "strategic victory" under the US-Ramos regime and reduced the rifle strength of the NPA from 25,000 in 1985 to only 5,000 in 1992 as a result of the series of Oplan Lambat Bitag campaigns. The truth is that the NPA had only some 5,600 high-powered firearms in 1985, excluding the inferior weapons in the hands of the militia and self-defense units.

It was neither one-sidedly nor principally the enemy campaigns of suppression that caused the conspicuous decline of the mass base and tactical offensives of the NPA from 1988 to 1991. It was principally the errors of revisionism and the "Left" opportunism pushed by the revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists that played into the hands of the enemy, until the Second Great Rectification Movement stopped these and started to prevail in 1992.

The NPA could not be destroyed even when Lambat Bitag, with its "forward deployment", "war of quick decision" and "gradual constriction" coincided with the grave "Left" and Right opportunist errors and the bloody witchhunts carried out by the renegades. That is because, no matter how highly placed, the revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists could not destroy the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leadership of the Party and foundation of the NPA.

They could not totally impose at one and the same time on the entire Party and NPA their deviationist lines of "strategic counteroffensive", "Red Area-White Area line", "convergence theory" and various forms of insurrectionism.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Red commanders and fighters have persevered in the strategic line of protracted people's war and carried out the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare. The growth of the NPA, from the beginning and during the fascist dictatorship, was due to small-unit guerrilla offensives and not due to the prematurely enlarged and overstaffed units, which were burdensome to and divorced from the masses and easy for the enemy to isolate and render passive.

The multiplication of guerrilla fronts, with the platoon as the relatively concentrated center of gravity, and the concomitant expansion and consolidation of the mass base were stunted or derailed wherever there was a premature formation of the absolutely concentrated companies and battalions and the consequent neglect of painstaking mass work and solid organizing among the masses.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has won resounding victory due to the resoluteness and militancy of the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Red commanders and fighters. We have reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the NPA for mass work. When it is not in the offensive mode, even the platoon as center of gravity is not detached from the masses but has a smaller radius for conducting mass work than the smaller units deliberately deployed for mass work on a wider scale. Thus, we have recovered, expanded and consolidated the revolutionary mass base. Further on, we have steadily increased tactical offensives within our capabilities since 1996.

We have overcome the threats to the life of the Party, the people's army and the entire revolutionary mass movement previously posed by the incorrigible opportunists and revisionist renegades. The NPA has not only preserved itself but has also revitalized and further strengthened itself as the revolutionary army for winning the new-democratic and socialist revolution in the 21st century.

We have defeated not only the "Left" opportunists who undermined the NPA under the guise of speeding up victory but also the Right opportunists (including those who swung from "Left" to Right or posed as centrists) who brazenly peddled reformism, revisionism and liquidationism. The worst of these revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists are now openly in the service of the counterrevolutionary state. They have found their political graveyard in the US-Estrada regime.

The "Left" and the Right opportunists used in common the wrong notion that the Philippines is no longer semifeudal in their futile attempt to draw the revolutionary movement away from the strategic line of protracted

people's war and take recruits for the line of betrayal. They have been exposed as charlatans by the Second Great Rectification Movement and by the ever worsening semicolonial and semifeudal conditions.

The NPA has won significant victories in realizing the three integral components of people's war: armed struggle, land reform and mass base building. All these are within the context of the new-democratic revolution. Even the enemy now publicly acknowledges the undeniable fact that the NPA has grown in strength among the masses and is in a position to deliver more lethal blows on his forces.

The NPA has won brilliant victories in tactical offensives on a nationwide scale, especially in Southern Tagalog, Central Visayas and Mindanao. The sum total of arms captured in all guerrilla fronts through ambushes, raids and arrest operations is significant. We have captured a significant number of weapons from raids, often without firing a single shot, and from ambushes of varying scales.

We have been able to raid and capture a regional police headquarters and seize more than 80 high-powered rifles in Bohol. We have also captured high ranking military and police officers, including a general, developing vigorously.

We have succeeded in advancing the people's war by carrying out land reform and doing painstaking mass work. We rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants, distinguishing the enlightened from the evil gentry in order to isolate the latter and destroy its power in the countryside. This antifeudal class line is carried out within the context of the national united front, which is revolutionary in character by virtue of the people's war as main component of the struggle under the current circumstances.

We are building the mass base on an unprecedented scale. We create and develop organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, women, youth, cultural activists and people from various walks of life. We launch mass campaigns to raise the educational and cultural level of the people, carry out land reform, improve the people's livelihood, promote health and public hygiene, train the militia and the people in self-defence, eliminate antisocial activities and replace unhealthy forms of entertainment with meaningful ones.

Even as the counterrevolutionary state of big compradors and landlords is still entrenched in the cities, we are already building the people's democratic government in the form of the local organs of political power, supported by mass organizations and the people in general, defended by the New People's Army and led by the Party. We have long acquired the status of belligerency under international law by virtue of our victories in people's war and we can gain international recognition of that status by winning greater victories.

Wave upon wave, we continue to expand the population and territory under the people's democratic government. More guerrilla fronts are being established to fill the gaps between priorly existing guerrilla fronts. The NPA is further gaining access to the urban areas and trunklines.

While the NPA concentrates on building and strengthening the guerrilla fronts in the countryside, the Party coordinates the revolutionary forces and mass struggles in the urban areas with those in the rural areas. It encourages and deploys workers and educated youth in the urban areas to serve in the people's army and in rural communities.

The broad masses of the people cherish the New People's Army, its Red commanders and fighters because they are fighting for the revolutionary cause against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. The revolutionary strength and prestige of the NPA will rise ever higher as all the forms of revolutionary struggle of the people surge forward.

By our perseverance and victories in people's war, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines all enjoy high respect, prestige and support all over the world, among the people and forces fighting against imperialism and for national liberation and socialism. We have benefited from the long revolutionary experience and current struggles of the proletariat and people of the world and we have contributed significantly to the cause of world proletarian revolution. We are certain that as we carry forward the torch of armed revolution, more oppressed peoples are bound to rise up in arms and make revolution amidst the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation.

## ***II. Crisis of imperialism and proletarian revolution***

As we enter the 21st century, the capitalist crisis of overproduction and new world disorder are worsening rapidly. The current conditions in the world are favorable for revolution and belie the claim of the imperialists that history cannot go any further than monopoly capitalism and their pretenses at liberal democracy.

The adoption of high technology drives and accelerates the overconcentration of productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie. To extract higher profits and counter the tendency of profit rates to fall with the expansion of production, the monopoly bourgeoisie attacks the trade union and democratic rights of the workers, massacres regular jobs and replaces these with part-time and untenured jobs in order to press down wages.

With the US at the head, the imperialists have drummed up the myth of “free market” to rationalize the accelerating rates of exploitation of the working class in the imperialist countries and the people in the client countries. The monopoly bourgeoisie is unbridled in concentrating and centralizing capital in its hands under the slogans of privatization, liberalization and deregulation.

The imperialists and their lackeys depict the working people as parasites rather than as the producers of wealth. They blame the working people as the source of inflation and hindrance to economic growth. They press down the incomes of the working people to maximize profits. The bourgeois state casts away its social pretenses, increases the tax burden of the people and accelerates the delivery of public assets and funds to the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The result is the aggravation and deepening of the chronic crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. The reduction of incomes of the people means the shrinkage of the market. The enterprises that lose in the competition either close down or become absorbed in bigger enterprises. The further concentration of capital leaves in its wake the destruction of productive forces. The closure of firms, production cutbacks and mergers mean rising chronic mass unemployment and deteriorating wage and living conditions.

The financial crisis becomes conspicuous as the huge debts of losing enterprises and debtor countries are exposed. But new debts are incurred by the bourgeois state and the private firms to keep the capitalist economy running in the direction of further exploiting the people. To conjure the illusion of growth, the monopoly bourgeoisie does not only concentrate capital in its hands but also overvalues the assets through the workings of monopoly finance capital.

The imperialist countries are afflicted by the chronic crisis of overproduction and the related phenomena of chronic mass unemployment, erosion of hard-won social benefits and the rising chronic financial crisis of the state and private sectors. The economies of Japan and the European Union have become stagnant and unstable in comparison to the economy of the US.

The US is the strongest among the imperialist countries because it has the lead in high technology and is able to take advantage of its imperialist allies in investments and trade. Japan and the European Union themselves are attracted by higher rates of profit in the US and buoy up the US economy by buying US securities.

The biggest economic bubble has arisen in the US, with the flow of investments into high-tech stocks and the overvaluation of these. A crisis of overproduction is building up in computers, telecom and software, which are at the base of capital growth in the US. The US boasts of high employment, which is characterized by part-time jobs replacing regular jobs.

The US continues to be pressed by the costs of winning the cold war and striving to maintain its all-round hegemony in the world capitalist system. It has a huge federal debt, as a result of high military spending and trade deficits to accommodate its allies. Its efforts to reduce its colossal public debt and trade deficits aggravate the crisis of overproduction at home and abroad.

The crisis of overproduction in imperialist countries has reached the point that the workers and the rest of the people have begun to launch strikes and mass protest actions against the state and the monopoly bourgeoisie. But insofar as it can still exploit the people of the world, the monopoly bourgeoisie can dampen the class struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist countries.

It is in the lesser industrial capitalist countries, including the much weakened imperialist power Russia, that the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is relatively more vigorous. However, this struggle still lacks an effective leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. At any rate, war has broken out in Europe, particularly in the Balkans and portions of the former Soviet Union.

The imperialist powers are united in oppressing and exploiting the people and are still led by US imperialism in this regard. But there are growing contradictions among them. These are bound to intensify upon the further worsening of the world crisis of overproduction. Trends show the sharpening of contradictions among the imperialist powers, between them and their client states, between them and the oppressed peoples and between the

monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

It is in the nature of imperialism to generate economic crises and wars. So far, in the aftermath of the end of the cold war, the wars of aggression take the appearance of the imperialist powers uniting against what they call “rogue” states but really against the people of certain countries and entire regions as in the wars against Iraq and against Yugoslavia. Underlying these wars of aggression is the worsening crisis of overproduction which leads to the struggle among the imperialist powers themselves for a redivision of the world.

The weakness of Russia invites aggressive actions from the stronger imperialist powers. Thus, after the expansion of NATO to Eastern Europe, the US has launched a war of aggression against Yugoslavia in order to control the Balkans, tighten the encirclement of Russia, secure both sides of the Mediterranean and dictate the flow of oil from the Caucasus, Caspian Sea and Central Asia. The US has gone to the extent of promoting the armed resistance of the Chechens in order to foil any Russian-German plan to lay pipelines across Chechnya and towards Western Europe.

The overwhelming majority of the people of the world are in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the retrogressive countries where revisionist regimes had betrayed socialism and restored capitalism for decades. They suffer the main brunt of the global crisis of overproduction. Their countries are the main arena of violent conflicts among the imperialists and reactionaries as well as those between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces.

Most of these countries have no more than raw materials for export. The terms of trade for such exports have continuously deteriorated since the late 1970s because of overproduction. A few of these countries export some manufactures and semimanufactures, which have also been in overproduction since the 1990s. Thus, all these countries are burdened by huge trade deficits and foreign debt.

The destruction of productive forces in all the aforementioned countries is horrific. Closure of export-oriented, agricultural and manufacturing enterprises, mass unemployment and the deterioration of wage and living conditions are widespread. There has been no recovery from the pre-1997 level of socioeconomic conditions which were already bad.

Under conditions of the chronic crisis of overproduction, the afflicted countries can only hope in vain to earn foreign exchange for debt service and consumer imports. They continue to produce raw materials and semimanufactures at ever lower prices or reduce their imports under a policy of austerity. Consequently, the global market of the imperialists for their own exports, such as structural steel, cars, consumer electronics, telecom and so on also contracts.

The new world disorder is raging on a wide scale in countries which have nothing to export but raw materials. Reactionary cliques compete violently for power and use ethnocentric, religious and other reactionary slogans against each other. Civil wars characterized by massacres and massive displacement of people have spread, particularly in Africa which is the continent most devastated by the crisis of overproduction in raw materials since the late 1970s.

US imperialism and its allies are quick to intervene and launch wars of aggression, hypocritically invoking humanitarian and peacekeeping motives, only when oil resources are involved, as in the Middle East and the Balkans. The wars of aggression have also been used as the occasion for the US to display and use its high-tech weapons against the fixed establishments of its adversary states, including the civilian infrastructure, public utilities, economic enterprises, hospitals and schools, government buildings and mass media facilities.

With overweening arrogance, US imperialism uses both financial and military power to bamboozle its own imperialist allies, bully its neocolonial clients and blockade and threaten countries like Cuba and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that assert and defend national independence and the socialist aspirations of the people.

But US imperialism is strategically overextended more than ever before and is overdependent on expensive hightech weapons. It retains its fear of incurring American casualties in a ground war. At the same time, it weakens its own puppet states by imposing on them neocolonial and neoliberal policies that ruin them economically and financially and make them harsh and hated by the people.

Certain states which are vulnerable to US financial and military blackmail but which have resisted complete US domination, have amply demonstrated the limits of US imperialist power. Even the victims of US wars of aggression in the previous decade, like Iraq and Yugoslavia, have deterred or withstood the attempts of the US and its

imperialist allies to overrun them. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba and Libya have so far prevented US imperialism from launching a war of aggression against them.

Aware of the limits of US imperialist power, the existing armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy are optimistic that in due course, they can defeat and overthrow the puppet states in their own countries and that further armed revolutionary movements shall arise on an unprecedented scale in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the retrogressive countries previously run down by revisionist renegades and now neo-colonies of US imperialism.

Armed revolutionary movements, based among the peasants and applying the strategic line of protracted people's war, render impotent the high-tech weapons of the US, as in the triumphant Vietnamese war of national liberation.

In Asia, the US relies on its own military power and its strategic security partnership with Japan in maintaining its hegemony. But in years and decades to come, Japan will be increasingly at odds with the US precisely as a result of current US impositions. Japan has its own imperialist character and ambitions. It is already reeling from the interimperialist economic competition and is bound to resist US impositions and increase its own initiative vis-à-vis other Asian countries.

The US continues to offend the peoples of Asia as it dictates upon its puppet states policies to further oppress and exploit the people. It knows no bounds for its interference in the internal affairs of the Asian countries and peoples. To push its hegemony, it meddles in such outstanding issues as the return of Taiwan to China, the reunification of Korea, Kashmir, Tibet and so on.

The US is the pioneer in the production and genocidal use of the atom bomb, as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and owns the biggest stockpile of nuclear weapons. It wants to maintain overwhelming nuclear superiority for political blackmail and to retain the privilege of first use. Driven by its aggressive imperialist nature and hankering for nuclear monopoly, it demands that other countries give up their nuclear weapons.

The current of armed revolution is growing in Southeast Asia and South Asia. Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are leading people's wars and are gaining strength in their respective countries. These parties light up the road of armed revolution in Asia as well as in other continents of the semicolonial and semifeudal countries.

The unprecedented destruction of productive forces and contraction of the world market that are going on will intensify all the basic contradictions in the world, such as those between imperialism and the oppressed peoples, among the imperialist powers and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They can inspire other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to wage armed revolution.

The information technology that is further raising the social character of production and coming into conflict with monopoly capitalist ownership is available for quick communications in propaganda, armed operations and other activities of the revolutionary movements now and for socialist economic planning, production and cultural development in the future. The imperialists and their local reactionary lackeys are doomed. The revolutionary prospects of the proletariat and people of the world are bright. The new world disorder is becoming more and more turbulent and is the prelude to social revolution.

### ***III. Rapid worsening of the rotten ruling system***

The rotten ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class is under severe strain from the global capitalist crisis of overproduction in all types of goods and from the US-dictated neoliberal "free market" policy of denationalization, investment and trade liberalization, privatization and deregulation.

The chronic crisis of the ruling system is rapidly worsening in an all-round way. The economic and social crisis is inflicting extreme suffering on the broad masses of the people and inciting social unrest and armed revolution. The socioeconomic crisis has brought the political crisis to a level similar to that on the eve of the declaration of martial law under the Marcos regime.

The Philippines is dependent on the importation of equipment, fuel and depressed by the global crisis of overproduction. The Philippines has to and semiprocessed components and does not produce capital goods. And increasingly, all types of Philippine exports (agricultural and mineral raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures) are depressed by the global crisis of overproduction. The Philippines has to produce more of the same kind of exports even at lower prices in the world market in order to earn foreign exchange or else cut down the importation of inputs for the production of export goods and thus earn less foreign exchange.

Even agricultural production for domestic consumption is being cut down by the rising costs of imported



inputs and by the liberalized imports of food products, including rice, corn, sugar and meat. The land available for agriculture has also been reduced by the rapid accumulation of land in the hands of the few for real estate speculation although the bubble of private construction has burst.

Under conditions of the global overproduction of manufactures, such as cars, construction materials, consumer electronics and telecommunications, the exploiting classes have accelerated their conspicuous consumption and have intensified their exploitation of the working class and peasantry.

The foreign trade deficit has mounted from year to year and can be reduced only by austerity measures, production cutbacks and unemployment. The export of men and women for overseas contract work has been a far bigger foreign exchange earner than any export product. But it is now hemmed in by global economic crisis and by competing labor exports from other impoverished countries.

The foreign debt of the Philippines is soaring. It is pushed up by rising interest payments on the old debt and by new debt to pay for the old debt and cover the ongoing trade deficit. Recent foreign loans have been used mainly to bail out the banking system. Japanese loans for public works has come in trickles and with strings attached. The foreign creditors are exacting more onerous terms.

The reactionary state incurs annually an even higher level of local public debt and imposes a heavier tax burden and higher fees for public services on the broad masses of the people to cover the ever rising budgetary deficit. Most government spending is on debt service payment, military and police forces and bureaucratic corruption. Social security savings have been used to finance stock market and merger scams.

The US-Estrada regime claims that the country's gross domestic product (GDP) has grown from the level of last year. This is illusory. The GNP figure is bloated by guesstimates, counterproductive expenditures and understated estimates of the inflation rate. Even the regime admits that the economy is far from reaching the GNP level of 1997.

Because of the worsening socioeconomic crisis, the ground is decreasing for amicable mutual accommodation among the competing political factions of the exploiting classes. The ruling clique is more avaricious than ever and is more easily exposed. Political rivalry among the reactionaries is becoming more bitter and violent.

The rottenness of the reactionary state is conspicuously manifested by the flagrant corruption of Estrada, his several wives and children and their respective dummies and cronies who engage in all kinds of shady deals, involving contracts with the state, access to state financial institutions and business privileges. As in the years of the Marcos fascist regime, a monopolistic system of presidential pork barrel has replaced the relatively more extended system of congressional pork barrel.

The ascension of the Estrada ruling clique reflects an unprecedented deterioration of the economic and political system. The financial and political support of the Marcos family, the most notorious Marcos cronies and crime lords brought to power a president who was previously a popular movie actor but is a mentally unstable alcoholic. In so short a time, there is already a popular outcry for his ouster or forced resignation.

Because of the stench of its corruption and its growing isolation, the US-Estrada regime is vulnerable to a coup d'etat. There are several groups of military officers who wish to replace Estrada with his vice-president in keeping with the 1987 constitution of the reactionary state. They are unanimous in condemning Estrada for corruption, mental incompetence and favoritism for certain military and police officers who run criminal syndicates.

The coercive apparatuses of the state are riven by factionalism reflective of the splits among the reactionary politicians as well as criminal syndicates engaged in smuggling, gambling, drug traffic, prostitution, extortion, kidnap-for-ransom, illegal logging and so on. The dominant military and police officers are the operatives of Estrada in the most lucrative criminal activities.

The current ruling clique mouths the platitudes of the "free market" dogma and believes that the all-out sale of national patrimony to foreign monopolies would make the Philippines "globally competitive". It is for this reason that the regime wants either the reactionary constitution to be amended or legislation to be undertaken to achieve the same results.

The regime is blatantly opposed to national industrialization. It does not even pretend to be for it, unlike previous regimes that misrepresented big comprador projects as flagship industrial development projects. It cynically cites as development and anti-poverty projects casinos and other gambling ventures. It has allowed the infrastructure to deteriorate on a nationwide scale and dissipated public funds in a few showy public works projects amidst a disarray of similarly graft-ridden flimsy projects.

It encourages land accumulation by a few big comprador-landlords under its wings. It reclassifies the few token areas of land under the bogus land reform program of the reactionary government as nonagricultural in order to deliver these to landlords and real estate speculators. And it cynically tells the landless tillers that if they wish to own land all that they need to do is to buy the land at the going market price or buy shares of stock in agricultural corporations owned by the likes of Eduardo Cojuangco.

Under the “free market” slogan, the imperialists and the reactionary state abandon social pretenses. The political arrogance and greed of the exploiting classes know no bounds. These result in terrible suffering for the people and thus incite them to wage revolutionary struggle against the state.

The regime is increasingly unleashing open terror and is practicing an undeclared martial law even as it has severe financial difficulties in maintaining the army and police. It has declared all-out war against the revolutionary movement and the people and in this connection has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. At the same time, it is trying in vain to deceive the people by misrepresenting its scheme of localized surrender negotiations as the replacement of erstwhile peace negotiations.

To have cheaper cannon fodder than the military and police regulars, the regime is increasing personnel of the paramilitary forces by the tens of thousands. These are used as baits as well as shields by the regular forces when in patrols and offensives and are thus exposed to higher risks at lower pay. In addition, the regime is encouraging big compradors and landlords to organize private armed gangs. Military officers are also forming vigilante groups, death squads and pseudoreligious armed fanatical cults in addition to the official paramilitary units.

The neocolonial and neoliberal policy of denationalization, liberalization, privatization and deregulation is a brazen attack on the human rights (particularly the social, economic and cultural rights) of the people by the US imperialists and the puppet regime. It is the rationale for such rampant violations of civil and political liberties as arbitrary arrests, torture, extrajudicial killings, arson, looting, bombardments of communities, food blockades and forced mass evacuations.

In response to the escalating attacks on the people, the legal democratic mass movement has vigorously surged forward. Protests and demands have been raised on socioeconomic and political issues. Workers, peasants, women, youth, church people and other sectors of society have been conducting mass education and mass campaigns and protest actions according to their class and sectoral interests as well as according to their common interests against the ruling clique, the imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

The workers have campaigned against the labor flexibility policy, the massacre of regular jobs, the pressing down of wages, casualization and short-term contractualization and the all-out attack on their basic rights. The peasants have clamored for land reform and have denounced all forms of aggravating the land problem and the rampant human rights violations, especially in the countryside.

The women have intensified their campaign against gender discrimination and oppression and for gender equality and the rights of working mothers and children. The student youth have conducted strikes against rising tuition fees and the suppression of student governments and campus press freedom. The youth in other sectors are rising up against the conditions of unemployment and all forms of exploitation and oppression.

The biggest nationwide mass protest actions have been conducted against the scheme to sell out the national sovereignty and national patrimony by constitutional amendment, against bureaucratic corruption, against low wages and union-busting and against the repeated oil price hikes and rising cost of living. To arouse and mobilize the people in their millions, the united front has been broadened to include as unstable allies conservative institutions and reactionaries opposed to the ruling clique. There is now a mounting campaign to force the resignation or ouster of the Estrada ruling clique.

The ruling clique is so isolated that it relies for crowd support on a “charismatic” religious organization and on entertainment shows by movie and TV personalities close to Estrada. To frustrate the tactics of the regime in this regard, progressive forces are developing a movement that harmonizes the national democratic line with the social concerns and aspirations of the ordinary clergy, lay leaders and the great mass of religious believers. They stage cultural shows and popularize songs and other cultural fare to raise the revolutionary spirit of the people against the regime and the ruling system.

Revolutionary armed resistance has expanded and grown in strength. The most formidable armies now fighting the enemy are the New People’s Army and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. They have forged a formal alliance since late last year and have raised their cooperation and coordination to a new and higher level. There is

firm mutual understanding that whenever the common enemy attacks one, the other takes action to relieve the ally by intensifying tactical offensives in its own areas.

Other forces fighting the enemy in Mindanao are the Islamic Command Council of the Moro National Liberation Front and the Al Harakatul Islamiyah (Abu Sayyaf). There is growing tension between the Moro National Liberation Front and the Manila government because of the latter's broken promises and its open suspicion that Moro integrees in the reactionary army are spies. A force of 1000 MNLF fighters ran off with their rifles soon after these were issued to them last December.

The domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords is rotten to the core and is in the process of disintegration. It can be destroyed and replaced by the people's democratic system only through protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution. The NPA performs the central task of fighting and defeating the military, police and paramilitary forces that seek to preserve the unjust ruling system.

#### ***IV. Winning victory in the people's war***

We are confident of winning complete victory in the new democratic revolution in the early part of the 21st century. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is exceedingly favorable for the advance of the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary forces have accumulated experience and strength for carrying the revolutionary movement forward. The Second Great Rectification Movement has prepared the Party and the entire revolutionary movement for greater victories ahead.

The New People's Army must continue to play the crucial role of carrying out the principal form of struggle. This is to defeat the armed forces of the enemy and thereby overthrow the ruling system of the big compradors and landlords in order to establish the people's democratic government based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Then, we shall be able to proceed to the socialist revolution.

The NPA is chiefly a fighting force for destroying the enemy. It must preserve itself, win battles and gain strength by integrating its military tasks with such other necessary and important tasks as propaganda, mass organizing and production. It must grow ever stronger as a political, military, economic and cultural force. It is a force for transforming the backward villages into the advanced political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution. Thus, it is intimately linked with the masses in an all-round way.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must exercise absolute leadership over the NPA and ensure that revolutionary politics is in command. At every level, the leading organ of the Party must direct the corresponding command of the people's army. Party units within the people's army ensure that the mass line of trusting the masses and relying on them is upheld.

The people are the inexhaustible source of strength of the people's army. They participate in the revolutionary war, encourage their best sons and daughters to join the people's army and extend all possible support to it because it fights for their national and democratic rights and interests.

The semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system requires the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside over a long period of time allows the people's army to avail of the widest possible social and physical terrain for maneuver to fight the enemy and to grow from small to big and from weak to strong.

We must solve the main problem of the democratic revolution, which is the land problem. We must implement the minimum land reform program and eventually the maximum land reform program. Thus, the peasant masses will maintain their allegiance to the revolution and follow the leadership of the proletariat. The people's army must grow in stages in the process of revolutionary armed struggle. Currently, we are in the stage of the strategic defensive while the enemy is in the strategic offensive because of his vast superiority in equipment and trained military personnel. But we can and must change the balance of forces by carrying out only those tactical offensives that we are capable of winning against the enemy.

By accumulating strength from our successful tactical offensives, through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, we shall surely reach the stage of strategic stalemate, when our strength shall be practically equal to the strength of the enemy. We shall finally be able to reach the stage of the strategic offensive when the enemy shall have been reduced to the position of strategic defensive.

We can only outline now the course of probability but we are certain that the increase of our strength and our advances shall be cumulative, unless we incur major errors or need to adjust the tactics and rate of advance in the event that foreign aggressor troops come in. The possibility of foreign aggression is offset by the possibility that

the imperialist powers are preoccupied elsewhere in the world.

The most effective way for the people's army to anticipate and frustrate the constant attempt of the enemy to concentrate his forces and destroy us in a guerrilla zone, a guerrilla front or a region is to keep on expanding and consolidating our mass base on a nationwide scale.

The strength of the enemy is not limitless. In fact, it is overextended and spread out thinly. The crisis of the ruling system limits the military capability of the enemy. It is rapidly worsening and will further worsen if the enemy increases the personnel and equipment of the military, police and paramilitary forces. It is pertinent to know that the reactionary government is so bankrupt that the IMF has ordered it to slash personnel from the civil bureaucracy and to cut back expenditures for health, education and other social services.

The enemy can concentrate forces on some but never on all our existing guerrilla zones, guerrilla fronts and regions. We can launch more offensives where enemy forces have thinned out. And even where these are concentrated, we can adopt flexible tactics of tying them down by certain offensive actions or by trading pace for time on varying scales.

The expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary mass base should enable us to fight a war of fluid movement and avoid any decisive engagement that puts to risk the entire armed strength of any guerrilla front. Thus, we constantly remind ourselves to conduct painstaking mass work in order to expand and consolidate our mass base and build the organs of political power.

To seize the initiative in launching tactical offensives, we must discover weak points of the enemy forces and we must also induce them to commit mistakes and lay bare their weak points. At the tactical level, we muster superior armed strength and use the element of surprise to attack the weak point of the enemy forces at the place and time that we choose. At the same time, we maintain vigilance and preempt the enemy forces from catching us in an isolated and passive position.

Only by constantly expanding and deepening our mass base can we carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. We must avail of tactics of dispersal, concentration and shifting. We disperse to do mass work. We concentrate the force to launch tactical offensives. We shift to evade the concentrated attack of a superior enemy force.

Even as we say that the enemy is strategically superior to us in military terms and that we must adopt the strategic defensive, we must maintain our strategic contempt for the enemy. Our revolutionary cause is just. The enemy is the despicable instrument of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes and he is far weaker now than ever before economically and politically. But we must always take him seriously at the tactical level.

The NPA must accelerate the development of the armed struggle, the implementation of land reform and mass base building, i.e., building organs of political power and mass organizations in the countryside. The number of guerrilla fronts must further increase in order to cover the gap between existing ones. Under the direction of the regional Party committees, priorly existing guerrilla fronts must give birth to new guerrilla fronts and yield their relative surplus of personnel and arms for the purpose.

As we intensify our mass work and tactical offensives, the NPA must pay attention to politico-economic training, training of medical, munitions and communications personnel, intelligence gathering, production, health care, cultural work and enforcement of the tax policy of the people's democratic government. There can be functional specialization as well as rotation of cadres and personnel in the performance of tasks under the leadership of the Party.

We must carry out the basic tactical offensives for the purpose of seizing arms from the enemy and accumulating armed strength. For this purpose, the people's army relies mainly on the advance of mass work wave upon wave. There can be some instances when a commando unit of sufficient force can launch a tactical offensive away from the guerrilla front and has ample time and means to return to the guerrilla front. In all cases of tactical offensives, there must be a long-term build-up of intelligence and timely reconnaissance to ensure success.

We must also carry out from time to time some special offensives to punish the worst enemies of the people, the biggest human rights violators and plunderers, the traitors and other notorious criminals. These elements must be prevented from further oppressing and exploiting the people, harming the revolutionary movement, enjoying the fruits of their crimes and running for offices in the reactionary elections.

The reactionaries stage elections to conjure the illusion of democracy. They use force and the power of money

to exclude genuine representatives of the people. They practically insult the people by limiting their electoral choice only to their oppressors and exploiters. In response, the revolutionary movement applies tactics of the united front on the internal contradictions among the reactionaries, punishes or prevents from running as candidates the hostile elements and dispels the false illusion that reactionary elections constitute democracy.

The reactionary state is extremely dependent on foreign investments. We must undertake special tactical offensives to discourage these, particularly when the foreign enterprises ignore and violate the laws of the people's democratic government, are detrimental to the people, run counter to genuine economic development and are harmful to the environment.

We must discourage from entering the territory of the people's democratic government those agencies of the reactionary government and imperialist-funded private groups that engage in counterrevolutionary propaganda and schemes of corruption. At the same time, we distinguish the diehards from those willing to cooperate with us and we calibrate our acts of discouragement towards the former and our acts of persuasion towards the latter.

Our resolute response to the regime's declaration of all-out war and termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations is the intensification of people's war. We must do everything possible and necessary in both revolutionary armed struggle and united front work in order to render the enemy incapable of ruling the people and to isolate and destroy him.

The increasingly bitter conflicts among the reactionaries and the rising armed struggle of the Moro people for self-determination are favorable conditions for the growth in strength and advance of the NPA and all revolutionary forces.

As the regime concentrates its campaigns of suppression, on some regions of the NPA as well as the areas of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, it leaves out so many other areas open to our mass work and tactical offensives. Even in the few areas that the enemy forces choose to concentrate on, they leave so many gaps and expose their weak points.

In such areas, we must take the view that we have succeeded in luring the enemy forces in deep and we must deal them deadly blows by maneuvering to launch tactical offensives on exterior lines. In so many areas where the enemy forces have thinned out, we must launch tactical offensives as frequently as possible to relieve our comrades who are under concentrated enemy attack elsewhere. Over a long period of time, we must make the enemy bleed to death from countless wounds.

The arrogance of the US-Estrada regime is hitched to the military power of US imperialism, particularly to the US-RP Visiting Forces Agreement and related agreements. But US imperialism is a strategically overextended monster that is afraid of incurring American casualties in a ground war and is overdependent on high-tech weapons and on puppet mercenary troops. The strategy and tactics of US imperialism are impotent in the face of protracted people's war, as proven in China and Indochina in the past.

By the time that the revolutionary movement has gained enough strength as to drive the local reactionaries to beg for a US war of aggression, the NPA shall have gained the strength to inflict heavy casualties on US troops on the ground or the US shall have become preoccupied with people's wars and other forms of struggle in so many other countries. By winning the armed revolution, we shall bring about a Philippines that is completely independent, democratic, just, progressive, peaceful and prosperous. We base our revolutionary aspirations on the self-reliant revolutionary struggle of the entire people while the new world disorder grows in turbulence and leads to revolutions elsewhere in the world.

It is our internationalist duty to persevere in the protracted people's war, intensify our tactical offensives and deal deadly blows on the enemy. Our revolutionary struggle and victories are our contribution to the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world. We must reciprocate the inspiration and support that the proletariat and people abroad extend to us by their revolutionary struggles and victories. The fact that US imperialism has been able to dominate the Philippines for a century does not mean that it can continue to do so for another century or forever. It only means that we need to fight even better until we can win complete victory. We must fight US imperialism in order make it pay for its crimes of aggression, oppression and exploitation and lift the nation from the humiliation that it has suffered for so long.

The fact that US imperialism has won the Cold War, with modern revisionism doing the main job of destroying socialism from within, does not mean that monopoly capitalism is the end of history. It only means that we need to fight even better until we defeat imperialism so that we can build socialism. The ultimate aim is to defeat

imperialism on a global scale and attain communism for the benefit of all mankind.

# ***Seize Every Moment, Advance the People's War***

**March 29, 2001**

On the 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army by the Communist Party of the Philippines, we salute the Red commanders and fighters and congratulate them for the historical and current victories that they have won through arduous struggle and selfless sacrifice.

Let us render the highest tribute to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. They inspire us to struggle more resolutely and vigorously than ever before for the revolutionary cause of national liberation and democracy.

The New People's Army is the main organization for carrying out the principal form of revolutionary struggle, which is the armed struggle. This is the only way by which we can overthrow the state power of the exploiting classes and establish the people's democratic power.

Since its founding on March 29, 1969, the NPA has won resounding victories under the leadership of the Party, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has carried forward the new-democratic revolution of the Filipino proletariat and people through protracted people's war against the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors and landlords.

Since the Second Great Rectification Movement, the NPA has rectified the grave errors of "Left" and Right opportunism. As a result, it has consolidated and expanded its revolutionary ranks and mass base and delivered lethal blows to the enemy.

The NPA now operates in more than 100 guerrilla fronts in the overwhelming majority of provinces of our country. It has thousands of Red fighters augmented by a far greater number of militia and self-defense units in thousands of villages. All these draw their strength from millions of people.

In pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war and accumulating strength in stages, the NPA is waging guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base in the current stage of strategic defensive. It integrates armed struggle with land reform and mass-base building.

The NPA is in a position to grow ever stronger amidst the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system. The proletarian revolutionaries, the Red commanders and fighters have a high level of revolutionary consciousness and are tested and tempered by battles and hard work. They can therefore take advantage of the increasingly favorable objective conditions for armed revolution.

## ***The people's victory against the Estrada regime***

The Filipino people and the revolutionary forces are joyous over the overthrow of Estrada and his ruling clique. This is a brilliant victory. It demonstrates the power of the people to isolate and topple a corrupt and repressive regime that is servile to US imperialism.

The Party was certain of this victory when on its 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of reestablishment it made the call, "Mobilize the broad masses of the people to deliver the death blow to the Estrada regime!" Since October last year, the regime had become thoroughly isolated and had gone into a process of rapid disintegration.

This is a result of the resolute and militant struggle of the people and the broad united front against the regime. The broad masses of the people rose up against the servility of the regime to US imperialism and against its extreme corruption and repressiveness.

The legal democratic mass movement had long persevered in the struggle against the US-directed Estrada regime since the beginning. It would eventually mobilize 1.8 million people at Edsa, millions nationwide and the 75,000 that marched on to and encircled the presidential palace to compel Estrada to abandon his throne. Most of them were young people.

The call for at least one million people to lay siege on the palace worked effectively to break Estrada's bravado. Upon sight of tens of thousands of people, who ignored the call of the reactionaries to keep away from the palace, Estrada turned tail and hastily fled the palace. Had he tried to stay a day longer, he would have been directly encircled by more than a million people and probably arrested.

He fell from power completely on January 20, 2001, four days after the pro-Estrada Senate majority ignited overwhelming public indignation by voting against the opening of a second envelope containing his secret bank accounts. But he would have been removed from power earlier within December had resources been available to the forces of the national democratic movement to mobilize a big core of organized masses from Metro Manila, Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog to encircle the presidential palace.

The process of overthrowing Estrada involved not only political and organizational methods like issuing political statements, holding buildup meetings, marching to converging points and delivering speeches. Cultural groups made a major contribution by producing songs, band music, theatrical performances on the streets and on stage, cartoons and murals in order to raise the awareness and fighting spirit of the people.

Old and new methods of communications were used. Printing presses and photocopying machines worked overtime. Radio and TV broadcasts covering the issues and events related to the movement to oust Estrada held the attention of tens of millions of people daily. For several months, one radio station dedicated itself to the broadcast of anti-Estrada statements and music. Cell phone texting rapidly spread slogans and satirical jokes. Through e-mail, newspaper websites and webcasts, developments in the anti-Estrada movement reached national and international audiences. The campaign to isolate Estrada was thoroughgoing. Progressive members of the clergy carried the anti-Estrada message in their sermons and liturgy. They neutralized El Shaddai as the main crowd supplier of Estrada. People blockaded and picketed the mansions of his mistresses, the offices, firms and banks, and the houses of his diehard political cronies. Unable to bear the heat of mass protests, his closest friends of convenience turned against him.

Since the beginning of his regime, Estrada had earned the people's outrage for patronage of the hated Marcoses and the biggest of Marcos cronies and enriching himself and his wives with public funds and bribe money from criminal syndicates. He had grievously violated national sovereignty and territorial integrity through the ratification of the Visiting Forces Agreement. He attempted but failed to have the 1987 GRP constitution amended and he pushed legislation to further sell out economic sovereignty and national patrimony to the foreign monopolies. He allowed the oil firms and other foreign monopoly firms over the people.

The despicable characteristics of the fallen regime are all manifestations of the rottenness of the entire ruling system. While Estrada feasted on the spoils of power, he was actually vulnerable to being overthrown because of the ever-worsening crisis of the system, the increasingly bitter contradictions among the reactionaries and the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement.

Estrada served the interests of US imperialism and was given the latitude for corruption and cronyism. But he was also predetermined and circumscribed by the neoliberal dogma of "free market" globalization and by the rapidly dwindling resources. The economy was laid prostrate by superprofit taking by the imperialist firms and banks, the aggravation of local exploitation and oppression, bureaucratic corruption and mounting budgetary and trade deficits and local and foreign indebtedness of the state.

After 20 years of wanton foreign borrowing by the Marcos regime under the Keynesian policy dictates of the IMF and the World Bank for public works and raw-material production-for-export, the Philippines has been subjected to the more rapacious "free market" policy dictates of the IMF and WTO.

The Aquino regime laid the ground for liberalization, privatization and deregulation and abused local public borrowing. The Ramos regime went full blast on making an artificial boom with low value-added semimanufacturing and private construction by going into unprecedented upsurge of the rates of local and foreign revolutionary mass borrowing until the bubble movement. of the "emerging market" burst in the Philippines and the whole of Southeast Asia in 1997.

By the time Estrada came to power in 1998, the economy had been bankrupted by previous regimes and had sunk deeper into semifeudal underdevelopment. The illusion of "high" growth rates during the Marcos and Ramos regimes were conjured by rapid foreign borrowing and overconsumption by the exploiting classes. Estrada's political vulnerability, as a result of the worsening socioeconomic crisis, was aggravated by the shameless rapacity of his clique. His pro-poor populist demagoguery was a big joke from the very start. He could not even pretend to be for national industrial development, land reform and improving the livelihood of the people. His imperialist masters prohibited him from speaking against the "free market" dogma. Thus, his program of "development" stood out as one of plundering the economy, promoting gambling and building mansions for his several families.

The crisis of the world capitalist system generated the socioeconomic crisis of the domestic ruling system. In turn, the latter crisis generated the political crisis and made the contradictions among the reactionaries more bitter than before. Amidst the socioeconomic and political crisis, the corruption of the Estrada ruling clique became conspicuous. Indeed, the ruling clique tended to monopolize the spoils of power against other sections of the exploiting classes. The comprador big bourgeois patrons of the bureaucrat capitalists recovered their sequestered



assets, raided the public treasury and

The Party correctly promoted the line of the broad united front in order to arouse and mobilize at the soonest possible time the broadest possible range of forces against the narrowest target. pension funds, cornered state contracts, engaged in technical smuggling and evaded taxes.

In the military and police, a small clique of police officers in a presidential task force became favored in the most scandalous manner with huge intelligence funds and opportunities for criminal enrichment. Their task was supposedly to combat organized crime but they operated or coddled criminal syndicates engaged in gambling, drug pushing, kidnap-for-ransom, smuggling, prostitution and other vices.

Estrada's personal rapacity knew no bounds. He required his cronies to give him advance payments of huge kickbacks amounting to far more than his "fair share" of the loot in pork barrel fund distribution, state purchase contracts, corporate mergers using pension funds, stock market scams and illegal numbers game (jueteng) and other criminal operations.

It was only a matter of time before a crony or gang mate would feel threatened and aggrieved enough to stand up and blow the whistle on him. Thus did governor Luis Singson, one among his innermost circle of cronies. From the very depths of his venal rule, Estrada was turned inside out. Public indignation led to the rapid disintegration of his ruling clique. It became possible for the House of Representatives to impeach him and the Senate to put him on trial.

Peaceful, militant and gigantic mass actions brought down the regime in so short a time because the line of the broad united front succeeded in uniting various political forces of the Left, Middle and anti-Estrada Right to concentrate their fire on Estrada. All of them agreed and moved to demand his ouster or resignation. The consistent mass protests of the national democratic movement provided the broad united front with a strong foundation.

The patriotic and progressive forces of the Left and Middle included the Erap Resign Movement, Bayan, Bayan Muna, Kilusang Mayo Uno, Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, Pamalakaya, Migrante, Gabriela, Erap Resign Youth Movement, Anakbayan, League of Filipino Students, National Union of Students of the Philippines, College Editors' Guild of the Philippines, CONTEND, ACT, Karapatan, Promotion of Church People's Response, Kairos, OUSTER, Health Alliance for Democracy, Concerned Artists of the Philippines, ProGay and so many organizations of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie. In scores of countries, Bayan International and Migrante International led a wide range of organizations of overseas Filipinos under the banner of the Erap Resign Movement.

The anti-Estrada reactionary forces included the high officialdom of the Catholic and other churches, the Makati Business Club and other business organizations, Kompil II (a small group capitalizing on the name of Cardinal Sin and former president Aquino), the Council of Philippine Affairs (associated with Jose Cojuangco, Jr.), the People's Consultative Assembly (associated with former president Ramos), the Federation of Retired Commissioned and Enlisted Soldiers (also Ramos-lining), Kangkong Brigade (anti-Estrada local officials in Metro Manila, Southern Tagalog and Central Luzon) and the United Opposition, a makeshift combination of such political parties as Reporma, Promdi and the Lakas-NUCD which then vice-president Macapagal-Arroyo put up to show that she had some base to stand on.

Clandestine work was conducted among the military and police officers in order to turn them against Estrada and a few diehard loyalists headed by Gen. Panfilo Lacson. Key personalities of the anti-Estrada Right worked on officers at the highest level. So did key activists of the Middle and Left forces on officers at all levels, especially at the middle and lower levels. The officers were urged to withdraw support from Estrada, respect the people's right to assemble and not to take power into their own hands.

As in the overthrow of Marcos, the US and the US-controlled multilateral agencies, like the IMF and World Bank, decided to drop Estrada like a hot potato in the face of the broad united front against him. The US called some generals to Washington in October 2000 for a crisis management meeting and sent out the word that the military and police forces would not attack peaceful mass actions. The US gave the advice to vice-president Macapagal-Arroyo to resign from the Estrada cabinet.

The IMF loudly decried Estrada's inability to collect more taxes and to stay within limits in deficit spending. It declared an international credit squeeze on the regime. The World Bank also decried the excessively high rate of corruption, eating up nearly half of the government budget. It sounded as if corruption were not the reward for puppetry. Even the spokesmen and analysts of investment houses and banks spoke out against the regime

through the international and domestic bourgeois mass media.

The Party correctly promoted the line of the broad independence united front in order to arouse and initiative. and mobilize at the soonest possible time the broadest possible range of forces against the narrowest target. The full range of the united front went into play: the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the positive alliance of the progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie and alliance with the anti-Estrada reactionaries for the purpose of taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries and isolating and destroying the current enemy.

The policy of broad united front allows the revolutionary movement to fight, isolate and destroy one enemy after another and in the process gain strength until it becomes capable of overthrowing the entire ruling system. As a result of the victorious struggle against the Estrada regime, the revolutionary movement has indeed become ever stronger than before and is ready to enter into a new round of struggle.

As the Party correctly predicted, the “Left” and Right opportunists of the past, who became blatantly counterrevolutionary (like Romulo Kintanar, Arturo Tabara, Nilo de la Cruz, Horacio Morales and Edicio de la Torre) and who became open agents of the Estrada regime, found their political graveyard. Even such grouplets (Siglaya, KDP, RPA-ABB and RHB) that collaborated with them but pretended to be critical of the Estrada regime are on the throes of extinction.

The ultra-Left call of Popoy Lagman’s Sanlakas, demanding the resignation of all top officials of the reactionary government, was an attempt to save Estrada and was roundly rejected by the people. The call was meant to draw fire away from the narrowest target and would have run against the clear objective of overthrowing the ruling clique in four months’ time.

To avoid the pitfall of Right opportunism, the forces of the national democratic movement maintained their independence and initiative. They cooperated with the unstable and unreliable reactionary allies but they avoided or refused to enter such organized frameworks as the People ’ s Consultative Assembly, Council of Philippine Affairs and Kompil II.

The Party made it a point to stress publicly that the NPA should stay in the countryside to launch tactical offensives and not to join in the mass actions in urban areas. The Party’s purpose for doing so was to dispel the fear of reactionary allies about joining mass actions, to deprive Estrada of any pretext for rallying the troops against unarmed demonstrators and to reinforce the calls of the broad united front on the reactionary military and police to withdraw support from the Estrada ruling clique and respect the people’s democratic right to assemble and express themselves.

No NPA combat unit went directly into play in the urban mass actions. But the NPA played a major role in weakening and overthrowing the Estrada regime by continuing and accelerating tactical offensives against its forces in the countryside and encouraging the rural masses to participate in mass actions all over the country. The NPA launched major offensives while nationwide the number of people joining mass actions increased dramatically.

While the legal mass movement surged to overthrow the Estrada ruling clique, the New People’s Army intensified its guerrilla offensives nationwide, dealt lethal blows to the enemy forces and rendered Oplan Makabayan futile. In the second half of the year 2000 alone, sixty-six (66) tactical offensives were successfully launched in 32 provinces in various regions of the country. The main targets were Philippine Army regulars and Special Action Forces, CAFGU, military assets and informers. Nineteen (19) raids were carried out on PA, PNP, Coast Guard, CAFGU detachments and police headquarters.

Through ambushes and raids, a large number of casualties was inflicted on the enemy forces and military and police vehicles were destroyed. High-powered rifles and short arms, .50 caliber and .30 caliber machineguns, 81-mm mortars, M203 grenade launchers, portable and base radio equipment and other war materiel were captured.

One puppet regime has fallen and has been replaced by another. As in the successful struggle against the Marcos fascist regime in 1986, the ruling system remains intact. But it is stricken more than ever before by crisis. And the subjective forces of the revolution have emerged stronger than ever before.

The people and the revolutionary forces are satisfied that they have punished a puppet regime and in the process have gained strength. We have finished off the Estrada regime before it could realize its vow to destroy the revolutionary forces before 2004. With increased strength and high confidence, we are prepared to confront

and fight the new puppet regime as circumstances demand. We shall win ever greater victories in the continuing revolutionary struggle.

### ***Continuing rottenness of the ruling system***

The overthrow of the Estrada regime has provided some sense of relief. But there is no general sense of euphoria over the ascendance of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to the presidency of the neocolonial republic. Her rise to power is merely a byproduct of the contest of strength between the outraged people and the Estrada regime.

The dearth of enthusiasm for the new regime is due to the fact that it has the same big comprador-landlord character as the previous regime and has a high potential for corruption and repression. The new puppet chieftain is a believer of “free market” globalization. And she is not at all appreciated for belatedly quitting her cabinet post in the Estrada regime.

Among the reactionaries, the Macapagal-Arroyo ruling clique is the biggest beneficiary of the downfall of Estrada. But at the same time, it inherits an economy that is in worse crisis than before and a government that is more bankrupt and more afflicted with corruption and factionalism than ever before.

The reactionary character of the regime is underscored by Macapagal-Arroyo’s exaggeration of the role of the military and police officers in the overthrow of Estrada and by her repeated obsequiously profuse expressions of gratitude to them, especially to the 11<sup>th</sup> hour defectors who withdrew support from Estrada only out of fear that their lower officers and men would otherwise disobey their commands.

Under instructions by the US, Macapagal-Arroyo is appeasing and promoting military officers who have been close to Estrada and who have manipulated him to adopt a costly all-out war policy. She is putting herself in the same weak position into which Estrada put himself relative to the reactionary armed forces.

Another glaring manifestation of the reactionary character of the new regime is that Macapagal-Arroyo seeks not only to unite her big comprador-landlord coalition, the United Opposition, but also to unite with the Nationalist People’s Coalition of Eduardo Cojuangco and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan of the Marcoses in preparation for the 2004 presidential elections. The son of Eduardo Cojuangco is running for congress in Pangasinan under the flag of the NPC-Lakas and the Marcoses are running for governor and congress in Ilocos Norte under the banner of KBL-Lakas.

The new regime is not offering any set of economic policies different from those of the Estrada regime. It is for merely readjusting the “medium-term development plan” of the fallen regime. Macapagal-Arroyo remains true to her record of pushing legislation in pursuit of the line of “free market” globalization, under the Aquino and Ramos regimes.

The Philippine economy is reeling from the bursting of the US “new economy” bubble and the recessionary trend in the US and worldwide. For a whole year already, the value of assets in the US has plummeted from fantastic levels of overvaluation. Four trillion US dollars in value has been wiped out in the stock market. This is four times worse than the 1987 stock market meltdown. Nearly half of the US population who have been entrapped in the stock market are financially crushed.

The crisis of overproduction in the US is severe. There is huge overcapacity and excessive inventory, especially in high-tech goods in the face of the greatly diminished purchasing power of US consumers. This aggravates the long-running global crisis of overproduction and financial crisis, especially the debt-burdened countries that produce nothing for export, except raw materials and semimanufactures.

The slowdown of the US economy and decade-long stagnation of the Japanese economy translate into dwindling orders for raw materials and consumer semimanufactures from the Philippines and elsewhere in the world. The European market offers no relief in absorbing Philippine exports because it is also adversely affected by the crisis in the US. The current global crisis of the world capitalist system is the worst after World War II.

The sharp reduction in export income is bound to widen the foreign trade deficit. At the same time, foreign credit is drying up while debt service obligations are mounting. The cost of importing producer and consumer goods is soaring relative to export income. The cost of imported fuel will rise repeatedly. As a result of the breakdown of agricultural production, even rice, corn, cooking oil and sugar are now in the import list.

The Macapagal-Arroyo regime is at a loss as to how to raise tax revenues now that local production is deteriorating, mass unemployment is spreading and prices are soaring due to the double whammy of scarcity of goods and higher import costs. Like the Estrada regime, it is under orders by the IMF to cut down on deficit spending and impose a heavier tax burden on the people.

It has already announced a policy of austerity. This policy means shifting the burden of the economic crisis to the broad masses of the Filipino people. Workers continue to be subjected to the policy of labor flexibility, deprived of job security, jobs and a decent minimum wage level. The peasants and farm workers will continue to be subjected to worse conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation.

Government jobs are being massacred and appropriations for social services (health care, education, public housing, technical and credit assistance for food production and the like) are being cut down. The highest priority in the state budget is for debt service. At the same time, bureaucratic corruption and spending for the military and police equipment and operations are unabated.

As a result of the economic crisis, there is less ground for amicable accommodation among the reactionary forces. The political crisis is certain to increase in turbulence and destabilize the Macapagal-Arroyo regime. This regime is challenged from the outside by a conspicuous opposition of pro-Estrada forces. At the same time, it is also shaken by an unstable combination of rival political groups within the regime.

The Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino of Angara and Estrada's party, the Partido ng Masang Pilipino, are the mainstay of the electoral coalition against the Macapagal-Arroyo regime. The Nationalist People's Coalition of the biggest crony of Marcos and biggest patron of Estrada, Eduardo Cojuangco, has one foot in the opposition coalition and another foot in the ruling coalition.

The ruling coalition consists of the Lakas-NUCD of Ramos and De Venecia and Reporma of Gen. de Villa, together with such junior partners as Aksyong Demokratiko and Promdi. They maneuver against each other for the most lucrative positions in government and speculate that they can either use Macapagal-Arroyo to take a big share in the 2004 presidential elections or discard her after she becomes discredited prior to said elections.

The political base of Macapagal-Arroyo is fractious. She believes that she can reign like a queen over the conflicting factions within her regime, possibly win over some of the factions in the opposition and please the people through glossy but shallow "public relations". She tends to be oblivious of the worsening socioeconomic crisis and the militant mass movement of the patriotic and progressive forces.

The reactionaries regard the current bourgeois elections as an amicable way of allocating power among themselves and as an effective way to divide and rule the masses. But so long as the revolutionary mass movement is rising, the bourgeois elections are a way for the people and the revolutionary forces to recognize the intensifying splits among the reactionaries.

Within the military and police forces, there are increasingly bitter factional conflicts between the Estrada loyalists and the new loyalists of Macapagal-Arroyo. Overtly and covertly, they quarrel over promotions, lucrative assignments, purchase contracts and control over various criminal syndicates. The rottenness of the ruling system is starkly manifested not only by rampant violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by the military and police but also by the direct connections of high military and police officers with criminal syndicates.

Macapagal-Arroyo's obsequious deference to the military betrays her acute fear of them, notwithstanding the fact that since the 1980s the US has had a policy bias for controlling client states through economic and financial levers rather than through military juntas or civilian fascist dictators. Separately, former president Gen. Ramos and Gen. de Villa have convinced her that she must coddle up to the military or else face a coup threat.

Thus, she has made Gen. de Villa her "little president" (executive secretary) and appointed retired generals to other high positions normally held by civilians. In an obvious attempt to curry favor with the military establishment, she has appointed Gen. Reyes and Gen. Villanueva as secretary of national defense and chief of staff of the armed forces, respectively.

These two generals were favorites of Estrada and were the principal pushers of his all-out war policy. Their promotions run counter to Macapagal-Arroyo's declaration of ending the aforesaid Estrada policy and of desiring peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

It is highly probable that after estimating that she has sufficiently "consolidated" her position and after failing to trick the revolutionary movement into capitulation, she will rave for military suppression of the revolutionary movement, as did Aquino in 1987. Gen. Reyes can push her towards a militarist policy and benefit from the failure of that policy while she takes the blame. She seems to be unaware that the US is grooming him as a latter-day version of Gen. Ramos.

Macapagal-Arroyo expects to stay on top of the conflicting political factions and armed factions within her regime and to be able to marshal them for her candidacy in the 2004 presidential elections. But the worsening

economic and social crisis and the factionalism within her regime are likely to unsettle her rule in a relatively short period of time.

The political crisis of the ruling system can accelerate under the pressure of the surging revolutionary mass movement of the people as they resist the escalating level of exploitation and oppression. In the same way that Estrada was removed from power, the Macapagal-Arroyo regime is vulnerable to being discredited or overthrown by the people and a broad united front as it offers no solution to the socioeconomic crisis and unleashes military terror against the people and the revolutionary forces.

While still consolidating its position, the regime is well aware that naked force cannot be unleashed against the protesting masses and the armed revolutionary movement without running the risk of being overthrown or failing to make the mark for reelection as result of the high political and financial cost of military and police actions.

Thus, the regime has pretended to listen to the demands of the protesting masses. It has also declared the end of the all-out war policy of Estrada and offered to resume peace negotiations with the NDFP and the MILF. The problem of Macapagal-Arroyo is how she can be a “good president” in the midst of socioeconomic problems that she cannot solve and the militarists with which she surrounds herself.

So far, the regime has not offered any program to solve problems outside of the policy dictates of the IMF, World Bank and WTO. While she hypes her desire for peace negotiations, the military and police forces of the regime continue to wage campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces.

### ***Continuing armed revolution for national liberation and democracy***

It is possible for the legal mass movement and the broad united front to overthrow a president like Marcos or Estrada, together with the entire ruling clique, for tyranny or corruption or both. But it is impossible to overthrow the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords without armed revolution.

The domestic ruling system has its own brute force with which to suppress the people and the revolutionary forces. But aside from having its own coercive apparatuses for carrying out armed counterrevolution, it is propped up by the US as its imperialist master which supplies it with weapons of destruction and engages in armed intervention and aggression.

It is therefore necessary to build the New People’s Army and carry out the people’s war in order to destroy the ruling system and achieve the national and social liberation of the people. Under the concrete conditions of the Philippines, where the peasantry is still the majority class, the NPA can pursue the strategic line of protracted people’s war. It can accumulate strength and develop in stages over a long period of time in order to encircle the cities until the conditions are ripe for seizing political power in the cities.

We can carry forward the people’s cause for national liberation and democracy only by carrying out revolutionary armed struggle as the principal form of struggle. At the same time, it is necessary to carry out the legal struggle as the secondary form of struggle to complement the armed struggle. The high potency of this form of struggle has been demonstrated in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada.

The most important among the legal forms of struggle is the mass movement. This daily takes up important issues and makes demands. At certain times, it can mobilize people to such an extent as to be able to overthrow a ruling clique. In the future, it can directly combine with the NPA in a strategic offensive to topple whoever is the president and the entire ruling system.

The reactionaries are now involved in an electoral contest. They are divided between the ruling coalition called People Power Coalition and the opposition coalition calling itself Puwersa ng Masa. They seem to agree that the overthrow of Estrada will be smoothened over by the elections. But in fact, the contradictions among the reactionaries will sharpen because of the present conditions of worsening crisis and rising revolutionary mass movement.

The broad masses of the people demand the punishment of Estrada for his crimes of plunder and corruption. But some factions in the new regime wish to let him get off the hook through a bungling of the prosecution or by letting him flee. If he remains unpunished, the regime will pay a heavy political price and will face serious consequences in terms of popular outrage and fragmentation of the ruling coalition.

A progressive party like Bayan Muna has emerged to engage in the electoral form of struggle by seeking only three congressional seats in the party list elections and supporting progressive candidates for other positions. Considering the high prestige that it has gained in the mass movement to overthrow Estrada, Bayan Muna candidates are expected to win easily. But the reactionaries can in so many ways nullify the votes cast for it. In this

regard, they should not be underestimated.

Both friends and enemies have made the observation that the mass base of the revolutionary movement would be exposed down to the precinct level through votes cast for Bayan Muna. Though a progressive electoral party, Bayan Muna is not the revolutionary party of the proletariat. It has its own way of garnering votes and engaging in alliances. Thus, its electoral mass base extends well beyond the revolutionary mass base.

Assuming that progressive candidates would be elected to various positions in the reactionary government in the near and long future, the reactionaries will not allow them to replace the unjust ruling system with a just and progressive one. At best, progressive officials would be able to expose the rottenness of the ruling system and espouse the demands of the people.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines has agreed with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines to resume the peace negotiations. These constitute another legal form of struggle even as they are directly related to the armed struggle. On an equal political and legal footing, the two negotiating panels face each other across the negotiating table and try to address the roots of the armed conflict and arrive at agreements.

The NDFP negotiating panel can seriously negotiate and try to draw benefits for the people only as it is firm on revolutionary principles and flexible in policy and the revolutionary armed struggle is growing in strength and advancing. At any rate, there should be no illusion whatsoever that peace negotiations are the sole or main way of arriving at a just and lasting peace.

The human rights organizations, churches and the people at large seek the release of political prisoners. But the militarists in the new regime are blocking or delaying the release of political prisoners and are in fact intensifying the military campaigns of suppression nationwide.

Fouling the atmosphere for peace negotiations, they continue to perpetrate human rights violations on a wide scale by undertaking a policy of murder, torture, looting, arson, forced mass evacuations and seizing suspected revolutionaries and noncombatants as political prisoners. They release a few political prisoners and then take more.

After resumption in a neutral foreign venue, the peace negotiations will certainly go through twists and turns. That is because the GRP will always try to win across the table what it cannot in the battlefield. Off and on, the GRP will accuse the NDFP of using the peace negotiations to seek the status of belligerency. In fact the GRP uses the peace negotiations in a vile and vain attempt to push the NDFP into a position of capitulation and self-criminalization and attain the pacification of the revolutionary people and forces.

The most rabid among the reactionaries try vainly to demean us by claiming that we are insurgents rather than belligerents under the laws of war. They claim that we are merely a domestic police problem and that we must submit ourselves to surrender negotiations in a Philippine venue under the control and surveillance of the reactionary government, instead of peace negotiations in a neutral foreign venue.

We must tell these rabid reactionaries that they cannot dictate to us the framework and terms of peace negotiations. The revolutionary forces and the people have grown in strength by delivering lethal blows not just to police forces but to regular armed forces of the reactionary government.

We have acquired the status of belligerency under international law by waging revolutionary armed struggle, building organs of political power, organizing the people and defending our own territory. It is by doing all these and achieving greater victories in people's war that we shall gain wide international recognition of our status of belligerency and ultimately the recognition of the people's democratic government.

There are ways other than peace negotiations by which the people's democratic government can gain diplomatic recognition. The NDFP continuously carries out proto-diplomatic and diplomatic work and establishes and develops relations of mutual benefit and cooperation with other governments. It can make agreements with foreign governments for the protection and benefit of their citizens who visit or stay in the territory of the people's democratic government.

Our revolutionary government proves its status of belligerency whenever the people's army captures and detains prisoners of war for various lengths of time and accords them humane treatment under the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I. Thus, we comply with the NDFP's Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977. This document has been deposited with the Swiss Federal Council since July 15, 1996.

We fight in the battlefield while our negotiators talk across the table. Otherwise, the enemy will find no need

for peace negotiations if the revolutionary armed struggle weakens or ceases. The achievements of our people's war and the desperate situation of the enemy have compelled the latter to discuss the roots of the armed conflict and negotiate possible basic reforms.

As the NDFP and GRP resume their negotiations, all previous agreements are revived. The most important of these agreements are: The Hague Joint Declaration, the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG), the Formation, Sequence and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

The CARHRIHL is the first substantive agreement in accordance with the 4-point agenda of the peace negotiations. At the resumption of the peace negotiations, the negotiations on social and economic reforms shall be opened. We shall present the economic, social and cultural rights and demands of the people.

All Red commanders and fighters should understand the principled position of the NDFP in the peace negotiations and should prevent the spread of any false illusion, which undermines our revolutionary consciousness and fighting morale. They should continue their revolutionary work among the masses and carry out their fighting tasks.

We must maintain vigilance against the counterrevolutionary dual tactics of the Macapagal-Arroyo regime. This consists of talking about peace and intensifying military campaigns of suppression. Let us not forget that in less than one month after coming to power, the new puppet president called on the military and police to eliminate or reduce the revolutionary forces.

The military and police officers who have pushed and carried out the national campaigns of suppression under the puppet regimes of Marcos, (Oplan Mamamayan), Aquino (Lambat Bitag), Ramos (Lambat Bitag) and Estrada (Oplan Makabayan) are still ferociously assaulting the people and the revolutionary forces.

We must counteract the enemy's nationwide and localized campaigns of suppression, its use of "civic action" pretenses, large-, medium, and small-unit operations and such new gadgets as night vision goggles, miniature communications equipment and global positioning system. We should not simply react to these but take the initiative by launching tactical offensives against weak points of the enemy.

We can increase our armed strength and raise the level of our military tactics and technique self-reliantly by seizing weapons and other instruments from the hands of the enemy forces. Some of our commando and special units have already acquired high-tech equipment to make operations more efficient than before. We must follow strictly the security guidelines on the use of computers, cellphones and other traceable equipment.

In the main, let us carry out basic tactical offensives of varying sizes in order to increase our armed strength. We should wage only those battles that we are sure of winning by mustering superior strength and using the element of surprise against the relatively weak points of the enemy forces.

Any series of small victories in our more than 100 guerrilla fronts amounts to a great victory nationwide. We can gain at least 1200 rifles per month or 14,400 rifles per year if on the average every guerrilla front command succeeds in seizing even only ten rifles from the enemy forces every month. Moreover, the rate of increasing our weaponry is cumulative as we base ourselves on the increased number of weapons at a given time.

The NPA can be flexible in the use of various sizes of units, like teams, squads, platoons, half companies or companies, in order to carry out tactical offensives, like ambushes, raids and arrest operations. The enemy forces always have weak points, which we can either discover or create by inducing them to commit mistakes.

Stationary or mobile small units of the reactionary armed forces, police, CAGU, hostile private security agencies and criminal gangs are vulnerable. Even when we are confronted by hard points, like large military encampments or well-entrenched detachments, we can effectively act against these by waiting for a small part of the enemy force to come out of its camp and annihilating it at a distance from the camp. We can also harass the camp with weapons and tactics that do not strain our resources.

We can employ sniper fire, gasoline spray apparatuses, improvised bazookas, rocket propelled grenades, land mines and cheaply made explosives against vital enemy military installations. We can undertake night operations to give the enemy forces sleepless nights. We can capture from the enemy forces night vision goggles and other high-tech gadgets, including the trackers for detecting use of these, in order to turn the use of these gadgets against them.

We can reduce the capability of the enemy forces to make forward deployment against us or send out scout ranger teams or commandos against us by seizing the initiative against their weak points and by inducing them to

make mistakes. The enemy's offensive capabilities against us have certain limitations. These are due to the bankruptcy of the reactionary government, the overextension and limitedness of troop strength relative to our mass base, the ceaseless dilemma between concentration and dispersal, the growing factionalism among military and police officers and the constant need to secure the urban centers of power.

In the cities, the military and police forces of the reactionary government wrangle over political alignments and over connections with criminal syndicates. They are at each other's throat. They would be in a more complicated situation after we revive the armed city partisan units. However, these must undertake punitive actions at a well-calculated rate in order to let the military and police factions run ahead in their internal struggles and to avoid prejudicing the development of the legal democratic mass movement.

We must carry out highly selective special tactical offensives by armed city partisans and special commando units in order to punish the worst of plunderers and human rights violators and traitors who have blood debts. If we can arrest these enemies of the people, we should do so in order to investigate, prosecute and try them. But when these are armed and dangerous or these resist arrest, we must be ready to give battle and use the necessary amount of force.

We must seize every moment to strengthen the New People's Army and advance the people's war. We must exert greater efforts to further strengthen the Party, the people's army, the united front formations, the organs of political power and the mass organizations. We must win ever greater victories in expanding and consolidating the mass base and all revolutionary forces. The people are our inexhaustible source of strength.

We can increase the number and frequency of our tactical guerrilla offensives and raise the level of our revolutionary armed struggle only by continuously widening and deepening our mass base. We must have the mass base to facilitate our tactical offensives, to cover our retreat after every tactical offensive, to lure the enemy forces in deep to their rural graveyard and keep them blind and deaf for all intents and purposes.

We must continuously build our mass base in order to prevent the development of a purely military situation between our small armed units and the larger enemy forces. As in the past, before the Second Great Rectification Movement, we would be in a difficult and losing position if we allowed the purely military viewpoint to ride high. We must maintain a good balance of carrying out guerrilla tactical offensives and doing our revolutionary mass work.

The local organs of political power must be built steadily in ever expanding areas of our country. So must the mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, women, youth, cultural activists and children that are the base for these organs of democratic political power. The working committees for mass organizing, education, land reform, production, defense, health, culture and arbitration must be formed to assist the organs of political power directly.

In consolidation work, it is absolutely necessary to build the mass organizations and form the working committees in order to let the masses solve their problems, empower themselves and lift themselves up socially. Thus, the NPA has a growing source of Red fighters, a powerful network of information and resources for the people's war. From the ranks of the most advanced activists, Party members must be recruited and local Party branches must be built promptly.

### ***Excellent conditions for waging people's war***

The conditions are excellent for waging the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in the Philippines. The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the domestic ruling system are daily worsening.

So-called free market globalization has proven to be utterly bankrupt. It has brought about the most rapacious ways of exploiting and oppressing the people in the underdeveloped countries as well as in the imperialist countries. It has devastated mainly the underdeveloped countries and has made the puppet states weak and vulnerable to violent contradictions among the reactionaries as well as to revolutionary armed resistance by the people.

The new world disorder is intensifying. The contradictions between the imperialist powers and the people in the client states, among the imperialist powers and between the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat are intensifying. Imperialist wars of aggression and violence among the reactionaries are breaking out. Under these conditions, proletarian revolutionaries can take the initiative to prepare and wage revolutionary armed struggle.

The disintegration of Soviet social-imperialism, the fall of revisionist regimes and the rise of the most criminal forms of capitalism in all countries where socialism has been betrayed are all part and parcel of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. The conditions for the reemergence of revolutionary movements for national



liberation and socialism are laid with utmost clarity against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

Through the betrayal of socialism, the revisionist ruling cliques have enabled US imperialism to win the Cold War and emerge as the sole superpower. Thus, US imperialism has been able to escalate oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and people. However, this has aggravated and deepened the crisis of the world capitalist system and has resulted in wars of aggression. Now, the stage is set for the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and broad anti-imperialist movement on an unprecedented scale.

The new US administration of George W. Bush wishes to focus its aggressive policy on Asia and the Pacific to put further under control China, Japan and the rest of Asia, a vast region where most of humanity and most of the social wealth are.

The US has been able to impose its neocolonial and neoliberal economic and fi the client states and further wants them to back down from their political assertions of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Emboldened by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the weakness of Russia, the US and its NATO allies have started a chain of aggressive wars in the European continent and in the Middle East in connection with NATO expansion and with the sourcing and routing of oil supply. The troubles that they have begun to stir up in Europe are bound to become worse. The imperialist powers themselves are likely to rearrange and upset the current balance of their alliance. At the same time, the proletariat and people can revive their revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary forces and people in Asia can take advantage of the overextension of US imperialism and its long-term weaknesses arising from its acts of bullying, intervention and aggression, the costliness of its high-tech weaponry, its Vietnam war syndrome or its obsession with the exit strategy for its aggressor troops and its admitted fear of protracted people's war.

In our region, we support all struggles for national sovereignty and territorial integrity against US and Japanese imperialism. We support all revolutionary movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and local reaction. We hope that in due time the armed revolutionary struggles of the peoples in Southeast Asia will resurge.

We support the struggle of China and the Chinese people for the return of Taiwan to its motherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and entire Korean people for the reunification of Korea and the Japanese people against US and Japanese monopoly capitalism, US-Japan security treaty and the US military bases.

The world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist movement are steadily advancing. We strive to contribute our best to the revolutionary advance of the proletariat and people of the world by carrying out the new-democratic revolution and by aiming consequently to undertake the socialist revolution.

# ***Prepare against Further US military Intervention, Intensify and Advance the People's War!***

## **Message on the 33<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary of the New People's Army**

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On the 33<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army (NPA), we salute all the Red commanders and fighters and pay tribute to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes for all their hard struggle and sacrifices in the service of the people.

The New People's Army today stands as the brilliant revolutionary instrument of the proletariat and the people for seizing political power and defending the democratic organs of political power. The people's army ensures the development of the people's democratic government in the countryside even while the reactionaries are still entrenched in the urban areas.

The Filipino people fought for more than three centuries to liberate themselves from Spanish colonial domination. They have fought US imperialist domination and the local reactionaries for more than one century and will continue to do so.

In the last 33 years, they have nurtured and developed their own revolutionary army. This is an army outstanding in frustrating the attempts of US imperialism and the local reactionaries to suppress the revolution. It has become one among the best people's armies in the world.

### ***Victories of the New People's Army***

We congratulate the New People's Army for all the political, military and organizational victories it has won under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

These victories have been the result of the Second Great Rectification Movement and the reaffirmation of the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The perspective is to establish and build socialism in the Philippines until mankind has defeated imperialism and reached the ultimate goal of communism.

The rectification movement has frustrated and defeated the counter revolutionary offensives of the imperialists and the local reactionaries, the incorrigible "Left" and Right opportunists, the revisionists and liquidationists and all sorts of other petty bourgeois anticommunists, including bourgeois liberals, populists, Trotskyites and so on.

The few incorrigible opportunists and revisionists and the unrepentant criminals, especially those responsible for bloody witchhunts and grave malversation of funds, have been removed from the revolutionary movement and some of them have exposed themselves as traitors to the revolutionary cause by openly becoming agents of the reactionary government, especially in psywar and intelligence offices.

Thanks to the rectification, movement, the people and the revolutionary forces have won revolutionary forces have won of struggle, legal and illegal, nonarmed and armed. The most significant of the victories are in further building the people's army and waging the people's war. The advances of the people's army have guaranteed the advances of the entire revolutionary mass movement.

In pursuing the current stage of the strategic defensive, the NPA is carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The integral combination of the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass base-building (including building the organs of political power and the mass organizations) has laid a strong antifeudal basis for the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The total number of Red fighters runs into thousands, equivalent to several regiments or brigades. It has increased by 222 percent from 1980 to 2001 and by 53 percent from 1994 to 2001. The number of high-powered rifles also run into thousands and has increased by 197 percent from 1980 to 2001.

The ratio of Red fighters to high-powered rifles is 1.5 to one. The full-time Red fighters of the NPA are augmented by the militia units, acting as the local police force of the revolutionary government and serving as the auxiliary and reserve force of the people's army. They are further augmented by self-defense units, consisting of all able bodied men and women in the mass organizations.

To exaggerate its claim of victory over the people's army in the second half of the 1980s, the enemy bloats of the 1980s, the enemy bloats the number of Red fighters with high-powered rifles to 25,000 then. This figure is false. The NPA had no more than 6,000 rifles in 1985 before any accounting of the self-destructive effects of

Kampanyang Aghos in Mindanao could be made.

The fighting capacity of the full-time Red fighters ought to have been augmented by the local militia, self-defense units and the mass base in general. Instead, it was undermined by the “strategic counteroffensive” line, the “Red Area-White Area” line in Mindanao and other “Left” opportunist currents in various regions at various times. The growth of the NPA is necessarily related to the growth of the Party. Latest figures show that the Party has increased by 235 percent from 1980 to 2001 and by 129 percent from 1994 to 2001. For every Red fighter there are 3.5 Party members who are located within and beyond the guerrilla fronts.

The Party has developed the mass movement in both rural and urban areas. From the rural mass movement, the NPA has drawn its predominantly peasant Red fighters. From the urban mass movement, the NPA has attracted the workers and educated youth to serve in its ranks and the people in the countryside.

The NPA is now operating in 128 guerrilla fronts. These cover 823 or around 54 percent of the total number of Philippine towns and cities. They number 8,500 barrios or 18 percent of the total number of Philippine barrios. The number of barrios where the NPA operates has increased by 71 percent from 1980 to 2001 and by 28 percent from 1994 to 2001.

Membership in mass organizations (organized mass base) has increased by 71 percent from 1980 to 2001 and by 235 percent from 1994 to 2001. However, there is a crying need to increase membership in mass organizations relative to the unorganized supporters and sympathizers. There are several times more mass supporters and sympathizers than those who have become members of the mass organizations.

On the average, two platoons of the NPA operate in every guerrilla front. Older guerrilla fronts have at least three platoons, while newer ones have less. A platoon covers on the average the scale of at least three municipalities and the squad covers an average of eleven barrios.

In a guerrilla front, there is usually a platoon as center of gravity and one or more platoons in a more dispersed mode. The platoon serving as center of gravity is relatively concentrated, so that it can carry out effectively the tasks assigned to it by the guerrilla front command.

In tactical offensives, the main guerrilla unit can augment its armed strength and mastery of the terrain by combining with the more dispersed secondary guerrilla units. The size and frequency of the tactical offensives have taken into account the need for increasing the armed strength of the NPA and for expanding and consolidating the mass base beyond the capacity of the enemy to destroy it.

The most consolidated barrios have regular and elected organs of democratic political power on the basis of full-fledged revolutionary mass organizations. The less consolidated barrios have barrio organizing committees and organizing groups. In barrios along the path of expansion of the people’s army, underground contacts, liaison groups are nurtured and developed.

The key campaign for land reform has been vigorously and successfully carried out in the consolidated areas. Other campaigns include those for mass education, developing production in agriculture and side occupations, looking after the health of the people, promoting cultural activities, training the militia and self-defense units, settling disputes among the masses and so on.

The people cherish the people’s army. They give their best sons and daughters to serve in this army. They make contributions for its maintenance and expansion. They assist the families of the Red fighters. Their willingness and capability to support the people’s army increase when they benefit from land reform and other mass campaigns.

The NPA undertakes production for a portion of its needs in addition to the contributions made by the masses. The need of the NPA for food and other war materiel is met through successful tactical offensives against the enemy forces. The NPA is also the effective instrument for enforcing the taxation policy of the people’s democratic government.

More than ever before the New People’s Army has raised the level of its revolutionary consciousness and fighting capabilities. Never before in the history of the Filipino people has there been a revolutionary army as resolute, resourceful and vigorous as the New People’s Army in waging the people’s war to complete the new-democratic revolution.

The New People’s Army has gained rich experience and armed strength in people’s war. It is well-prepared against the military campaigns of suppression carried out by the local reactionaries as well as against direct US military intervention. It stands ready to wage a war of national liberation against a US war of aggression.

### ***Favorable world conditions***

The objective conditions in the world are exceedingly favorable for the advance of the Philippine revolution. The US policy bias of “free market” globalization has proven bankrupt. It has aggravated the problems that the imperialists could not solve through its Keynesian policy bias until the late 1970s. In a matter of two decades, since 1980, the current neoliberal policy bias of “free market” globalization has brought the world capitalist system to the worst crisis since the Great Depression.

At an unprecedented rate, it has overconcentrated and overcentralized finance capital in the chief imperialist country, the US. And yet this country is now wracked by the crisis of overproduction in all types of goods and by financial meltdowns. From the bursting of the “hightech bubble” to the biggest ever corporate bankruptcy of Enron, the US finance oligarchy has been exposed as a monstrous swindler, stealing the pension funds and savings of multitudes of people.

The collapse of the US “new economy” in the last two years has resulted in a contagion of economic and financial destruction at the expense of the proletariat and the people in the US itself and throughout the world. The longrunning crisis in Japan has worsened. The Euro zone is also now afflicted by a severe crisis. The most victimized are the people in the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries.

The Bush ruling clique is unable to offer any solution to the worsening crisis other than giving more doses of the same “neoliberal” poison, topped by the scheme for massive increase in military production and in public spending for the military and for home defense. The US has become even more paranoid and bellicose after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Under the pretext of waging a global war against terrorism, the US has adopted the USA PATRIOT Act and other repressive laws and measures and has pushed similar fascist laws throughout the world. US propaganda is trying to whip up and sustain a hysteria aimed at promoting fascism and supporting US wars of aggression.

The grave crisis of the US and world capitalist system inflicts terrible suffering on the broad masses of the people. But the very escalation of oppression and exploitation drives the people to carry out more mass protest actions and revolutionary resistance.

Four major contradictions are intensifying at various rates. These are between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the imperialist powers and the countries or states that assert independence, among the imperialist powers themselves and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries.

Under the misleading slogan of “free market” globalization, the global market has actually shrunk in the last two decades. Direct investments and trade have become more and more concentrated among the US, Western Europe and Japan. Capital has flowed from the global economic hinterland to these centers of capitalism, chiefly to the US, in the form of profit remittance and debt service.

A massive destruction of the forces of production has occurred in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the retrogressive countries of the former Soviet bloc. These have long been squeezed by the crisis of overproduction in raw materials and basic industrial products and crushed by mounting foreign debt and further on by speculation in currencies, stocks and bonds.

The few “newly industrializing economies” of the 1970s as well as the few “emerging markets” of the 1990s (engaged in the production of low value-added semimanufactures for export or simply selling consumer manufactures from the imperialist countries to the upper 10 percent of society) have gone into economic collapse and stagnation.

More than 80 percent of humanity are in the third world and in the retrogressive countries of the former Soviet bloc. They bear the main brunt of mass unemployment, extremely low incomes, heavy indirect taxes and crushing debt burden. They suffer the worst conditions of poverty because of oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and local reactionaries. They are now increasingly launching mass protests and waging revolutionary resistance.

Revolutionary armed struggles are raging in Colombia, India, Mexico, Nepal, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere. However, in certain countries, reactionary cliques engage in internecine warfare and raise the most reactionary slogans—chauvinist, religious fundamentalist, tribalist or ethnocentric, racist and the like. Where they arise, the proletarian revolutionaries can take advantage of the bitter split among the reactionaries to advance the revolutionary movement.

During the Cold War, the US armed and used the most reactionary forces in order to attack the revolutionary forces and people. Some of these reactionary forces, especially certain religious fundamentalist groups, have now turned against the US as the big devil after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. T

he US accuses them of being responsible for the September 11 attacks. The US is suspicious of or averse to certain states. One point in common among these states is their being assertive or the tendency of being assertive of national independence in varying degrees. Among these are China, North Korea (DPRK), Cuba, Libya, Iraq, Yugoslavia (in the 1990s), Afghanistan (under Taliban rule), Iran and Syria.

Sometimes such states take an overt anti-imperialist position as a matter of principle or as a matter of practicality in the face of domestic popular demands. At other times though, such states are openly interested in seeking accommodation with the imperialist powers in certain respects, especially in economic and trade relations.

In recent times, particularly after the end of the Cold War, the biggest wars of aggression have been launched against Iraq, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan. One point in common among the aforesaid US wars of aggression is the drive of the US to tighten its control over sources and supply routes of oil and gas. In the wake of the September 11 attacks and what appears to be success in the US war of aggression in Afghanistan, the US is now openly threatening other states under the guise of combating global terrorism and pre-empting the use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons against the US.

The US has several lists of potential target-states for preemptive attacks. One such list is the so-called “axis of evil” which includes Iraq, Iran and North Korea. Another is the list of 11 states (including the Philippines) which are supposedly either unwilling or incapable of eliminating terrorism. Still another is the list of states that either have nuclear weapons (China) or have the potential of having them (North Korea, Iraq, Iran and so on) and supposedly are likely to use them against the US or US allies.

The US has so far managed to form coalitions among the imperialist powers to attack states targeted for aggression. But the US is increasingly taking positions and actions unilaterally. The unilateralism of the US today reflects the increasing contradictions among the imperialist powers.

It is in the nature of the imperialist powers to align themselves against a common enemy (like the peoples and nations that they oppress and exploit, anti-imperialist states and socialist states) or realign themselves against each other as on the eve of World Wars I and II in the 20th century in the fight for economic territory and spheres of influence, in the struggle for a redivision of the world.

The current extent of the crisis of the world capitalist system is already bringing to the fore the economic competition and political rivalries of the imperialist powers. The imperialist pretenses and the petty bourgeois illusion of a borderless and stateless global economy under the banner of neoliberalism are being negated by the protectionist policies and acts of the chief imperialist protagonist, the US itself.

The political contradictions among the imperialist powers will further surface and come to the fore when the polarization of economic and social conditions sharpens in each of the imperialist countries and when pressures rise abruptly from conflicts in semicolonies, dependent countries and independent-minded countries. The monopoly bourgeoisie prepares the way for war by fomenting and using chauvinism, racism and fascism to deflect the people from the anti-imperialist and class struggles or to rationalize the brutal suppression of the people.

The contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is simmering in imperialist countries as the economic crisis worsens. The working class is being forced to accept high levels of unemployment, loss of income, erosion of hard-won social benefits and the assault on trade union and other democratic rights. Thus, increasingly the workers are driven to fight back and engage in class struggle, in the form of strikes and other forms of mass action in concert with the nonproletarian masses.

We have witnessed the cumulative growth of general strikes and mass protest actions in the imperialist countries since the 1989-91 period when the imperialists celebrated the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the revisionist regimes and the great reduction of unionized workers from 1945 to 1990.

But now, as a consequence of the massive destruction of productive forces even in imperialist countries, in the form of rising levels of unemployment, bankruptcies and production cuts, employed and unemployed workers, the women, youth and immigrants at the bottom jobs are in deep social discontent. The most recent convergence of two million people in Rome from the European Union in different parts of Italy to protest neoliberal anti-people policies is so far the largest demonstration of revolutionary potential in an industrialized capitalist country.

The monopoly bourgeois magnates and politicians cannot meet today in any imperialist country without arousing mass protest actions. Meetings of the Group of 8, the OECD, European Union, IMF, World Bank, WTO and other similar imperialist-dominated entities have engendered mass protest actions. The Battle in Seattle in November 1999 continues to inspire people to undertake mass actions against imperialist globalization.

The class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries is bound to intensify as the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat increases. It is bound to interact positively with the revolutionary struggles of anti-imperialist forces in the oppressed nations and countries. All the revolutionary struggles in both developed and underdeveloped countries are bound to gain more room for growth and maneuver as the imperialist powers struggle against each other and as they also find themselves at odds with countries and states assertive of national independence.

Amidst the grave crisis of the world capitalist system, which features chiefly the crisis of the US, threats made by the US imperialists and their puppets in the Philippines to use US military might against the revolutionary forces and the people in the Philippines are futile. The Filipino people see through such threats and recognize the rottenness of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system and the vulnerability of these as targets of revolutionary struggle.

### ***Favorable domestic conditions***

The Philippines is a semicolonial and semifeudal part of the world capitalist system. It is an impoverished, preindustrial country. The overwhelming majority of the people live on less than US\$2.00 per day and 40 percent on less than 75 US cents per day. More than 85 percent live in abject poverty. As a consequence of the crisis of the world capitalist system, the domestic ruling system of the big compradors and landlords is far more severely crisis-stricken than the industrial capitalist countries. The shift from the Keynesian policy bias to the neoliberal one under the auspices of the US and such multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO has meant less official concessional loans. The thrust is to let foreign direct investments take over profitable lines of business and let loose foreign private lending to benefit the foreign monopolies and the big compradors.

Since the late 1970s, the raw-material exports of the Philippines have been yielding less and less income for the country. Since the 1990s foreign orders for one type of low value-added semimanufactures after another (garments in 1994 and electronic assemblies in 1996) have fallen. Trade deficits have been countervailed by remitted earnings of overseas contract workers and by increasing injections of foreign commercial loans.

The Philippine economy has not recovered from the 1997 financial crisis of Southeast Asia, which resulted from the overproduction of semimanufactures for export, excessive private construction of office and residential towers and unrestricted luxury imports and outflow of foreign exchange.

The contribution of agriculture to gross national product is usually undervalued by the reactionary government. But now it is being overestimated in order to come up with a fantastic figure of 3.7 percent growth. In fact, import liberalization in agriculture has undercut and undermined agricultural production for domestic consumption as well as for export. The Macapagal-Arroyo regime clings to the policy bias of "free market" globalization, dictated by the US and the multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO), despite the devastating effects of such a policy. Denationalization, privatization, deregulation and liberalization have weakened the economy and likewise the puppet state. The latter is reduced to being a mere tax collector amidst economic and social ruin.

The budgetary deficit is growing. Social spending for education, health, housing and education, health, and housing are reduced while debt service and military spending are given high priority.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the US has easily manipulated the Macapagal-Arroyo regime to deck itself out as the most rabid campaigner for the US policy of aggression and military intervention under the pretext of waging a global assault on terrorism.

In exchange for promises of more US direct investments and some measly amount of US military and economic assistance, the regime has gone so far as to allow US combat forces to engage in combat operations in the Philippines. US combat forces have moved into the Basilan combat zone, under the pretext of fighting the Abu Sayyaf bandit gang.

The regime is trying to prepare public opinion for the entry of more and more US troops under the guise of an indefinite series of joint military exercises. The highest officials of the regime have in fact threatened to use combined US and puppet forces against the New People's Army and the revolutionary forces of the Bangsamoro.

The Macapagal-Arroyo ruling clique has contempt for the people and views them as lacking in respect for their

own national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of their own country. It considers as very popular Mrs. Macapagal-Arroyo's pro-imperialism and anticommunism.

It thereby hopes to remain in power until and beyond 2004 by playing the role of rabid US puppet and submitting to all its dictates, especially in matters concerning the military. Thus, the clique is now increasingly under the control and manipulation of rabidly pro-US military officers.

As their number increases, the US military forces in the Philippines are bound to suffer casualties and to inflict wanton destruction of Filipino lives and property. They are also bound to commit rape and other outrageous crimes. They are a time bomb that can explode in the face of the regime.

Under the direction of US military advisers, military and police psywar and campaigns of suppression are escalating against the revolutionary forces and people in and outside the guerrilla fronts. Even the legal activists and mass organizations of the national democratic movement are being subjected to various physical attacks, including kidnapping, torture and murder. Human rights violations are rampant.

Following the footsteps of the Estrada regime, the Macapagal-Arroyo regime is blatantly pursuing an all-out war policy against the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of the Philippines and represented by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in the peace negotiations.

It has brazenly demanded that "backchannel talks" replace formal peace negotiations conducted by the negotiating panels. The sole purpose of the regime is to dictate the terms of capitulation to the NDFP. It is talking and acting arrogantly in a vain attempt to cover up its increasing weakness, isolation and desperation. The economic and social crisis of the ruling system is generating an unprecedented political crisis. The bitter strife among the reactionaries in business and politics and in the military is sharpening. Since the late 1960s, the inability of the reactionary classes to rule in the old way has deepened and aggravated. The fascist dictatorship of Marcos was a desperate attempt to preempt the rise of the revolutionary forces. But it merely served to put the entire ruling system in jeopardy and incite the growth of the armed revolutionary movement.

The US and the local reactionaries thought that the anti-authoritarian overthrow of Marcos would conjure the illusion of restoring democracy. But the chronic socioeconomic and political crisis of the system has worsened from one regime to another due to puppetry, corruption and repression.

The stagnation of the semifeudal economy, the ever rising trade deficits, the rapid increase of local and foreign public debt and the ever-increasing resort to high-interest commercial loans have limited the amount of loot for division among the reactionary political factions.

Many among the military and police officers are factionalized by conflicting political loyalties and by running competing criminal syndicates involved in kidnap-for-ransom, smuggling, illegal drugs, prostitution and gambling. They are emboldened and abetted by their political superiors and patrons. They consider their salaries too small, even as they get salary increases more often than the civil bureaucrats.

Like Marcos, Estrada was removed through political mass action rather than by any stipulated constitutional and legal method, i.e., resignation, impeachment or periodic elections. The unconstitutional and illegal position of the current regime merely becomes more obvious as it stresses the point that it has been put in power not by direct action of the sovereign people but by the military, the church and a hyperactive supreme court.

Fearing that the broad masses of the people will take action against it, the regime has solicited statements from ex-presidents Aquino and Ramos, Cardinal Sin and other entities that they are opposed to any mass movement to remove an incumbent president.

The regime is having nightmares over the call of the Party for developing a broad united front against it as the current enemy. The most rabid reactionaries are also frightened by the statement of the Party that the revolutionary forces and people can accumulate strength by overthrowing one ruling clique after another until they gain enough strength to overthrow the entire ruling system, in concert with a people's army that has reached the strategic stage of the general offensive.

Even if the current regime were to survive until 2004, because there are not enough unstable and temporary allies from reactionary ranks to realize a broad united front that can overthrow it, the revolutionary movement would still be in an advantageous position because it would gain more merit and initiative in opposing a regime that continues to stink.

The contradictions among the reactionaries will persist and sharpen. It is necessary to persevere in developing a broad united front against the regime, no matter how near or far in time is the overthrow in time is the overthrow

of the Macapagal-Arroyo regime. The efforts at building a broad united front can facilitate the defense and advance of the revolutionary forces. It is of utmost importance that the basic revolutionary forces strengthen themselves in order to assure and increase their independence and initiative in the ever developing broad united front.

While the Macapagal-Arroyo regime continues to stink by being subservient to the US, by aggravating the economic and social crisis and by being corrupt, deceptive and repressive, the Party coordinates the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front in order to deliver lethal blows on the regime.

### ***Intensify and advance the people's war***

Because they have a people's army, the Filipino people have the instrument for advancing their national and democratic rights and interests. They have the prospect of liberating themselves from the clutches of US imperialism and the exploiting classes and winning great victories, from the new-democratic stage to the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution. The US and the local reactionaries unwittingly do a service to the Filipino people whenever they viciously and ferociously attack the revolutionary forces and the people and threaten to unleash further attacks.

The Party, the people's army, the united front, the organs of political power and mass organizations respond to the armed counterrevolution with armed revolution. They raise the level of their fighting will and capabilities against escalating enemy attacks, including the threat of further US military intervention and aggression.

As in Vietnam and the whole of Indochina where the US war of aggression was defeated, we must be ready to use the social and physical terrain of the Philippines to inflict severe casualties on the invading US forces and to take punitive action against US economic and related interests.

We must do everything to uphold the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and Philippine territorial integrity. We try to prevent US military intervention and aggression. But if we cannot prevent it, we must fight well and realize by a war of national liberation the long delayed justice for the 1.4 million Filipinos murdered by the US when it conquered the Philippines from 1899 to 1916 and for the countless Filipinos victimized by exploitation and plunder by the US for so long.

The revolutionary forces and people have never feared the military might of the US, including extensive US military bases in the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, because in the first place they have the New People's Army, led by the Party and pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The NPA has already proven that it can preserve and increase its strength against such tremendous odds as the fascist dictatorship of Marcos, the existence of US military bases and the rising supplies of weapons from the US from 1972 to 1986. We have more strategic contempt than before for US imperialism because it is more crisis-stricken and overextended and for the local reactionaries because their system is weaker and more bankrupt.

The high-tech military power of the US is effective for threatening and actually destroying fixed and exposed structures of its foreign-government targets. But it is ineffective against a protracted people's war, as carried out victoriously in China, Indochina and elsewhere. To seriously fight the Filipino people, the US has to send more and more combat troops to the Philippine ground and let them take the risk of suffering casualties.

The Party and the people wield the NPA as the principal instrument for defeating the enemy, for building the mass base in the countryside, for encouraging all the mass organizations and mass campaigns for the social benefit of the people and for guaranteeing the development of the people's revolutionary self-government through the democratic organs of political power.

The Red fighters must be recruited from the local militia and mass organizations. The politico-military training of the Red commanders and fighters must be carried out systematically. The personnel needed for the various departments of the NPA must also be increased and trained as the people's war expands and intensifies.

The NPA must deliver lethal blows against the US imperialists and the puppet military and police forces, whatever extent that the US intervenes or aggresses against the people. The way for the NPA to strengthen itself is to wipe out the enemy forces and seize fi rearms and other war materiel from them.

Right now, the Party should put forward a general plan and issue guidelines for the NPA in guerrilla fronts to increase its armed strength through tactical offensives such as arrests, raids and ambushes.

The NPA must continue to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, there must be decentralized operations of the people's army.

The NPA must wage only those tactical offensives that it can be sure of winning. It must increase its armed



strength through tactical offensives and at the same time develop a mass base that is so wide and deep that the enemy would be incapable of destroying.

To consolidate and expand the mass base, the Party and the people's army must develop the local activists for further arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses. The number of Party cadres and members can never be enough for revolutionary work, unless the local Party cadres, mass activists and the masses augment their efforts and work self-reliantly.

As the people's war intensifies and advances, the need for Party cadres and members who are workers and educated youth rises in the people's army and the countryside. The Party cadres must motivate and assign such cadres to the countryside from the cities. Someday these cadres from the cities will facilitate the seizure of the cities upon the success of the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside.

The Party is developing and coordinating all forms of struggle, even as it considers the armed struggle as the principal form for seizing political power. All forms of struggle are needed to put into play all kinds of forces for fighting and defeating the enemy.

The Party expects that by continuing to build the NPA and wage people's war other peoples in the world are encouraged to intensify and to wage armed revolution and other forms of struggle. The exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the world have become so severe and so intolerable under conditions of "free market" globalization and imperialist wars of aggression. Thus, armed revolution will spread faster than ever before. Socio-economic ruination, political turmoil and wars of aggression are the prelude to social revolution.

# ***Raise the Level of the People's War***

## ***and Achieve All-round Advances***

**March 29, 2003**

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With utmost joy we celebrate the founding of the New People's Army (NPA) by the Communist Party of the Philippines thirty-four years ago on March 29, 1969.

We, the Central Committee of the Party, salute all the Red commanders and fighters. You are steadfast and courageous revolutionaries and we congratulate you for all your victories as a fighting, propaganda, organizing and productive force.

You have made great contributions to the overall victory of the Second Great Rectification Movement since it was launched in 1992. You have scored brilliant victories in accomplishing your tasks in the three-year plan of 1999 to 2002.

Your victories come from your firm commitment to the revolutionary cause, your hard work and relentless struggle and your high sense of self-sacrifice under the correct leadership of the Party and with the active participation and support of the people.

Let us honor our revolutionary martyrs and departed heroes. Let their selflessness and sacrifices inspire us. Let us renew our revolutionary resolve to fight more fiercely for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

Grave crisis besets US imperialism and the Arroyo puppet regime and has rendered them bankrupt, desperate and more exploitative and oppressive than ever before. They are carrying out an all-out war policy against the revolutionary forces and the people and demonizing them as "terrorist".

Our response is to raise the level of our people's war and achieve all-round advances in the entire revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

### ***Taking stock of NPA strength***

In its 2002 Plenum, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines summed up and analyzed the progress of the NPA since the launching of the Second Great Rectification Movement. In an allround way, great advances have been made, especially in the course of fulfilling the Three-Year Plan of 1999 to 2002. A solid basis has been laid for raising the people's war to a new and higher level and for achieving greater advances in an all-round way.

As a revolutionary party of the proletariat, the CPP leads the NPA. It has strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally through the Second Great Rectification Movement and through steadfast revolutionary struggle.

The general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war is firmly and clearly drawn against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We have thoroughly criticized and repudiated the "Left" and Right opportunist lines that undermined the NPA during the 1980s and early 1990s and threatened to destroy the Party and the entire revolutionary movement until the launching of the Second Great Rectification Movement. We have defeated the most vicious attempts of the enemy to wreck the revolutionary movement from within.

We have seen the continuous degeneration and self-discredit of the revisionist renegades and incorrigible opportunists who have exposed themselves as special agents of US imperialism and the local reactionaries, not only as anticommunist propagandists but in certain cases as intelligence agents and armed combatants.

We have strengthened the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of our revolution. This is the combination of the leading class and main force of the revolution. It unites the working people, comprising more than 90 per cent of the Filipino people.

The revolutionary class line requires the strategic line of protracted people's war and ensures the victory of the new-democratic revolution through the development of the people's army in stages over a protracted period of time.

Such a strategic line enables the people's army to accumulate armed strength in the countryside, mainly among the peasant masses, until the revolutionary forces and the people have gained the capability and created the conditions for seizing political power from the city-based enemy. The line enables us to make advances in solving the land problem and fulfilling the democratic content of the revolution. It enables us to expand and consolidate the mass base by building mass organizations and organs of political power.

The NPA has gained armed strength by carrying out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever deepening and widening mass base. We are now fully developing the early phase of the strategic defensive. We have gained the critical mass of Red fighters for moving towards the middle phase of the strategic defensive.

The NPA has thousands of well trained and battle-tested Red commanders and fighters, with automatic rifles and other high-powered weapons running into thousands. The number of Red fighters has increased at an annual rate of 10 to 15 percent from 1999 to 2001, up from the previous annual rate of 8 to 9 percent.

The number of our high-powered rifles has also increased by 11 to 16 percent from 1999 to 2001, up from the previous annual rate of 7.1 percent. Despite the significant increase in the number of our firearms, the Red fighters still outnumber the available rifles 3 : 2. This is a huge shortage of firearms relative to the number of trained fighters, not to mention the far bigger number of reserves.

The full-time fighters are augmented by the people's militia, which acts as the revolutionary police and reserve force in the barrios and by the self-defense units consisting of all able-bodied men and women in the mass organizations.

We now have 128 guerrilla fronts that cover some 8000 barrios and significant portions of some 700 to 800 municipalities and cities in more than 90 percent of the provinces nationwide. On the average, 12 barrios per municipality constitute part of a guerrilla front.

Fifty percent of the guerrilla fronts have a total NPA strength of one company and the other 50 percent of less than a company. Most of the fifteen regions designated by the Party have on the average no less than six guerrilla fronts, each with NPA company strength.

In 2001, the enemy chose 12 guerrilla fronts as national priority targets for prolonged campaigns of suppression, characterized by encirclement of each guerrilla front with large numbers of enemy forces and sending into the barrios special operations teams for psywar and intelligence as well as teams for kill-loot-and-burn operations.

Appropriate to his superior military strength, the enemy military goes on the strategic offensive, tries to encircle the NPA and seeks to "search and destroy" or, in certain selected areas, to "clear, hold, consolidate and develop". But the problem of the enemy forces is that the people hate them as the instrument of the imperialists and the exploiting classes and keep them blind and deaf in relation to the NPA.

Moreover, the NPA has developed a sizeable number of guerrilla fronts. The enemy forces can concentrate on twelve of them but leaves open more than 100 guerrilla fronts to develop. When the enemy military is hell-bent on concentrating and occupying any area, we trade space for time and shift to another area. Then, we launch tactical offensives on exterior lines of the enemy.

The number of guerrilla fronts has stayed at around 128 for two to three years mainly because of the emphasis on consolidation work and not because of the effectiveness of the enemy campaigns of suppression. In fact, in the aftermath of every enemy campaign of suppression, the attendant gross violations of human rights so outrage people that they become more eager than ever before to join the armed revolution.

The mass organizations for workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and children constitute the most solid mass base of the guerrilla fronts. Hundreds of thousands of members are enlisted in such mass organizations. They increased on the average of 19.4 percent annually in the period of 1999 to 2001.

The population under the existing organs of political power constitutes an expanded mass base that runs into millions. Those not yet enlisted in the mass organizations can give various forms of support to the people's army. They can be mobilized to participate in mass actions.

The geographic distribution of guerrilla fronts is relatively well balanced. Fifty percent of them are in Luzon, 20 percent in the Visayas and 30 percent in Mindanao. The NPA regional commands have seven guerrilla fronts on the average.

As a matter of course, the NPA regional commands and guerrilla fronts are unevenly developed in terms of armed strength, extent of land reform and scale and quality of mass base. The Party has identified which guerrilla fronts are the most developed, less developed and least developed for the purpose of helping those lagging

behind to catch up with the more developed ones and raising the overall level of development to a new and higher one. As the main organization of the Party, the NPA has the highest concentration of Party members. It is the main organization for linking up intimately with the largest number of the toiling masses. It is the most powerful instrument of the Party and the people for seizing political power.

The NPA draws strength mainly from the worker-peasant alliance. Moreover, it draws strength from the alliances of progressive forces, the patriotic forces and the alliances with unstable and unreliable allies in the broadest type of alliance for isolating and defeating the enemy at every given time.

The NPA has the strength to take advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system and to raise the level of the people's war and achieve all-round advances in the new-democratic revolution.

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

The US and its Filipino reactionary puppets boast that it is futile for the Filipino people and revolutionary forces to fight them because supposedly the US is the sole superpower, which is by far the strongest economic and military power. Supposedly, no force on earth can stop it from doing what it wishes.

In fact, US imperialism is rotten to the core. The Filipino people and revolutionary forces can confidently fight it because its economic and financial crisis has deepened and worsened more than ever before since the end of World War II and because its imperialist and terrorist policy of aggression and repression has isolated it.

Among the imperialist countries, the US benefited the most from "free market" globalization. With its high interest and profit rates, the US attracted foreign investments in stocks, bonds and other assets from its own imperialist allies and from the oil producing countries. It used the foreign funds to finance consumerism, unbridled speculation in stock issues and corporate mergers, overseas investments and military production.

The US boasted of its "new economy" as ever growing at full employment but without wage inflation purportedly due to US lead in high technology and, most importantly, due to wage cuts and cutbacks on social spending. In fact, foreign borrowings artificially buoyed up the US economy.

Soon after its peak in 2000, the US "new economy" has fallen abruptly from year to year. Since then, the stock market has been in a protracted free fall, destroying more than USD 8 trillion. Industrial production has declined rapidly and huge corporate scams in stocks, bonds and loans have surfaced. Brief spells of small growth are followed by further downturns.

The US economy is practically bankrupt. It has an outstanding public debt of US\$6.4 trillion and a net foreign debt of 2.8 trillion. Its trade deficit is incessantly growing. Its budgetary surplus under the Clinton regime has disappeared and given way to huge budgetary deficits under the Bush regime. This regime is bent on raiding social security funds even after the loss of the pension funds and personal savings used for stock purchases on margin by more than 40 percent of the US families.

And yet the Bush administration is providing the monopoly bourgeoisie with huge tax cuts amounting to US\$2.65 trillion over a ten-year period, spending US\$ 400 billion for the military, engaging in two wars of aggression in quick succession and threatening wars also against Syria, Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Bush regime took advantage of the outpouring of sympathy from people all over the world for the families of victims and the American people in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks and immediately used the attacks as pretext for threatening or waging a US war of terror against governments assertive of their independence and against national liberation movements.

In the name of anti-terrorism, the Bush regime is deliberately whipping up war hysteria, pushing fascism and repression on a global scale and actually engaging in military intervention, as in the Philippines, and waging wars of aggression, as in Afghanistan and Iraq, in order to step up war production and to grab sources and supply routes of oil.

Being closely connected with the military industrial complex and oil monopolies, the Bush ruling clique holds the view that by favoring these sectors the US would stimulate not only the US economy but also the entire world capitalist system.

But fattening up these sectors does not generate employment enough to generate increased consumer demand relative to the crisis of overproduction in the US and world capitalist system.

The economic and financial crisis now afflicting all the three centers of global capitalism (the US, Japan and

European Union) is breeding the most reactionary trends such as fascism, racism, and aggressive wars. The monopoly bourgeoisie uses the most reactionary arguments to lay the blame on people of color for the crisis and impels fascist, racist and bellicose currents to run high.

The US is the No. 1 imperialist power. The crisis is driving it to grab more economic territories (semicolonies and dependent countries) and to exploit these as sources of raw materials, fields of investment, market, salient points of control and spheres of influence.

The US is the No.1 terrorist power. It is the biggest producer, stockpiler and user of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. It is the only power that has used atom bombs to incinerate city populations, as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It has used chemical agents to kill and afflict entire communities and poison the environment as in Indochina. It wantonly employs an array of such hideous munitions as cluster bombs, smart bombs, bombs with depleted uranium, etc., against nonmilitary targets, causing widespread death injury, illness and destruction.

It has killed more than 10 million people in wars of aggression since the end of World War II, as in the Korean War (4.5 million Koreans), Vietnam War (6 million Vietnamese) and in the first war of aggression against Iraq (150,000). It has instigated anticommunist massacres, like the killing of 1.5 million Indonesians in 1965. It has caused fratricidal wars, killing more than a million people as in Rwanda and hundreds of thousands as in the Congo and former Yugoslavia.

Through embargoes, the US has caused the death of 1.5 million Iraqis and some 750,000 children. Worst of all, even without any conspicuous act of physical violence, the US imperialists inflict the daily violence of neocolonial exploitation on billions of people from one generation to another.

In the current war of aggression against Iraq, we witness the so-called coalition forces victimizing most of all the Iraqi people and punishing the Iraqi government for asserting national independence. At the same time, we see a significant breach in the alliance of imperialist powers, with the US and Britain conspicuously taking one side and France, Germany and Russia taking another side.

Although generally united against the people of the world and against revolutionary movements, the imperialist powers are driven by the crisis of the world capitalist system to compete with each other more intensely than ever before and to resent the unbridled avarice of the sole superpower in grabbing the lions share of spoils.

In the first war of aggression against Iraq, the US made its allies pay most of the costs of the war. But it grabbed most of the spoils from the war by imposing on the oil producing countries US military and other contracts, by tightening control over the oil supply to Japan, Europe and other parts of the world and by compelling the Palestinian Liberation Organization to bend to a US-Israel Zionist scheme of domination over Palestine and the Middle East.

The US and Europe collaborated in systematically breaking up the former Yugoslavia. But it is the US that grabbed the most benefit by expanding the NATO according to the US strategic plan and blocking more economical oil pipelines to Central and Western Europe via Russia or the Danube and the Rhine.

From its war of aggression against Afghanistan, the US has gained the ground for further penetrating Central Asia and the Caspian Sea Region and for an oil pipeline via Afghanistan and Pakistan to the Arabian Sea coast and the Indian Ocean, bypassing the Gulf and discouraging others from investments on pipelines to Russia and to China.

In the current war of aggression against Iraq, the US aims to control directly the second largest oil producer in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and consequently further control the OPEC, the Middle East and the adjoining regions of Central Asia and Caspian Sea. It also aims to reverse the trend among the OPEC countries to adopt the Euro as the currency of oil transactions in lieu of the US dollar and to punish Iraq for starting the trend in late 2000.

The workers and the oppressed peoples of the world have risen up in huge mass actions to protest against the US imperialist war of aggression against Iraq. These indicate rising conscious opposition and resistance of the people to imperialism. The people of the world have long been seething in anger over the economic and social disasters that monopoly capitalism has unleashed against them.

The major contradictions in the world as those between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples, between the imperialists and governments that assert national independence, among the imperialist powers and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries are sharpening. The economic and financial

crisis has led to social and political crisis and turbulence on a global scale.

The US struts with hyper-power arrogance, trampling down on the national sovereignty of the peoples of the world and plundering their social wealth. The current political ringleaders of the US monopoly bourgeoisie pontificate that the US can build the biggest empire ever in the history of mankind, by using its overwhelming high-tech military power and taking advantage of the economic and social degradation of the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries, both of which are now pressed down by foreign debt of US\$ 3 trillion.

The US imperialists are using every pretext to pounce upon governments that assert their independence. They are increasingly at loggerheads even with their own imperialist allies and some erstwhile puppet governments. And in the imperialist homegrounds, the proletariat and people are resisting more than ever before.

The Filipino people and revolutionary forces are not at all deceived by promises of the US and its Filipino puppets that economic recovery of the US and the world capitalist system is in sight and that this is the way out from economic depression, mass unemployment and widespread poverty in the Philippines. The US and its puppets are relentlessly aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people.

Neither are the Filipino people and revolutionary forces intimidated by the technological and military power of US imperialism. They have seen how such power failed in earlier people's wars in Asia, such as those in China, Vietnam and Korea. They themselves have succeeded in thwarting every US scheme to destroy the revolutionary mass movement. They have prevailed over the US-sponsored Marcos fascist dictatorship and the succeeding reactionary regimes.

The US has exposed its impotence by failing in its efforts to destroy a small bandit gang, the Abu Sayyaf, which it created in the 1990s to undermine the Moro National Liberation Front. At any rate, it has used the CIA-organized terrorist gang as the pretext for US military intervention against the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people and the Bangsamoro, particularly the armed forces of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

As it becomes more expansionist and more aggressive, driven as it is by crisis, the US imperialists find themselves increasingly confronted by the resistance of the workers and oppressed peoples, independent governments and their own imperialist rivals.

The armed revolutionary movements in the Philippines, Nepal, India, Turkey, Palestine, Colombia, Venezuela, Iran, Peru and other countries can become stronger and inspire more peoples to take the road of armed revolution. The governments of China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Syria, Iraq, Libya and other countries can in varying degrees assert national independence to oppose US acts of aggression.

Under current and prospective conditions, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces can intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and aim for the victory of the new-democratic revolution. They are ready to confront and fight every escalation of US military intervention and even an all-out US war of aggression.

They welcome the challenge and opportunity to exact retribution from the imperialists for 1.5 million Filipinos murdered by the US occupation forces from the start of the Filipino-American War in 1899 to the end of the US pacification campaigns in 1913 and to terminate the exploitation and oppression that generations of Filipinos have suffered under US imperialism in more than a century.

### ***Worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system***

The much worsened crisis of the US and world capitalist system has spelled disaster for the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines. The all-round chronic crisis of the system is rapidly worsening. The exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords have no way out of the crisis.

Under the slogan of "free market" globalization, US imperialism has pointedly prohibited the Philippine puppet state from marshalling public funds to engage in or stimulate national industrial development. It has dictated upon the state to liberalize the entry of foreign capital and goods, to privatize state assets and remove regulations that provide some protection to working people and the environment.

The Philippines does not have any type of goods to sell to the world market other than raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures. All these are in oversupply. More of the same can be exported but at far lower prices. At the same time, the state has opened the Philippine market to the flood of all types of goods, including agricultural staples, to the detriment of local producers.

Despite its comprehensive national resource base and its large population, the Philippines has a lopsided economy due to imperialist and feudal exploitation. It imports a lot of everything: manufactures mainly for

consumption, equipment and raw materials for limited processing, a great amount of fuel and luxuries for the upper classes.

The usual annual result is a big increase in the trade deficit and in the foreign debt, which has gone beyond \$54 billion. Whenever there is a trade surplus in any exceptional year, it is the result of cutting down imports and local production. Right now, the Arroyo regime is extremely dependent on and beholden to the US because it borrows from US banks a monthly average of US\$51.7 million at onerous terms.

The bankruptcy of the Philippine economy is exposed not only by the mounting foreign trade deficits and foreign debt but also by the ever growing budgetary deficits and local public debt of the reactionary government. Tax and other revenue collection fall far below the rising levels of government expenditures for the most counter-productive purposes.

The fall in state revenues is due to the economic depression, trade liberalization, the previous privatization of government corporations and bureaucratic corruption. Government spending for debt service, the military and police, graft-ridden infrastructure projects, and luxury facilities of the highest government officials is spiralling. Social spending for public education, health care and housing is declining.

The broad masses of the people are outraged by the puffed up figures for production values in the service sector and by the false claims of the regime to a relatively high growth rate of the gross national product. Production has actually broken down because of the high cost of imported inputs and drop in demand due to reduced income.

Bankruptcies and mass layoffs are widespread. Even the regime admits a double-digit rate of unemployment. Real accumulated unemployment runs up to at least 50 percent, if we properly define employment. Incomes for the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants have become inadequate for bare subsistence and have sunk them deeper into indebtedness. Eighty-six percent of the people fall below the poverty line. The majority of women and children suffer from malnutrition.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata suffer soaring prices of basic necessities, rising taxes and increasing fees for such basic social services as water, electricity, public transport and so on. The youth are victimized by the rising costs of education and yet have difficulty getting employment. Women have far less chances of employment in the country than men. Thus, they comprise the majority of Filipinos becoming overseas contract workers.

The lack of economic development and high rate of unemployment have driven ten percent of the population to become overseas contract workers, who are deprived of trade union rights and who are made to accept extremely low wages relative to the wages of citizens of the host country. Women are the most vulnerable to many kinds of abuses, especially when they are recruited as entertainers and menial servants.

The regime does nothing to alleviate the economic and social suffering of the people but goes to the extent of maligning the workers as "terrorists" for exercising their trade union rights and demanding better wage and living conditions. It pays lip service to land reform but is pushing a reclassification of agricultural land to put this beyond the pale of land reform. It is encouraging the further concentration of land in the hands of a few corporations and landlord families.

As the economic and social crisis worsens, so does the political crisis of the ruling system. The rival political factions of the exploiting classes compete more bitterly than ever before as the spoils of power have shrunk. They tend to expose each other more easily in vying for public support amidst social discontent and strife.

Intense political rivalry exists not only between one political party and another or between one coalition and another but also within the ruling and the opposition parties and coalitions. Competition often appears as one among personalities and families of the exploiting classes.

The ruling coalition of Arroyo is so fractious and so riven by competition in corruption that Arroyo herself has been so discredited and isolated for her inability to express any credible policy to alleviate the dismal social conditions. Thus, at the end of the year, she announced that she would no longer run for the presidency in 2004.

Whether she meant what she said or not, the point is that she has been compelled to make an unusual announcement which betrays her weak political position. In fact, the broad united front promoted by the legal democratic forces and oppositionists within and outside her ruling coalition had already proven successful in isolating her because of the puppetry, corruption, incompetence and repressiveness of her regime.

The rivalries of factions among military and police officers reflect those among the reactionary politicians and

are a major factor in the worsening political crisis. Military and police officers owe their promotions to their political sponsors and are therefore easily involved in political struggles and at the highest levels in threats of coup and countercoup.

The worst of military and police officers compete in lording over criminal syndicates engaged in gambling, prostitution, drugs, kidnap-for-ransom, smuggling and so on. The most ambitious of them deck themselves out as candidates for the presidency, the Senate and Congress and local executive officers. They get capital for political buildup and electoral campaign from criminal operations.

US intervention in economic, political and military affairs is becoming more and more conspicuous in connection with the Bush policy of “war on terrorism”. This capitalizes on and uses as pretext the September 11 attacks in order to further tighten US control of Philippine economic and political affairs and reintroduce US combat troops and military bases in Philippine territory.

Arroyo is a shameless puppet of US imperialism. She is notorious for pushing “free market” globalization and placing pro-US agents (belonging to the shadowy group called AGILE) in the bureaucracy for the purpose of making policies and laws beneficial to the US and US multinational corporations.

The US uses defense secretary Angelo Reyes as her handler. He has pushed her to paralyze and scuttle the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and to declare an all-out war policy against the revolutionary forces. He has also led her to adopt an anti-terrorism law patterned after the USA Patriot Act, accept the Mutual Logistic Support Agreement (MLSA) and allow US troops to engage in combat operations in the Philippines.

Plans are afoot for the amendment of the 1987 constitution of the reactionary government in order to remove the national restrictions on foreign investments and the prohibition of US combat troops and bases in the Philippines.

Speaker Jose de Venecia hopes to become prime minister through the adoption of the parliamentary system by a constituent assembly of the two houses of Congress. But the US is already grooming Reyes to succeed Arroyo. It also prefers the holding of a constitutional convention.

CIA agents and Reyes have been responsible for emboldening the Abu Sayyaf to engage in kidnap-for ransom and engaging in terrorist bombings in order to justify the participation of US troops in combat operations against the revolutionary forces of the CPP and the MILF.

Reyes has escalated the military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces since 2001, thus continuing under the Arroyo regime the all-out war policy that he pushed under the Estrada regime. He is also responsible for violating the GRP-MILF ceasefire agreement. He is now under the advice of the US CIA psywar experts to create trouble and then to run for the presidency, presenting himself as the toughie who would restore order.

Arroyo is in full agreement with the US and defense secretary Angelo Reyes in demanding the capitulation of the NDFP. Their common objective is to scuttle the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations upon the certain refusal of the NDFP to capitulate by agreeing to a “final peace agreement” that the GRP has one-sidedly prepared.

To scuttle the peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP, the GRP has collaborated with the US government in putting the Party, the NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant in a list of “terrorists” and in campaigning for other governments (Britain, Canada and Australia) and the Council of the European Union to follow suit. The GRP aims to intimidate the NDFP negotiating panel and to render the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations untenable.

Arroyo is following the dictate of US imperialism to further escalate the armed counterrevolution in the name of antiterrorism. She ignores the fact that the prioritized military campaigns of suppression against twelve guerrilla fronts of the NPA since 2001 have failed to stem the advance of the revolutionary movement. She still hopes in vain that she might be able to run for the presidency if she could destroy the New People’s Army.

The US and its puppets in the Philippines seem to forget that the armed revolutionary movement gained strength even when the Marcos fascist dictatorship ran for 14 years and benefited from the presence of US military bases for which the puppet regime received huge military supplies and financial assistance.

The US and its puppets are practically compelling the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces to intensify the armed revolution by subjecting them to further repression and threatening them with a new regime of open terror.

The crisis conditions push the imperialists and the local reactionaries to unleash violence. But the same



conditions are favorable for the revolutionary forces to intensify the armed revolution.

the domestic ruling system that the US-directed Arroyo regime has desperately adopted an all-out war policy and invited US military intervention, under the guise of a “war on terrorism” in the attempt to terrorize the broad masses of the people. But in its recent Plenum, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines has drawn up a 3-Year Plan for 2003-2005 to raise the level of the people’s war and make all-round advances in the revolution. It has done so after summing up and drawing lessons from the previous 3Year Plan for 1999-2002, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and in particular the Second Great Rectification Movement. The overall objective of the plan is to resolutely combat and defeat the escalating onslaughts of the US-Arroyo regime and to advance the people’s democratic revolution to a new and higher level.

The main objectives are:

1) Further expand and intensify the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist struggle. Isolate and bring down the US-Arroyo regime. Fight the escalating US military intervention and state terrorism.

2) Extend the guerrilla fronts to the majority of municipalities, especially those in the strategic parts of the archipelago. Build the requisites to reach the middle phase of the strategic defensive through further expansion and through heightened attention on the wave upon wave consolidation of every municipality.

Intensify guerrilla warfare, expand and increase the tempo of the agrarian revolution, and strengthen the organizational, political, economic, defense and cultural capabilities of the mass base.

3) Uphold the leadership of the Party over the NPA and the armed revolution. Draw the people in the millions to the armed revolution through the united front policy and tactics. Expand and strengthen relations and cooperation with all possible allies.

4) Strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. Propagate Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Pursue the new-democratic revolution. Carry out a Party recruitment drive with the goal having some hundreds of thousands of Party members.

### ***Build the guerrilla fronts***

We must build guerrilla fronts in the majority of municipalities and increase the existing number by 20 per cent. We must attain NPA company strength in every guerrilla front. We must consolidate a platoon as center of gravity in every municipality in the guerrilla front.

Regions lagging behind in armed strength must be helped in three ways to catch up: more attention and guidance from the center, more support from the cities with regard to cadres, propaganda and invigoration of the mass movement and conscious support from the strong regions.

In most regions, we must have at least six guerrilla fronts, each with NPA company strength. In each guerrilla front with NPA company strength, we must develop three or more clusters of seven consolidated barrios on favorable terrain.

We must base our expansion on consolidation. We must do well at consolidating and developing the guerrilla fronts in order to produce the political and military strength and capability to build additional guerrilla fronts. At the same time, we must maximize the support from the cities and other urban centers in terms of cadres from the ranks of workers and educated youth, professional and technical expertise and material assistance.

We must pay attention to the joining up of guerrilla fronts and developing back-to-back relations in order to maximize cooperation. We must anticipate the development of stable base areas from the joining up of several guerrilla fronts. We must develop our foothold in every strategic area of every region and every major island. We must identify these strategic areas and report these to higher organs.

A guerrilla front may be divided into guerrilla base area and guerrilla zones. The platoon as center of gravity bases itself in the guerrilla base area. This is the most consolidated area of the guerrilla front because of more intensive mass work within its radius. The platoon or platoons, subdivisible into squads or armed propaganda teams, depending on the situation or objective, are based in the guerrilla zones within the wider radius beyond the guerrilla base area.

The guerrilla zones are the less consolidated part of the guerrilla front. A platoon can initiate the building of a guerrilla front. It conducts mass work, builds and trains the people’s militia and undertakes tactical offensives to acquire additional firearms to achieve company strength. We must monitor and study closely the enemy’s Campaign Bantay Laya in order to be able to effectively frustrate it. We must study in detail the experience in any cluster of barrios held for a long time by special operations teams of the enemy, point out the problems and the steps

to solve them.

### ***Enlarge and strengthen the people's army***

We must develop the platoon as the basic formation. We must be good at leading and operating the platoon as the center of gravity in the guerrilla fronts and regions. Together with the regional Party committee, the regional operational command must have a platoon, oversized platoon or company as the center of gravity at the regional level.

Let us improve our recruitment and training of fighters. We must comply with the requirements of age, politics, organization and mental and physical fitness. We must recruit more workers and educated youth and combine them well with the fighters of peasant origin. Let us train at least 25 percent of our Red fighters to become officers at various levels. We must develop the formal course for officer training.

Let us systematize politico-military training on a wide scale. Let us allot time to conduct regular drills in the course of our work. Let us strengthen the leadership of the Party and conduct lively political work in the army. Let us promote the general political education and the basic Party course, democracy in three fields and promote discipline and team work.

Let us confront the problem of fighters who de-list from the army. We must comply with the standards of recruitment, carry out political work among the fighters, help them to cope with difficulties and problems and combat any condescending attitude towards new recruits.

The Party Central Committee and the Regional Party Committee must pay attention to military affairs. From time to time, we must assess and evaluate military work and questions in order to guide the Party and the army in their concrete tasks, quickly respond to changes in the situation and the actions and tactics of the enemy, and promptly solve problems.

We must study military theory, conduct research and solve problems in strategy and tactics. We must strengthen the system of command. We must revitalize the national and regional operational commands. Priority must be given to planning, training, special operations, intelligence, ordnance, logistics and medical needs.

Let us build the Party branch at the platoon level and the Party group within the squad. The Instruction Bureau should supervise general political education and Party education while the Politico-Military School should conduct politico-military training. Let us hold politico-military conferences more often to exchange views and experiences more extensively.

We must strengthen the system of reporting, summing up and evaluation of tactical offensives. It is of vital importance in propaganda that we report to the people promptly our victories in the battlefield.

The national and regional levels of command must pay attention to key battles, special operations, coordinated operations in accordance with the directives of higher organs, like the CC, PB, MC, EC and the Regional Party Committee. We must be able to increase the armed strength of the people's army mainly through tactical offensives. To augment these, we can produce certain weapons and we can also purchase them through friends and dealers.

We must seriously form the people's militia as our local police and as an auxiliary and reserve force of the full-time units of the people's army. We can train at least a platoon per barrio in the guerrilla front in police and internal security work.

We must also encourage the mass organizations to form self-defense units and give them training and instruction in methods of surveillance on the enemy and in transport and communications work, in the face of the enemy campaigns of suppression.

We must lay a widespread active intelligence network by mobilizing the masses for this. We must be good at conducting surveillance and identifying the intelligence net of the enemy in order to dismantle it. We must systematize the reporting, analysis, evaluation and consolidation of the information collected.

The people's army must be good at conducting security work, maintaining secrecy and frustrating the schemes and onslaughts of the enemy. We must always be conscious of and observe the rules regarding these. We must avoid being placed on the defensive when the enemy launches his own tactical offensives against us.

We must form units armed city partisans from among Red fighters who have served in the NPA for at least two years and who are knowledgeable about the city to which they are assigned. When not preparing for or carrying out a tactical offensive in the city, the armed city partisans must be based in the countryside.

### ***Intensify tactical offensives***

To ensure that the armed revolution is widely and deeply-based among the people, the people's army devotes 90 percent of its time to political work and 10 percent to tactical offensives.

The main platoon, as center of gravity in a guerrilla front, must strive to launch one tactical offensive every three months. For the purpose, prior intelligence work must be undertaken on two to three possible targets. Then we choose the easiest target for attack by ambush or raid.

The regional operational commands can directly undertake an average of one tactical offensive every three months by arranging the forces for the ambush or raid or by coordinating offensives for the guerrilla fronts under its command to undertake within the same period. However, no regional army organization or guerrilla front should ever put at risk two-thirds or more of its total armed strength in a single battle.

The platoons assigned to armed propaganda work or mass work must try to carry out a tactical offensive once every four months. The frequency can increase on the basis of previous victories.

The tactical offensives must always be decided and carried out to strengthen the armed revolution as well as to inspire the people to join or support it. Basic tactical offensives must be carried out to seize arms from the enemy and special tactical offensives must be carried out on the basis of appropriate orders of a people's court or an appropriate political authority to arrest or give battle to human rights violators, plunderers and renegades who have incurred blood debts and committed grave malversation of revolutionary funds and other assets.

We must properly deploy the people's army for guerrilla warfare. We must use the tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting with flexibility. We concentrate a force capable of conducting an offensive. We disperse our force to conduct mass work. We shift our forces to evade the offensive of a superior enemy force.

We must discover through observation and intelligence opportunities for tactical offensives. We can also create such opportunities by inducing the enemy to commit mistakes. In any circumstance, we must plan and carry out only those tactical offensives that we are sure of winning.

Thirty-four years of armed struggle have taught us so many tactics for defeating and disarming parts of the enemy armed forces. We can raid or ambush small enemy units. We may not be able to raid big well-fortified camps but we can certainly wait for a small unit to move out of these and come to our ambush point.

We can either wipe out or harass an enemy unit with our small force at a certain point, while we maintain a much bigger force waiting at another point to ambush the reinforcement or investigating unit of the enemy. We can contain or encircle an area with a platoon or company in order to accomplish the tactical offensive or whatever other mission requiring perimeter control of that area.

After we win a number of tactical offensives in an area, the enemy can be expected to unleash his own counteroffensive. It may be of short or long duration. We can evade and circle round an enemy offensive of short duration. We need to shift to another area when the enemy offensive is of long duration and large scale.

As soon as the enemy spreads his forces by trying to occupy too much of a territory, we can choose the weak spots in the same area for our attacks from exterior lines or, when conditions permit, behind enemy lines. The target may be a small detachment, stationary or moving.

The NPA can increase its arms and raise the level of its tactics and technique only by carrying out and winning tactical offensives against the enemy forces. Upon further growth of the NPA, our Red commanders and fighters improve their fighting skills and instruments and attract new recruits that can bring professional and technical expertise useful to the armed revolution.

We must be alert to the US military intervention. We must defend the people as US troops trample down on national sovereignty and the territory of the people's democratic government. We must be ready to fight US military intervention and aggression.

Since its defeat in Indochina, the US has succeeded in attacking and overthrowing foreign governments by using high-tech weaponry and blitzkrieg tactics. Lately, the US wants to use the Philippines as a field for testing and demonstrating its armed strength against a revolutionary movement engaged in protracted people's war.

To fight US imperialism, we have our general line, our strategy and tactics and our rich experience to rely upon. Moreover, we review the victorious revolutionary struggles of the Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese comrades and peoples in overcoming US intervention and aggression.

In fighting the enemy, our main policy is to annihilate his forces. At the same time, we have a secondary policy of disintegrating such forces by persuading them to abandon the enemy side or joining the revolutionary side. We must have a special organ and special operatives for putting or developing in place patriotic and progressive

elements in the reactionary army and police. We must develop a democratic movement within their ranks. We must have a strategic view in this regard.

In the mass movement, we must pay attention to reaching the soldiers in the reactionary army and their families. We must extend cooperation to victims of abuse by officers, corruption and human rights violations within the reactionary army and police.

We must neutralize the local police and the CAFGU, whenever possible. We must find ways of disarming them without or with little bloodshed. But in the case of the reactionary army, we can use all the tactics necessary to defeat them in the battlefield.

We must treat captured enemy soldiers and police personnel leniently, respect their human rights and accord them humane treatment. We treat them as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention and its protocols as well as the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

We may release ordinary soldiers and police as soon as possible. We must detain enemy officers until such time that their government can agree with the NDFP on the ground procedure for safe and orderly release.

### ***Mass work and united front***

We must arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions. We must do so by conducting painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing as well as by making agreements with allies, sweeping mass propaganda and mobilizations that draw in the masses along the line of the united front.

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 all regions. We must reach a new peak in solid mass organizing.

We must form the barrio organizing committee preparatory to the barrio revolutionary committee, the organizing committees of various types of mass organizations, the mass organizations, the militia, the self-defense units of mass organizations and the Party branches in clusters of barrios and towns.

Every NPA squad must form 15 to 20 organizing groups every month. The organizing groups must develop into full mass organizations in one year and the organizing committees, into full mass organizations in 6 months.

We must strive to maintain a ratio of 3 to 1 in expansion and consolidation. In planning our area work, we must take into account whether the area provides sufficient room for maneuver and a favorable terrain. Mass organizing should be faster in barrios where we previously did work when the problems that compelled us to leave the area are solved.

We must form the barrio organizing committee and as many as possible organizing committees of various types of mass organizations in order to cover the entire barrio and relate to all democratic and progressive elements. The barrio revolutionary committee stands as the organ of people's government elected by representatives of the mass organizations or, when circumstances allow, directly by the people in the barrio. We must form the municipal committee of any type of mass organization when such mass organization is already organized in 15 to 20 barrios of a municipality. In due course, we can proceed to build committees at the district and provincial levels.

The mass organizations must undertake campaigns in order to mobilize the people for their own benefit and lay the basis for further recruitment and further mobilization. In cooperation with the mass organizations, the armed propaganda teams must carry out widespread political education. More instructors must be trained among the masses. They must be encouraged to creatively use available effective methods and tools of education.

We must expand and invigorate the antifeudal struggle. We must carry forward the minimum land reform program. Let the peasant associations pursue the campaign to reduce land rent, lower interest rates, raise wages of the farm workers, raise prices at the farm gate and increase agricultural production and sideline occupation.

We must combat the return of the land to the landlords, fake cooperatives, land reclassification and crop reclassification, agricultural "globalization", merchant usury, various types of landgrabbing and so on. The reactionary government must be stopped from taking away the land previously granted to or amortized by the former tenants.

We must conduct other types of mass campaigns pertinent to the following: political education, organization, production, health, literacy, culture, self-defense training, human rights, preparedness against natural and man-made disasters and so on. We must bring to the rural areas whatever expertise and assistance we can get from urban areas.

We must strengthen the worker-peasant alliance as the base of the united front for armed revolution. The Party and the NPA must rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and despotic landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter.

Furthermore, we must develop the alliance of progressive forces with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the alliance of patriotic forces with the middle bourgeoisie and the unstable alliance with sections of the reactionary classes against the enemy.

By having our own organized mass base led by the Party, we can avail ourselves of the united front policy and tactics to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions in the fastest way possible. We can thus most effectively coordinate the forces and people in the urban and rural areas.

We must bring about mutual support and assistance between the rural and urban areas. And we must use most effectively legal, semilegal and illegal forms of organizations and struggle for the purpose of expansion and consolidation.

With utmost confidence, let us all work hard and struggle to raise the level of the people's war and achieve all-round advances in the new-democratic revolution. Let us realize the targets of the new Three-Year Plan and score great victories in the next three years. Let us do our best to contribute to the advance of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist movement.

# ***Fight for National Liberation, Democracy and Peace through Protracted People's War***

March 29, 2004

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With utmost joy, we celebrate the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army (NPA) by the Communist Party of the Philippines as well as all the brilliant victories won by the Red commanders and fighters. These victories have been won under the correct leadership of the Party and with the militant participation of the broad masses of the Filipino people.

We pay the highest tribute to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. Their sacrifices and struggles have made the victories of the armed revolution possible. They inspire us to fight more resolutely and more courageously than ever before in order to advance and win complete victory in the national democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

We can achieve national liberation, democracy and peace only by putting an end to US domination over the Philippines and to the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords. We can and must do so by persevering in protracted people's war, guided by the revolutionary party of the working class and reliant on the combined strength of the working class and peasantry.

## ***Global and domestic crisis***

The crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening. All kinds of goods have been overproduced relative to a global market shrunken by bankruptcies, production cutbacks, mass unemployment and reduction of the people's incomes. The imperialist drive under the "neoliberal" policy of "free market" globalization has accelerated the extraction of superprofits from the working people, the privatization of public assets, the destruction of industries in most countries and the concentration and centralization of capital in the imperialist countries, chiefly the US.

The No. 1 imperialist power, the sole superpower, is conspicuously on the path of decline. It has sunk into a grave economic and financial crisis since 2000. The global and domestic market for its high tech consumer goods and basic industrial products has become constricted. The large US domestic consumer market has been maintained by incurring huge trade deficits and by the inflow of foreign funds. The US has gained notoriety as the No. 1 debtor of the world. Now, it is vulnerable to capital flight as a result of financial collapses.

The Bush regime continues to use "neoliberal" slogans even as it resorts to "military Keynesianism". It is determined to give tax cuts to the monopoly bourgeoisie, drive down the wage level, cut back on social spending and push further its policy of privatization, liberalization and deregulation. At the same time, it seeks to stimulate the US economy by increasing military contracts for the military-industrial complex. Thus, it has taken advantage of the 9/11 attacks and has adopted the so-called "neoconservative" policy of imposing Pax Americana on the whole world by aggressively using its military supremacy.

But the US can only plunge deeper in economic crisis because high-tech military production cannot generate employment to make up for the huge unemployment resulting from the general industrial decline. The American people are becoming outraged by cutbacks on social spending while the US government pours money into the war machinery and into wars of aggression. A big percentage of the American people have been robbed of their savings and pension funds as a result of the collapse of the hightech driven "new economic" bubble in the stock market. The US is at a loss as to how to revive the US market in the face of rising budgetary and trade deficits.

The current global crisis is pushing the sole superpower and other imperialist powers to intensify the oppression and exploitation of the people of the world and to take the road of fascism and war. But the drive of the US to unleash wars of aggression and monopolize the spoils of war is exacerbating the contradictions among the imperialist powers and intensifying their struggle for a redivision of the world. The US has seized the sources and supply routes of oil and gas and other major advantages in connection with the wars against Iraq, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan. In the last year it has been at loggerheads with France, Germany, Russia and China because it seeks to monopolize the spoils consequent to the invasion and occupation of Iraq.

The crisis is generating all forms of resistance from the people of the world, in the imperialist countries, in the third world and in the regressive countries. The people have launched militant protest rallies and strikes on a wide

scale to oppose imperialism, crisis and war. Some countries and governments are defiantly assertive of national independence in response to excessive impositions of the US and other imperialist powers. Armed revolutionary movements for national liberation are spreading and intensifying. They are progressing in Colombia, Peru, Nepal, India, the Philippines, Palestine, Turkey and Iraq, to mention some.

In the Philippines, the rapacity of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and their imperialist masters has rendered the semicolonial and semifeudal system hopelessly rotten. All Philippine products for export are in oversupply in the global market. At the same time, foreign consumer goods swamp the local market. Even the local production of staple food is now squeezed by imports. The foreign exchange income of the overseas contract workers is decreasing and is being used for non-productive purposes.

The economy has plummeted. The budgetary and trade deficits are ceaselessly increasing. The sources of foreign credit have all dried up. In recent years the Macapagal Arroyo regime has borrowed heavily from the US capital market. But the current rating of the Philippines as an untrustworthy debtor is starting to block this source. The financial crisis of the domestic ruling system is daily worsening, as indicated by the rapid fall in the value of the peso.

The regime is unbridled in aggravating the economic and financial crisis as it rabidly follows the dictates of US imperialism, violates national sovereignty and auctions off the national patrimony. The demand for land reform and national industrialization is ignored. The regime offers no way out of the social and economic crisis. The US takes advantage of this crisis and makes political and military impositions under the pretext of anti-terrorism and containing China and North Korea.

There is grave discontent among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. They are afflicted by rising unemployment, reduced incomes, soaring prices of basic commodities and the devaluation of the peso. They are victimized by the coercive apparatuses of the state. Thus, they are engaged in widening mass protests and strikes and are intensely desirous of armed revolution. Even the middle social strata are increasingly impoverished and are disgusted with the ruling system. The broad masses of the people are thoroughly disgusted by the puppetry, corruption, mendacity and brutality of the Macapagal Arroyo regime.

### ***Elections and peace negotiations***

The various factions of the local exploiting classes are now engaged in an electoral contest, from the presidential level downwards. The people cannot expect any significant change for the better from the forthcoming May elections. On the whole, the elections will put into office the political representatives of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. However, at the national and lower levels of the electoral contest, it is possible to work out alliances for the benefit of the people and their struggle. The relatively more enlightened political leaders know the strength of the revolutionary mass base and they are therefore interested in cooperation and mutual support.

A few progressive parties and candidates outside of the major parties of the exploiting classes are vying for a few seats in the Lower House of Congress. Despite the enemy campaign of assassinations and slander against them and the lack of campaign funds, they are acknowledged as capable of getting at least 16 percent of the votes. However, their strength is not sufficient to cause an immediate significant change for the better within the system. They are even in danger of being cheated of the votes that they get from the people. What they can do with certainty is to expose the rottenness of the system and defend the national and democratic rights of the people.

The Macapagal-Arroyo regime has agreed to resume the formal talks in the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) within the framework of The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent agreements on safety and immunity guarantees, on reciprocal working committees and on respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. It is clear in the Oslo Joint Statement that the GRP and NDFP can resume the formal talks because they agree on the principles and premises for undertaking the pertinent effective measures and calling on the US and other governments to remove the names of the CPP, NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant from the list of "terrorists."

It is timely and urgent for the negotiating parties to operationalize the Joint Monitoring Committee, as required by the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, in the face of rampant human rights violations, and to accelerate the negotiation and agreement on social and economic reforms in the face of the rapidly worsening economic and social crisis. The peace negotiations provide the

opportunity for the NDFP and all the revolutionary forces and people to put forward the basic reforms needed to realize national liberation and democracy.

The GRP and NDFP can move towards an alliance and truce through the peace negotiations only if the GRP can join the NDFP in a common patriotic stand against the interventionism and interferences of US imperialism in Philippine affairs in general and in the peace negotiations in particular and, if the prospective comprehensive agreements on social and economic reforms and political and constitutional reforms can stop US economic and political domination over the Philippines. US imperialism is the No. 1 enemy of the Filipino people. It is the chief obstacle to the attainment of national liberation and democracy in the Philippines. It is the principal impediment to a just and lasting peace. The US imperialists seek to perpetuate the poisonous fruits of their aggression against the Filipino people. They are using the pretext of waging war on "terrorism" in order to intimidate the people. They are using the "terrorist" listing in order to blackmail the NDFP and sabotage the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

But US imperialism is actually weakening as it overreaches and seeks to impose its hegemony over the entire people of the world. Its deployable forces are conspicuously being exhausted as they are bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan. Its military presence in 140 countries offends so many peoples of the world. The US has plunged itself further into an unprecedented economic and financial crisis by pouring funds into contracts for military production, by building and using the department of homeland security for spying on and scaring the American people and by unleashing wars of aggression and intervention. It is whipping up war hysteria and fascism by pushing the USA Patriot Act as a model of "anti-terrorist" legislation and decree-making by the executive.

Right now, the US is serializing its military presence in the Philippines and laying the ground for reestablishing its military bases by using several pretexts, such training exercises, war on terrorism, civic action, humanitarian work, and so on. But in time to come, the US will have increasing difficulties in giving economic and financial accommodations to its puppet regime in the Philippines in exchange for extraterritorial privileges. Even the political representatives of the exploiting classes are bound to become interested in gaining room for maneuver through good relations with ASEAN, China, Japan and Europe rather than with the US in the main.

But far more important to the Filipino people than any consideration of what the Philippine reactionary government can do in any direction is the continuity and advance of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and other forms of mass struggles against US imperialism and the puppet reactionaries. The Filipino people can best uphold, defend and promote their own national and democratic rights and interests through the advance of the armed revolution from one stage to another.

### ***Growth and advance of the New People's Army***

Under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has benefited comprehensively and profoundly from the critical and creative achievements of the Second Great Rectification Movement. It has learned valuable lessons from its long and rich revolutionary experience. It has acquired strength significant enough for the reactionary state to recognize it as its main protagonist.

To oppose the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the domestic ruling system, the Party has correctly declared the general line of national democratic revolution, under working class leadership and through protracted people's war. Revolutionary politics is in command of the NPA. As a people's army, it serves the people. It arouses, organizes and mobilizes them. It has built 128 guerrilla fronts all over the country. These involve millions of people and cover significant portions of most provinces and municipalities of the Philippines. The NPA has the people as its inexhaustible source of strength.

The NPA is the main organization of the Party and the people for fighting the enemy and building the organs of political power, for realizing land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and for building the revolutionary mass base. The NPA is the force for carrying out revolutionary armed struggle as the principal form of struggle. Without this struggle, there is no way for the people to overthrow the reactionary state power of the big compradors and landlords and establish the people's democratic state of workers and peasants.

But the NPA can only grow from small to big and from weak to strong. It can grow in stages, from strategic defensive through the strategic stalemate to the strategic offensive. Thus, it must pursue the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside over a protracted period of time in order to accumulate armed strength until it can seize the cities on a nationwide scale.

In the current stage of strategic defensive, it strives to defeat the enemy by launching tactical offensives. It wages only those battles that it is sure of winning. It exercises flexibility by using the tactics of concentration,



dispersal and shifting in accordance with the demands of a war of fluid movement. In this regard, it has waged intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base in order to advance from the early to the middle phase of the strategic defensive.

Now, the NPA is in the process of developing armed units at the regional level. These are mobile and flexible, in relative concentration and closely linked to the masses. They secure the regional Party leadership and regional army command and are capable of frequently deploying a strike force in coordination with the units of one or more guerrilla fronts to concentrate a superior force for annihilating weak parts of the enemy force. They use guerrilla strategy and tactics. They play a key role in the accelerated seizure of weapons from the enemy and in the maturation of the middle phase of the strategic defensive.

Relative to the regional army unit of the NPA as the regional center of gravity, the guerrilla fronts are the relatively dispersed base of the NPA in a particular region. But every guerrilla front retains its previous internal structure, with a center of gravity and dispersed units. The platoon as main guerrilla unit is based in the guerrilla base and the guerrilla squads as secondary guerrilla units are based in the guerrilla zones. The guerrilla front retains its decentralized operations and launches offensives that it can win. It can also be integrated into bigger operational plans undertaken by the regional force.

Cruise missiles and other weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the US military forces are useless against the NPA. Even the planes and artillery of their puppet forces are not more useful. However, the enemy can put to effective tactical use night vision goggles, cellphones, trackers, GPS gadgets, kevlar helmets, armor vests and the like. We too have some of these and we have other ways and means to counter the enemy. But the most effective form of counteraction is to ceaselessly increase our mass base and launch offensives against the enemy as often as possible. We can thus capture his portable gadgets and other equipment.

We must apply materialist dialectics against the enemy in fighting. The enemy forces are never solid and indivisible. They are divided by the archipelago, by the rough terrain on land, by levels of command, by area deployments and by unit or team assignments. The NPA must observe well the exact disposition of the enemy force in order to discover the weak points or create the opportunities for an effective offensive. Whenever an enemy hard point seems to be impregnable, the NPA unit must gather intelligence and study the effective form of offensive.

The army forces of the GRP are overstretched. Fifty-three percent are deployed in Mindanao, where the NPA and the Bangsa Moro Islamic Liberation Army operate. Thirty percent are in Luzon and 17 percent are in the Visayas. There is only one combat battalion of 350 to 400 men to cover an average of two provinces in Luzon; one battalion to cover an average of one province in the Visayas; and one battalion to cover an average of 182 barrios in Mindanao (the highest force density). Despite their long range and combat units, the police forces are insufficient for controlling local communities. The CAFGU, CAV and other paramilitary forces are used to augment the army but they are the most vulnerable to disarming by the NPA, when the necessary political work and close observation are done well by the revolutionaries.

At will, the NPA can undertake tactical offensives at anytime against any weak part of the military, police and paramilitary forces. The morale of these forces is low because they are being made to serve the interests of the imperialists and local exploiting classes. They are hated by the broad masses of the people because they take away public funds from social services (education, health, housing and so on) and because of rampant corruption in the use of funds for military, police and intelligence spending. The ordinary personnel of the military, police and paramilitary forces detest the corruption among the officers. They are usually cheated of their basic rations and other benefits. Even military equipment find their way to the black market.

The NPA conducts basic offensive operations in order to wipe out the enemy forces and seize weapons from them. We must excel at these operations because they are the only way by which the power of the enemy can be destroyed and his armed strength transferred to our side. At the same time, we must know how to disintegrate the enemy forces. We must treat captives leniently in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I and demonstrate that we treat well those who surrender or are rendered incapable of fighting in the course of combat.

We must carry out special offensive operations in order to disrupt enemy military operations, enforce the implementation of revolutionary laws and policies and to arrest or disable the worst of human rights violators, plunderers and merchants of prohibited drugs. As a matter of principle, we arrest for investigation and trial the worst of criminals. We give battle to these only if they are armed and dangerous and we need to ensure the safety of our arresting teams.

### ***Against US intervention and aggression***

The US is escalating military intervention and offensive operations in the Philippines. Its ultimate objective is to station its troops permanently and reestablish its military bases in the Philippines in order to intimidate and "contain" other countries in East Asia. As of now, US combat troops are being deployed in the battlefield and are asking for a fight with the NPA. We must warn the US to cease and desist from fielding US military forces and violating the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and territorial integrity of the Philippines.

Under international law, the character of the war between the GRP and the people's revolutionary government (represented by the NDFP) is a civil war even as the GRP depends heavily on US indoctrination, training and equipment. However, in the face of current US military intervention, the Filipino people and all revolutionary forces should be ready to fight against a US war of aggression of whatever scale at any time. The aggression can occur at anytime when the US unilaterally believes that it can easily wipe out the NPA or decides that the puppet armed forces are no longer capable of keeping the local ruling system.

To fight and win against a US war of aggression is to render justice to those 1.5 million Filipinos murdered by the US imperialists from the start of the Filipino-American War in 1899 to the end of the pacification campaigns in 1913, to achieve the victory of the new democratic revolution and to contribute to the revolutionary struggle of humanity against imperialism and for national liberation, democracy, socialism and world peace.

In the final analysis, US imperialism is the most brutal protector of the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords. We must either render ineffective US imperialism by defeating its reactionary puppets through civil war or defeat the war of aggression that US imperialism is likely to launch. We must prepare against the worst in order to be able to hope for the best.

The spread and intensification of the people's revolutionary struggles against US imperialism on a global scale can remove or reduce its ability to launch aggression against the Filipino people. We must act in concert with the people of the world. We must contribute the most that we can to the global anti-imperialist struggle. Then we can also hope for the best from the revolutionary struggles of other peoples. Humanity must be freed from the scourge in order to make a new and better world of greater freedom and all-round progress.

# ***Raise the People's War to a New and Higher Level against US Imperialism and Arroyo Puppet Regime***

**Message to the New People's Army, March 29, 2005**

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Let us celebrate the 36<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Let us rejoice over the accumulated and recent victories of the New People's Army as the main fighting force of the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

As a consequence of the Second Great Rectification Movement and in accordance with the three-year program set forth by the Party, the NPA has made great strides in advancing the revolutionary cause. The Party has made sure that no major errors of "Left" and Right opportunism can derail the revolution and that the people's army can advance by carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

Let us always honor the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. Let them inspire us always by their example of selfless service to the people and courage in the face of the brutal enemy. The high sense of self-sacrifice, resoluteness, fearlessness and militancy of the revolutionary fighters of the Party and the Red commanders and fighters of the NPA have made all our victories possible.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is daily worsening. It is unleashing the worst forms of plunder and terror. It is inflicting on the people the most intolerable forms of suffering. At the same time, the ever-deteriorating crisis conditions are favorable for waging armed revolution.

The people have no choice but to wage armed revolution for their national and social liberation. They wish to fight and defeat the escalating campaigns of suppression, the bombardments, the burning and looting, the kidnapping and torture, the assassinations and massacres and the forced mass evacuations. All these are aimed at pacifying the people and preserving the system of oppression and exploitation.

The Party and the people therefore urge the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army to understand the situation, renew their fighting resolve, intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and carry out all their revolutionary tasks. Let us raise the people's war to a new and higher level.

## ***1. Global depression, fascism, plunder and war***

Lenin's description of monopoly capitalism as decadent and moribund capitalism remains valid, notwithstanding the temporary defeat of socialism due to revisionist betrayal and the dominance of neocolonialism in the underdeveloped countries. Since the 1960s to the present, monopoly capitalism has been in a general state of stagnation. From decade to decade, stagnation has been longer and deeper after every peak of some boom years at the global centers of capitalism.

The trend of prolonged stagnation is the outcome of the cumulative crisis of overproduction and finance capital, involving the fundamental contradiction between labor and capital, between the social character of production and private character of appropriation, between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations in dominated countries and among the imperialist countries themselves.

The crisis of overproduction in all types of goods and the financial crisis in all types of countries continue to devastate the social conditions and lives of billions of people and expose the rottenness of the world capitalist system. There is a global depression. This is most manifest in the overwhelming majority of countries, which include the general run of third world and formerly revisionist-ruled countries. The underdeveloped or retrogressive economies are in shambles, mass unemployment is rampant, the budgetary and trade deficits are ever widening and the foreign debt is ever mounting.

The imperialist countries themselves are reeling from the crisis. All of them have extremely low rates of growth. These show a state of negative growth, stagnation and depression if we consider the continuing overvaluation of assets and costs in the service sector. The high rate of mass unemployment, cutback of social benefits and termination of hard-won rights are consigning a large part of the workers, women, youth and children to the impoverished conditions of the third world.

No less than the No. 1 imperialist power, the United States, is in the throes of a severe economic, financial and social crisis. It is afflicted by huge budgetary and trade deficits and thus by a crushing debt burden. The growing debt service is taking a large chunk of the budget. Combined with tax cuts for the monopoly bourgeoisie and military expenditures for war production contracts, wars of aggression and military intervention, it has diminished the amount available for social spending on education, health, housing and so on. Moreover, the Bush regime is resorting to every trick in seeking to privatize the social security system.

The US has flaunted the slogan of "free market" globalization in order to destroy basic industries in newly industrialized countries and in underdeveloped countries aspiring for national industrialization. It has accelerated the centralization and concentration of both productive and finance capital chiefly in the US under the terms of liberalization, privatization and deregulation.

Despite all its advantages as sole superpower, as No.1 imperialist power in terms of economic and politico-military dominance, the US is in serious economic trouble. It has borrowed foreign money to sustain consumerism and militarism, especially the production of high-tech military weaponry. Its edge in high-tech consumer goods over other imperialist countries has been blunted by global overproduction. It is increasingly confronted with the competition of its imperialist allies and the widespread devastation of markets, especially in the third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the retrogressive countries in the former Soviet bloc.

The Bush regime is stubbornly combining several kinds of policies. It is keeping the neoliberal policy of giving huge tax cuts and "free market" privileges to the monopoly bourgeoisie, pressing down the incomes of the workers and cutting back social spending. It is adding to neoliberal policy the military Keynesian policy of stepping up military production supposedly to stimulate the economy. Further, it is carrying out the neoconservative policy of using the sole superpower position of the US, its economic, political and high-tech military supremacy, to put down any challenge or potential rival, expand economic territory and make the 21st century a new century of Pax Americana.

With utmost brutality, the US has aggressively imposed its imperialist power on several countries. It is using the 9/11 attacks as a pretext for whipping war hysteria and spreading state terrorism and fascism on a global scale. It has wantonly engaged in acts of military intervention and wars of aggression since the last decade. It is expanding its sources of raw materials and cheap labor, its potential market, its field of investments, spheres of influence and strategic vantage points.

But in the process the US is overreaching and overextending itself. It is now caught in a quagmire in Iraq. The broad resistance of the Iraqi people is resolutely fighting the US occupation and the puppets and is avenging the massacre of hundreds of thousands of civilians. It is inflicting more and more casualties on US military and adjunct personnel and, by frequent blowing up of oil facilities and pipelines, is deliberately making the US occupation unprofitable. The Iraqi people are outstanding in their heroic struggle for having already killed in only two years' time more than 1500 US troops, wounded more than 11,000 and caused the medical evacuation of another 14,000.

The US is increasingly becoming entangled in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans. In these areas the US and its puppet states are resisted by the oppressed peoples and nations and will be increasingly at variance and at odds with France, Germany, Russia and China. In seeking to secure strategic control over major sources and supply routes of industrial fuel, the US is generating more and more social and political turmoil and is exposing the limits of its power to the peoples of the world.

At the moment, the US and other imperialist powers are escalating the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. The peoples are therefore intensifying their mass protests and armed movements for national liberation. Some countries assert national independence against the plundering and aggressive policies of imperialism. Thus, the US has launched wars of aggression or made threats against them for refusing to comply with US demands.

The imperialist powers are finding themselves in contradiction over economic, financial, security and other issues and are tending to struggle for a redivision of the world. Under conditions of increasing disorder and turmoil in the entire world, the proletariat and other working people in the imperialist countries are driven to defend and fight for their rights and interest and thus they can rebuild and reinvigorate the anti-imperialist movements for democracy and socialism.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have long demonstrated to the entire world that they have

been able to wage people's war successfully in a country that is an important base of US imperialism in East Asia. They have prevailed over the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and the post Marcos regimes. With the US getting entangled and bogged down in so many places elsewhere in the world, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are in a better position than before to raise the people's war to a new and higher level.

## ***II. Escalation of plunder and terror in the Philippines***

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of big compradors and landlords is worsening and plunging the country to new levels of social misery and degradation. This is due to the internal rottenness and weaknesses of the backward system, aggravated by the accelerated process of plunder under the piratical banner of "free market" globalization.

The Philippine ruling system is a neocolonial adjunct of US imperialism and global capitalism. Under the policy of "free market" globalization, the US imperialists and their most rabid Filipino puppets in power have negated the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and their aspirations for national industrialization, genuine land reform and all-round development.

They have subjected the semifeudal economy to de-nationalization, privatization, liberalization and deregulation. These are all aimed at preventing national industrialization and destroying any well-based basic industry. The manufacturing and agricultural sectors have been declining. The service sector is ever growing in proportion but it subsumes imported equipment, mere consumption and disguised unemployment.

The economy has become far more dependent than ever before on the production of raw materials for export as well as on the slight processing of imported components for reexport. The world prices of these products tend to fall far below the prices of imported manufactures and are more vulnerable to the ever worsening crisis of overproduction. The crisis of overproduction in raw materials (sugar, coconut, copper concentrates and the like) has long afflicted the economy since the late 1970s. Likewise a similar crisis in semimanufactures (mainly semiconductors and garments) has beset the economy since the 1990s.

Seventy-five percent of gross export earnings in 2004 come from the reexport of semimanufactures, which have extremely high imported content and have low value added. Foreign trade deficits are constantly widening. The deficit in the balance of payments is covered by huge amounts of foreign loans, bond floats in global capital markets and foreign exchange remittances of overseas contract workers, which amount to USD 8 billion annually. The peso has been sinking dramatically under the pressure of ever-dwindling foreign exchange receipts.

The foreign debt and the debt service payments are mounting. The total public sector debt has surpassed the level of PhP 6 trillion. Last year the reactionary government spent 81 percent of its revenues to pay both interest and principal amortization. Based on data submitted to the reactionary Congress, more than 90 percent of revenues is projected to pay the debt service in 2005.

The reactionary government is bankrupt. And it is sinking deeper. What is left of the budget after the gargantuan amount gobbled up by debt service payments is feasted upon by high-level bureaucratic corruption at every branch, department and agency of the government and by the coercive apparatuses such as the military, police and intelligence agencies. Funds actually spent for education, health and other social services continue to dwindle. And the people are now being made to pay higher prices for these services.

The fiscal crisis is a major part of the national economic and financial crisis. Tax revenues are reduced both by the economic and financial crisis and by bureaucratic corruption related to low corporate taxes and tax evasion by the foreign and local big bourgeoisie. Despite high unemployment, depressed incomes among the people and soaring prices of basic commodities and services, the Arroyo regime is raising the tax burden, increasing the value-added tax by 20 percent, imposing new taxes, increasing the fees for social services and allowing the oil giants and the electricity, water and transport companies to raise prices. The rapacity of the imperialists and their puppet underlings incite the people to revolt.

The Arroyo regime is deeply worried about the worsening crisis and about the rising wave of social discontent and popular resistance. But it still tries to hide the truth by claiming that the gross domestic product grew by an unbelievably high rate of 6.1 percent for 2004. This figure covers the low-value added semi-conductor reexports, false estimates of agricultural production, call centers, electoral spending and all kinds of fictional accounts in the service sector.

Instead of calling and opting for industrial development, genuine land reform and job generation, the regime has chosen to take advantage of the Bush call for a "war on terror". It has taken the fascist path and is frenziedly

pushing an Anti-Terrorism Act that would give license to state terrorism and bring back the horrors of the Marcos fascist regime. It supports the escalation of US military intervention in the Philippines and in turn expects that this would protect it from the wrath of the people.

Within this context, the regime has collaborated with the US to sabotage the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations by designating the CPP, NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant as "terrorists" and by making the arrogant but futile demand for the revolutionary forces to capitulate by signing a "final peace accord" or a "ceasefire agreement" that the US, the puppet regime and the clerico-fascists have drafted.

The Arroyo regime has directed the puppet military, police and paramilitary forces to escalate campaigns of suppression. These include the bombing of communities, the kidnapping, torture and murder of suspected revolutionaries, massacre of civilians and forced evacuation of people in the rural areas. And even in urban areas, the enemy forces are violently disrupting peaceful strikes and rallies and massacring the strikers and rallyists as in Hacienda Luisita and assassinating known leaders and members of legal democratic organizations, including journalists, human rights activists, religious and church people, and activists of progressive political parties.

The escalating counterrevolutionary violence against the people serves the flagrant violation of workers' rights, the mass layoffs, the privatization of public assets, the auctioning of the national patrimony, the alienation of ancestral domain of national minorities and natural resources to foreign monopolies and the accelerated reclassification ("conversion") of land to nullify the certificates of land ownership amortization (CLOA) and the certificates of land transfer (CLT) previously issued by the reactionary government to deceive the peasant masses.

The Arroyo regime wants to cow and make the people retreat. In this regard, it overestimates the capacity of its military, police and paramilitary forces to intimidate the people and suppress their resistance. It also overestimates the capacity of US imperialism to come to its aid. It conveniently forgets that the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the Estrada regime underestimated the capacity of people's resistance and the broad united front of opposition forces to overthrow a detested regime, no matter how arrogant and brutal.

The Arroyo regime is vulnerable to overthrow because the broad masses of the people are certain that it "won" in the 2004 elections through sheer fraud and vote buying and because they hate the intensifying oppression and exploitation. There are bitter contradictions between the Arroyo ruling clique and other political factions of the ruling classes. Likewise there are acute contradictions among the military and police officers due to their conflicting political loyalties and criminal activities.

In fighting the regime, the people base themselves on three echelons of alliances: the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic alliance of the progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie. To completely isolate the Arroyo regime and remove it from power, there must be cooperation and coordination between patriotic and progressive forces on the one hand and most of the reactionary forces opposed to the regime on the other hand.

A broad united front that includes the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces is possible and is quite potent as was a similar broad united front in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada. It can adopt and implement agreements and measures to mobilize the masses, encourage the military and police to abandon the regime, keep the military and police officers from usurping political power and make way for a council of patriotic and democratic forces to assume governmental authority.

However much delayed is the realization of a broad united front effective enough to overthrow the Arroyo regime, the revolutionary forces of the people can continue to strengthen the forces of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie for a new democratic revolution. Their intolerable situation and suffering make them eager for revolutionary change.

### ***III. Growing strength of the New People's Army***

Under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has grown in strength in the course of the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Since the launching of the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) in 1992, the NPA has integrated revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and rebuilding the mass base more conscientiously than ever before. It has sought to conduct extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. For the purpose, it has reoriented, retrained and redeployed units of the people's army to enable them to do painstaking and solid mass organizing.

In all the regions where the NPA is operating, except the national capital region, there are several guerrilla fronts. A certain number of guerrilla fronts have a sum total of armed strength amounting to a company and another number have less than a company. Every guerrilla front has a relatively concentrated unit that serves as the center of gravity and other units that are relatively dispersed for wider mass work.

Following the resounding success of the Second Great Rectification Movement, the Eleventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee promulgated the three-year program for building the Party, the people's army and the united front. Under the program, the NPA has carried forward the victories of the rectification movement.

The NPA has significantly increased the number of its full-time Red fighters and its automatic rifles and other high-powered weapons. It has organized and trained the people's militia for police work or internal security in the localities and the self-defense in the mass organizations. It is now operating in more than 130 guerrilla fronts covering significant portions of nearly 70 provinces, in around 800 municipalities and more than 9,000 barrios.

In mass work and mass base building, it has built the organs of political power (the appointive barrio organizing committees and the elective barrio revolutionary committees, the organizing groups and committees and full-fledged mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and women and the working committees to assist the organs of political power).

These committees are for mass organizing, education, land reform, production, health, defense, arbitration and cultural activities. They carry out the functions of government on a daily basis and mobilize the people in related campaigns. They carry out land reform as the principal campaign for realizing the main content of the democratic revolution.

The Party has led the NPA in carrying out its tasks successfully. The Party and the NPA are united in upholding the revolutionary cause and serving the people. The proletarian revolutionaries, Red commanders and fighters are united within and outside the command structure and units of the NPA. They work together to build the Party branches in localities and Party groups in mass organizations. For a while, in areas of expansion, the Party in the NPA looks after the Party in the localities but eventually the regular territorial organization of the Party develops.

The NPA has continued to criticize the various major kinds of "Left" opportunism repudiated by the SGRM. These include the impetuous and adventurist notion of the "strategic counteroffensive" as the third phase of the strategic defensive and the so-called Red Area-White Area line of making urban insurrectionism the leading factor, to be propelled supposedly by the spontaneous masses and armed city partisans and assisted by prematurely regularized and unsustainably enlarged vertical formations of the people's army.

The Red commanders and fighters also criticize and combat the Right opportunist and reformist trends of thought generated by imperialism and local reaction, modern revisionism, social democracy, open bourgeois liberalism and imperialist-funded nongovernmental organizations which harp on the slogans of "civil society" and the "culture of nonviolence" to oppose the armed revolution but support the violence of imperialism and the puppet state.

The NPA combats the latest manifestations of the purely military viewpoint as well as reformism. Even as the NPA is a healthy and vigorous revolutionary force, the Red commanders and fighters continuously conduct assessments and evaluations, criticism and self-criticism in order to improve the result of their work and their work style. They strive to solve the problems that come with the rising demands of the struggle and the escalating assaults of the enemy.

They are intimately linked with the toiling masses. They have expanded and consolidated a mass base that supports the intensification of the tactical offensives against the enemy. From their accumulated victories the revolutionary forces and the broad masses of the people are able to intensify the rural-based armed revolution and the legal democratic movement as the ruling system continues to deteriorate.

The Arroyo regime harbors the illusion that with the escalation of state terrorism and US military intervention under the pretext of anti-terrorism it can contain or destroy the revolutionary movement. It is recycling the old slogan of "total war" with the synonymous expression "strategy of holistic approach" and the old national campaign plan "Oplan Lambat Bitag" with "Oplan Bantay Laya".

The enemy armed forces continuously seek to make their strategic offensive more effective against the strategic defensive of the people. They concentrate task forces of the military, police and paramilitary on certain selected or prioritized areas to clear and hold and secure a perimeter for encircling and suppressing the people's army. They seek to compel the NPA to fight on interior lines relative to the perimeter. At the same time, they deploy

special operation teams, ranger teams and paramilitary forces within the perimeter for extended periods of no less than six months in order to conduct psywar, intelligence and combat or search-and-destroy operations.

In practice, the enemy forces can concentrate only on portions of a few guerrilla fronts at every given time. They can launch campaigns of encirclement and suppression against ten or more guerrilla fronts at the same time. But beyond the scope of the enemy are over a hundred more guerrilla fronts and these are free to expand and consolidate their strength. From these guerrilla fronts, the NPA can also launch tactical offensives in order to support directly or indirectly the NPA units under attack in other guerrilla fronts.

At no instance has the NPA been completely driven out of any guerrilla front under enemy attack. NPA units can still maneuver and fight or evade superior enemy action within the same guerrilla front. They can move in appropriate sizes in and out of enemy encirclements and deliver surprise lethal blows. There are also portions of the guerrilla front that the enemy simply cannot cover and dominate. From these the NPA can launch tactical offensives against the enemy on exterior lines and can expand to new areas.

Every day the NPA can inflict a thousand cuts on the enemy and make him bleed from a thousand wounds. It can launch tactical offensives by using small units, from teams of three to five fighters, to squads and platoons. These are still the most effective units for penetrating the defenses of the enemy forces as well as striking at them on exterior lines in order to seize firearms and punish their worst elements.

Until now, small unit operations are still far more effective than company-size operations. The former are easier than the latter to prepare, maneuver and withdraw from a successful operation. There can also be a coordination of such small units to seize more weapons on a wide scale. It is fine for the NPA to give full play to small-unit operations and undertake tactical offensives that are sure of victory. However, conditions are arising and improving for employing two or more platoons in operations, especially where the terrain is favorable or when the element of surprise is ensured.

From year to year, the enemy has failed to destroy the armed revolution. In the vain hope of destroying or disrupting the centralized political leadership and rising coordinative ability of the NPA units that operate in a decentralized way on a national scale, the enemy is now increasingly assassinating leaders and activists of the legal democratic parties and organizations.

The US imperialists and the Arroyo puppet regime are culpable for escalating violations of human rights. They are collaborating in resurrecting an open rule of terror similar to that of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They are pushing the enactment of an Anti-Terrorism Law that is far worse in anti-democratic content than the fascist presidential decrees of the late unlamented Marcos. They have paralyzed the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and are poised to suppress the legal democratic mass movement.

All forms of struggle need to be carried out more militantly than ever before. The legal form of struggle is necessary. But those in grave danger of being kidnapped, tortured and killed by the enemy should be encouraged to go underground and join the armed revolution. As in the period of 1969 to 1972, when the Marcos regime was clearly taking the fascist path, Party units and mass activists were urged to strengthen the underground and prepare themselves for joining the people's army. The education, training and experience of the urban-based workers and educated youth are in urgent demand in the countryside.

Although the struggle in the urban areas is principally legal and defensive, it is high time to develop the capability to deploy armed teams of partisans principally from the countryside and secondarily from the cities to punish the worst elements of the enemy side and undertake other special operations. While the people's army is working and fighting hard to achieve systematic wave upon wave advance, it can assign units and teams to deliver lethal actions to the worst enemy elements and to demonstrate that the enemy cannot attack the people and their unarmed leaders and activists with impunity.

All the revolutionary forces must be prepared against the worst so that they can hope for the best. All possible efforts must be exerted to stop and slay the growing monster of state terrorism. US imperialism and the Arroyo regime try hard to look powerful and terrible. But in fact, US imperialism is already overextended and bogged down elsewhere and the Arroyo puppet regime is economically, politically and morally bankrupt and is far weaker than the Marcos fascist regime.

#### ***IV. Revolutionary tasks of the NPA***

Following the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army must resolutely and courageously raise the people's war to a new and higher level along the line of the new democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective.



The 3-year program of 2002 to 2005 for expanding and consolidating the New People's Army, which was decided by the 11th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, has been extended by the Political Bureau by one year to 2006 in order to provide ample time to the NPA and other revolutionary forces to fulfil the targets of the program.

The proletarian revolutionaries, the Red commanders and fighters must conscientiously and vigorously carry out the revolutionary tasks set forth in the program. The Party Central Committee directs the National Military Staff and the regional operational commands of the NPA to strengthen their offices and the various departments of the NPA in order to raise the people's war from current capabilities to a new and higher level.

The Red commanders and fighters must always refresh themselves on the principles and policies of carrying out the armed revolution. They must study the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong on people's war and the accumulated documents of the Party on military strategy and tactics. They must never forget the lessons learned from the criticism and repudiation of "Left" and Right opportunism in the Second Great Rectification Movement. They must learn from their daily experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism promptly and periodically in order to get better results and improve the style of work.

In cases of setbacks in whatever respect and of whatever scale, we must look into the causes whether they are due to internal problems, the severity of enemy actions, the tremendous odds arising from an objective situation or all. Whatever the causes, we must look into individual and collective responsibilities and unite to overcome the problems and advance in our work and revolutionary struggle.

The New People's Army can strengthen itself as a fighting force upon the fulfilment of such requisites as political and military training, building the organs of political power and the mass organizations, carrying out land reform and other campaigns and intensifying tactical offensives that are sure of victory. The NPA must be able to annihilate enemy units and seize weapons to strengthen itself as a fighting force. In this regard, it must have the inexhaustible support of the people.

It must multiply the platoon as the basic formation. This is the suitable size for the center of gravity in a guerrilla front and eventually for the headquarters force at the provincial and regional levels. This is also the cohesive shape for the squads and teams that are deployed on a wide scale for mass work and the most flexible small-unit offensive operations. The Party branch must be based in the platoon and the Party group in the squad.

The existing guerrilla fronts must be expanded and consolidated. We hope to attain soon a stable number of 140 guerrilla fronts in at least 11,000 barrios. We expect that 50 percent of the guerrilla fronts will have a sum total of NPA fighters equivalent to a company and the other 50 percent, less than a company. Those with less than a company as armed force must increase towards that level. Those with more than a company must give way to the formation of a new guerrilla front or give their relative surplus of firearms to a smaller guerrilla front.

We must augment the strength of the NPA by training and forming the people's militia as the police force in the barrios as well as the self-defense units of mass organizations. These formations can help the NPA cover extensive areas and render service within the range of their competence and training. They are also the reserve forces for increasing the number of Red fighters as more arms are seized from the enemy.

The barbaric attacks being made by the enemy against the leaders and activists of democratic parties and organizations and against the people in both urban and rural areas should push all of us to accelerate the recruitment of Red fighters and build the units and organs for absorbing and tasking promptly those being threatened by the enemy with death. We must be good at combining the workers and educated youth from the cities with the peasant fighters and the veteran fighters.

In carrying out the tactical offensives, we must give priority to annihilating enemy units and elements and seizing weapons, attacking enemy facilities and supply lines for armaments, fuel and other necessities, and punishing the worst elements of the enemy, including those who are notorious for human rights violations, plunder, drug trafficking and other grave anti-social activities.

We must seize the initiative, use flexible tactics, including the following: strike at the enemy by using the element of surprise or when he least expects it; lure in the enemy deep to put him in a series of traps or deliver a blow at the weaker force where he comes from; when he advances with a superior force, let him punch the wind and we wait for his weak points to show; we can snipe at him or harass him to confuse him and slow down his movement; when he retreats, we pursue him and deliver blows we are capable of; make a feint towards the East to strike a blow at the West; leapfrog to deliver a blow and conceal where we come from; tickle an enemy outpost and deliver the big blow elsewhere; and ambush an enemy unit and lay a bigger ambush on the reinforcement.

We can raise the level of fighting tactics and technique by gaining further experience through fighting and seizing weapons from the enemy.

We must turn the enemy into our supply and transport officer who delivers to us the weapons from the Pentagon and the big puppet camps. In the current period, we can use rifles, grenades, command-detonated land mines, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and the like. We can also use modern means of communications, night vision goggles and so on. In a later period, we can get more of the basic and advanced equipment of the enemy through victories in the revolutionary armed struggle.

We have repeatedly told the US imperialists to respect the national sovereignty and territory of the Filipino people, to withdraw their troops from the Philippines and to stop their acts of military intervention. Instead, they are escalating their military presence and acts of military intervention. The NPA is therefore prepared to take the necessary actions against these foreign troops who in fact engage in terrorism under the pretext of anti-terrorism. These arrogant intruders are cowardly users of cruise missiles against civilian populations and fixed structures of city-based governments. But they can be made to bleed and die on the ground, as now demonstrated by the Iraqi people and previously by the Vietnamese and other peoples.

In land reform, we must still carry out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, controlling interest rates, raising farm wages, improving the prices of farm products and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. In this connection, we pursue an antifeudal united front, which means relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, obtaining the neutrality or support of the rich peasants on land reform and taking advantage of the split between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter.

In the national united front, we must build the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie to make the progressive alliance and further win over the middle bourgeoisie to make the patriotic alliance. For the purpose of discrediting, isolating and overthrowing the enemy, i.e. the most rabid puppets and worst reactionaries ruling the country, we must build the broad united front, in which we develop the appropriate forms and ways of alliance with sections of the reactionary classes against the enemy. In this regard, we must maintain independence and initiative, especially in dealing with unstable and unreliable allies.

We must work hard for the overthrow of the US-directed Arroyo regime. For any length of time it takes to overthrow this regime, we must strengthen our forces and the people independent of the unstable and unreliable allies. It is fine if we can overthrow the regime soon and we can try to cause the formation of an urban-based government that is better than before. But if such is not yet possible because the balance of forces does not allow us, then we are satisfied with further developing the rural-based people's government and gaining further strength from the previous struggle and continuing with the struggle to gain still greater strength.

We are revolutionaries who seek the immediate improvement of the lives and conditions of the people. But we aim to overthrow the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords ultimately and replace it with the truly democratic government of the working people. We wish to accomplish the new democratic revolution and upon its basic completion proceed with the socialist revolution. In this regard, we wish to contribute the revolutionary victories and struggle of the Filipino people to the struggle of the people of the world for the defeat of imperialism, the global triumph of socialism and the dawning of communism.

# ***Fight to Hasten the Ouster of the Arroyo Regime and Strengthen the Revolutionary Movement***

March 29, 2006

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On behalf of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the Central Committee expresses warmest revolutionary greetings to the Party cadres, Red commanders and fighters on the happy occasion of the 37<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army (NPA). We salute you for the victories in pursuing the Filipino people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We honor all the Party cadres, Red commanders and fighters who have contributed to the victories of the people's democratic revolution since 1969. We congratulate you for your achievements in mass work and in advancing the people's war in the past year. We commend all the Red commanders and fighters for carrying out the tactical offensives on a national scale.

We pay the highest tribute to our revolutionary martyrs. Their heroism, hard work and self-sacrifice inspire us. Let us live up to their legacy and obtain further vindication and justice for their martyrdom by fighting the enemy valiantly and fiercely. On the basis of the strength that we have accumulated, we renew our resolve to advance the Philippine revolution.

The Filipino people are confronted today by the evil Arroyo regime. This regime has usurped power by electoral fraud and is hellbent on clinging to power by the foulest means. It is utterly servile to US imperialism and carries the worst characteristics of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. It knows no bounds for its corruption, brutality, deceptiveness and mendacity. It seeks to destroy the revolutionary movement in the vain hope of eliminating all forms of resistance to oppression and exploitation.

We therefore urge you to continue and further intensify the nationally coordinated tactical offensives started in the middle of September last year. Let us accelerate the momentum of our tactical offensives. These are the best possible response of the people and the revolutionary forces to the escalation of state terrorism and the emergence of fascist dictatorship. We must fight to hasten the ouster of the Arroyo regime and strengthen the revolutionary movement. Our plan is to enter and develop fully the middle phase of the strategic defensive in the people's war.

## ***The rottenness and isolation of the crisis-stricken regime***

Since 2001, the Arroyo regime has inflicted intolerable suffering on the broad masses of the people. It has imposed on them the worst policies that exploit and oppress the people and feed the greed of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It has passed on to them all the burdens resulting from the chronic crisis of the semifeudal and semicolonial ruling system and the world capitalist system.

The Arroyo puppet regime has pressed harder on the Filipino people the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization and thus violates their economic sovereignty and sells out their national patrimony. Liberalization, privatization and deregulation are for the benefit of the foreign monopolies and their big comprador agents at the expense of the entire nation, the working people, the women and children and the environment.

The economic crisis is more severe than ever before. Local manufacturing and food production have broken down under the weight of imports. The production of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures is in shambles due to oversupply and depressed prices in the global market. The reactionary state is spending heavily on graft-ridden and overpriced supplies to its bureaucratic and military machinery. The military, police and imaginary intelligence operations have priority over available funds at the expense of such basic social services as education and health.

The financial crisis is unprecedentedly grave. The reactionary state is bankrupt, with debt service on public debt equivalent to more than 90 percent of tax revenues and more than 30 percent of the government budget (excluding foreign loans not yet classified as liability of the state). The Arroyo regime has run amok with foreign and local borrowing in order to cover ever increasing budgetary and trade deficits and to conjure the illusion of growth in the gross domestic product. It is incurring foreign debt at more onerous commercial terms than ever before.

It is assuring to the multinational firms and banks that the Philippine economy can be buoyed up by a triple

combination of new foreign and local debts, remittances of Filipino overseas contract workers and a big increase of the tax burden. The imposition of the expanded value-added tax under conditions of a depressed economy is squeezing the working people and the middle social strata. It is generating social discontent and resistance.

The level of accumulated unemployment is extremely high, with nearly 50 percent of the labor force actually unemployed. The nominal income of the people is always cut down by the soaring prices of basic commodities and services. The peso is on a general course of depreciation, relieved only by injections of foreign debt. Social services, especially education and health, are deteriorating even as the fees exacted from the people are ever rising.

More than 80 percent of the population live below the poverty line. Most of them survive on less than US \$2 or ₱ 104 per day. Year in and year out, the regime turns a deaf ear to the demand of the workers for a measly increase of ₱125 in the daily minimum wage. The peasant masses are subjected to intensified forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation. Landgrabbing, arbitrary increases of land rent, usury, depressed farmgate prices of agricultural products, low wages for farm work and lack of additional sources of income plague the peasant masses in the countryside. Most of the people face the problem of getting three meals a day. Hunger and malnutrition victimize most the children and their mothers in rural and urban poor communities.

The Arroyo regime has maliciously adopted the US slogan of "war on terror" as a license to oppress the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the national minorities. It accuses the trade unionists of being terrorists in factories and is quick to use the military and police in attacking and murdering workers on strike. It has adopted and carried out Oplan Bantay Laya in order to unleash campaigns of suppression against the peasant masses and guerrilla fronts in order to serve the interests of local landlords and foreign corporations.

It is on a rampage of grabbing land from the peasants and national minorities and further opening up the natural resources to foreign and big-comprador corporations interested in mining, logging, agriculture and marine resources. The immediate social and environmental costs are appalling. The destruction is permanent in the case of nonrenewable mineral resources. But for lack of forest resource management and reforestation, deforestation has become permanent, causing floods, landslides and drought.

Aside from deploying concentrated forces and special operations teams, Oplan Bantay Laya seeks to intimidate the people by using death squads to kidnap, torture and murder leaders and members of progressive mass organizations and party list groups, human rights activists, priests and pastors, teachers, lawyers and journalists who are active in defending the interests of the people. The regime now is poised to unleash the death squads in the national capital region and step up their actions in provincial cities to complement the police and military units conducting arbitrary arrests, searches and seizures and suppressing mass protest actions.

A major feature of Oplan Bantay Laya is the announced objective of destroying the suspected political infrastructure of the revolutionary movement. This is modelled after the Plan Phoenix in the US war of aggression in Vietnam in the late 1960s and it is designed by no less than the Cabinet Oversight Committee for Internal Security (COC-IS) under the direction of such long-time US intelligence assets as Gen. Eduardo Ermita and national security adviser Norberto Gonzales.

The Arroyo regime is relying on the use of brute force to preempt and counter the mass movement and the broad united front of legal forces that are seeking to oust it or compel it to resign by peaceful and nonviolent means, patterned after the ouster of Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. This involves the people rising up and encouraging the reactionary military and police to withdraw their support from the regime and thus make way for a new civilian government. However, the avoidance of violence by the military and police against the opposition forces and the people is being misrepresented by the regime and its hacks as coup-making.

In the use of brute force, the regime has leaped from the so-called preemptive calibrated response of preventing the people from exercising their right to free assembly and speech to the usurpation of martial law powers under the guise of a declaration of a state of national emergency like Proclamation 1017. Even after this proclamation was lifted, as a result of public outrage, the Arroyo regime continues to make warrantless arrests, indefinite detention, raids and threats of closing down mass media and taking over public utilities.

In order to keep itself in power and to expand its powers, the Arroyo regime seeks to break up the broad united front against it by trying to destroy the legal and patriotic and progressive forces. It also expects to debilitate the armed revolutionary movement by destroying the legal patriotic and progressive forces. Arroyo and her Cabinet Oversight Committee or cluster in charge of Internal Security are claiming to have gotten from the US the license

to kill communists and patriots in the name of anti-terrorism in order to cancel the 2007 mid-term elections, prevent the legal opposition parties from winning and impeaching Arroyo and clear the way for charter change, the amendment of the 1987 constitution in a way mutually most desired by the Arroyo regime and the US imperialists.

The Arroyo regime is set to get the same autocratic powers that Marcos got from the 1973 constitution in the sham transition from the presidential to the parliamentary form of government.

It also intends to dilute the clear guarantees drawn from the Miranda doctrine and delete the restraints on the exercise of martial law powers. In exchange, the US and other foreign monopoly corporations can have unlimited ownership and control of land, natural resources, public utilities and all businesses. The US military forces can also keep military bases, combat troops and nuclear weapons in Philippine territory.

The Arroyo regime is a traitor regime that is always begging to be propped up by the US. It does not learn lessons from the rise and fall of the Marcos fascist regime. For a while, Marcos could benefit from US support while giving in to US dictates. But in the end, the US would give him up when the broad united front of antifascist forces and the mass movement reached a certain high level against the draconian measures undertaken by him and his military minions.

When Marcos started his fascist dictatorship in 1972, the Keynesian policy regime that was in place allowed him to take plenty of foreign loans that in turn allowed him to beef up the reactionary armed forces. The US still had more than 19,000 troops and huge air and naval bases in the Philippines for which the Marcos regime was getting lots of military grants and loans. But the US policy shift to the neoliberal regime drove the post-Marcos regimes, especially those of Ramos and Arroyo, to overload the country with onerous loans from foreign commercial banks and the bond market.

Notwithstanding the big amount of military and financial support for the Marcos regime from the US during fourteen years of fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary people and forces led by the Communist Party of the Philippines grew in strength and advanced. To this day, they continue to thrive among the people. The armed revolutionary movement in the Philippines has become an outstanding phenomenon in the world. It has proven that the revolutionary people and forces can withstand and fight whatever the US can unleash on a semicolony.

Under the Visiting Forces Agreement, the US has engaged in direct military intervention in the Philippines, at first under the guise of joint exercises with the Philippine puppet armed forces and then under the guise of fighting "Muslim terrorists" in the Philippines as a "second front" of the Bush so-called war on terror. But to this day, the joint operations of the US and its Filipino puppet troops have apparently failed to destroy the Abu Sayyaf, a small criminal gang in a small part of the Philippines unless this is deliberately allowed to persist as a continuing excuse for the US to bring military forces in the name of fighting so-called Islamic terrorism.

However, there are always limits to US military power. During the time of Marcos, the US was preoccupied with its war of aggression against the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples and with so many other troubles elsewhere in the world. Today, it is more overextended than ever before. It is bogged down in Iraq, wasting many personnel and huge resources there and is paying less attention than it wishes to other areas in the world. While the US is busy coveting the oil resources in the Middle East and Central Asia, it has exposed its weaknesses and vulnerabilities in East Asia, South Asia, Latin America and elsewhere.

The US is rotten to the core economically and financially. It is gravely stricken by the crisis of overproduction. And it is living off other imperialist countries and some dependent countries by attracting investments from them and making them accept cheap US dollar payments for US imports. It passes off as "growing" a GDP bloated by foreign-financed consumption, a housing bubble, excessive government spending for the military and homeland security and overvalued investments on military production, housing speculation and the remains of the bygone high-tech bubble.

The world is actually in a state of depression, with the raw-material producing and underdeveloped majority of countries worst off. But the illusion of global economic growth is conjured by the neoliberal and monetarist manipulation of monetary and fiscal policy in all the imperialist countries and some dependent countries like China, India and Brazil. It is possible to create GDP growth by increasing financial flows to consumption, government and investment without raising industrial production and regular employment. Thus, there is the phenomenon of jobless or wage-frozen growth.

The economic crisis of the Philippines can in no way be solved by any external force. The economic and social crisis has aggravated and deepened precisely because of policy dictates by the US and such US-controlled

multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO. The crisis is bound to aggravate as the US and other imperialists connive further with the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Under the current circumstances of socioeconomic crisis, the political crisis can only worsen further. The frills of bourgeois democracy that were restored after the fall of Marcos have worn out. Once more because of the worsening crisis, the reactionary classes are unable to rule in the old way. Proclamation 1017 exposes starkly the tendency of the ruling clique to impose the open rule of terror on the people.

The contradictions among the reactionaries have become far bitterer and more violent than ever before. The reactionaries in power have become more corrupt and repressive. The reactionaries out of power are quicker to expose the wrongdoings of those in power. The Arroyo ruling clique has become isolated among the reactionaries because it has scandalously used public funds to buy votes and bribe the electoral and military officials to rig the elections.

The increasing number of opposition parties are trying to ride on the groundswell of popular hatred for the Arroyo regime over a wide range of economic, social and political issues. The ruling coalition parties called Lakas-CMD is becoming shaky with the disengagement of the Liberal Party and other parties. Even within the Arroyo Cabinet, a considerable number of cabinet members and other high officials have resigned since the middle of last year. The Philippine Senate has turned opposition.

The most striking new development in the reactionary armed forces and police is the polarization into those who are for and who are against Arroyo. The officers are divided into at least five groups: the pro-US and pro-Arroyo officers, two pro-US but anti-Arroyo groups of officers (Coalition of National Salvation headed by former defense secretary Fortunato Abat and YES-ARMS headed by retired Commodore Aparri) and two relatively patriotic and progressive anti-Arroyo groups of officers (Para sa Bayan/YOU New Generation and Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan/Makabayang Kawal Pilipino).

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There are more anti-Arroyo groups among the military and police forces. They proliferate in order to foil counter-intelligence efforts of the regime. The most significant development in the political ferment now is the emergence of anti-Arroyo groups of military and police officers willing to enter into truce, alliance and cooperation with the revolutionary movement in order to fight the Arroyo regime and move towards the establishment of a patriotic and democratic government under the principle of civilian supremacy. They repudiate the reactionary military tradition of servility to the US and the local exploiting classes and partaking of their crumbs under the banquet table.

The overwhelming majority of officers and enlisted personnel in the military and police forces oppose the Arroyo regime because they are disgusted by the regime's broken promises of raises in salaries and pensions, because they are scandalized by the use of the military to rig the 2004 elections in many areas, because they reject the malversation of operational and savings funds by corrupt generals and because they are revolted by the rapid promotion of favorites, province mates and relatives of Arroyo and the flagrant connections of these with the most lucrative criminal syndicates engaged in gambling, bank robberies, kidnap-for-ransom, smuggling, illegal-drug trade, carjacking and illegal logging.

The severe socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system and the increasingly virulent contradictions among the reactionaries constitute favorable conditions for the armed revolution. As they pursue the correct line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the CPP, NPA and other subjective forces of the revolution can take advantage of the favorable conditions in order to heed and fulfil the Filipino people's demand for revolutionary change.

#### ***Accumulated victories and basis for advance***

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army has accumulated victories in the last 37 years and has won brilliant victories in the past year. It has put revolutionary politics in command of all its actions. It has learned well from the Second Great Rectification Movement and has performed with conscious iron discipline the political, military, productive, organizational, cultural and other tasks set forth by the Party.

The NPA carries out the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass base-building as integral components of the democratic revolution. It wages armed struggle to build itself as a fighting organization and destroy the enemy forces. It undertakes land reform in order to realize the democratic content of the revolution and mobilize the peasant masses as the closest allies of the working class. It encourages and supports the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. This organized mass base is the reliable source of Red commanders and fighters.

The NPA has grown as the main organization of the Party. In turn, the Party has grown as the core of political leadership within the NPA. The Party cadres, Red commanders and fighters are constantly within definite units and under definite commands. Thus, they can maintain Party life on a daily basis and can easily recruit and train new Party members. The Party cadres, the Red commanders and fighters cooperate in organizing the masses and the Party in the localities.

The NPA is operating in more than 120 guerrilla fronts, which cover 800 municipalities in 70 out of 79 Philippine provinces. Each guerrilla front has an optimal total strength of a company with high-powered rifles, divisible into one platoon as the center of gravity or as the main guerrilla unit and two other platoons as secondary guerrilla units, further divisible into squads and teams for mass work on a wider scale.

The NPA is capable of concentrating platoons, oversized platoons and full companies for tactical offensives and law enforcement according to the varied levels of development of the guerrilla fronts and the ability of the command at the level of the guerrilla front, province or region. The NPA is still in the phase of multiplying platoons for combat by way of approaching and developing the middle phase of the strategic defensive and also by way of carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale.

The nationwide strength of the NPA full-time fighters is in the thousands. It is augmented by the people's militia as the police force in the localities and the self-defense units based in the mass organizations. The people's militia and self-defense units are auxiliaries and reserves of the NPA. They are far more numerous than the full-time fighters in the NPA. They are sources of recruits for the NPA as soon as arms and the concomitant politico-military training are provided. The NPA can readily expand upon the seizure of arms from the enemy troops through ambushes, raids and arrest operations.

Defense officials and military officers of the enemy keep on guessing that the total rifle strength of the NPA is anywhere between 7,000 to 12,000. At the same time, they boast that through Lambat Bitag I, II and III they succeeded in bringing down the armed strength of the NPA from the level of 25,000 to 6,000 from the late part of the 1980s to the early 1990s. This is not true. In 1986, the NPA had only 6,100 high-powered rifles, without any strict accounting of those that were lost in the Kampanyang Ahos in 1985 and 1986. Furthermore, the development of the militia and self-defense units was neglected.

The tactics of concentration and gradual constriction of Lambat Bitag became successful in destroying a large part of the revolutionary mass base only because those who carried out the wrong line of premature large formations and premature regularization played into the hands of the enemy by engaging in self-constriction, neglecting mass work and divorcing the people's army from the masses. The Second Great Rectification Movement has corrected the error by requiring a widening and deepening mass base for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare.

Since September 11, 2001, the Arroyo regime has been under US diktat to escalate military campaigns of suppression against the NPA and the people in accordance with the US policy of "war on terror" and making the Philippines the "second front" of such war. In 2002, the regime formally launched Bantay Laya, patterned after Lambat Bitag, to concentrate enemy military forces on selected areas or guerrilla fronts for a strategic war of quick decision and deployment of platoon-size special operations teams (SOT) for the purpose of gradual constriction against the NPA through combat, psywar and intelligence within said areas.

The concentrated military and police forces and death squads can inflict serious harm to the people wherever they focus and sustain their operations. But they simply do not have enough strength to cover all the barrios of the country. The reactionary armed forces have only 120,000 troops and the national police have 130,000 members to cover a population of 85 million within an area of 300,000 square kilometers. The enemy force structure is top-heavy and can deploy only 25 percent of personnel for field maneuvers at every given time. The police force structure is also top-heavy and the personnel on the ground are divisible into three 8-hour work shifts.

The total deployable forces of the enemy armed forces can cover only a few hundreds of barrios nationwide at every given time. Oplan Bantay Laya aims to concentrate enemy armed forces in six regions and in a total of 600

barrios or a general average of 100 barrios per region for sustained military operations until the destruction of the armed revolutionary movement. But actually, the enemy armed forces can deploy troops only on less than 300 barrios at every given time. They leave free thousands upon thousands of barrios where the NPA can operate and grow in strength.

The enemy armed forces have their own way of augmenting their strength by coordinating with the police and private security agencies, organizing paramilitary units like the civilian auxiliary forces geographical unit (CAFGU), civilian volunteers organization (CVO), the barangay intelligence network (BIN) and pseudoreligious fanatical cults and hiring renegades who fled from their criminal liabilities in the revolutionary movement. But these entities are spread out thinly and are vulnerable to the political and military offensives of the NPA.

The insoluble problem for the enemy is that the current regime and the entire ruling system are rotten and crisis-stricken and are hated by the people. The officers and personnel of the reactionary armed forces and police are themselves discontented with their low salaries and inadequate supplies for their personal needs and, worse, the corruption and other criminal activities of many of their highest officers. The violent and bitter contradictions among reactionary political factions competing for wealth and power have already resulted in splits and rifts within the armed forces and police.

In heeding the wishes of the people, the NPA has created so many guerrilla fronts and is expanding, consolidating and increasing them. Available to the NPA are flexible guerrilla tactics of concentration to attack so many weak points of the enemy forces, dispersal to do mass work and shifting to avoid being cornered by a superior enemy force. At the tactical level, the NPA has been able to concentrate force and use the element of surprise on weak points of the enemy forces. The enemy forces are strategically superior in military strength but lack mass support and are thus rendered blind and deaf.

In the years from 2002 to 2004, the people and the revolutionary forces went through difficulties in guerrilla fronts where the enemy forces concentrated under Oplan Bantay Laya. But even in these guerrilla fronts, they started to counter the attacks of the enemy. From the latter part of 2004 to 2005, the number of guerrilla fronts stabilized above the level of 120. Since then, these have increased. The objective of Bantay Laya to destroy some 10 to 15 guerrilla fronts at every given time and move on to destroy a similar number has utterly failed.

Oplan Lambat Bitag appeared to have succeeded in destroying large chunks of the revolutionary mass base and stopping the growth of the people's army from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. But in fact, the "Left" opportunists played into the hands of the enemy, with such erroneous lines as the "strategic counteroffensive" and the "RAWA strategy". The NPA today has learned lessons and benefited from the Second Great Rectification Movement and has won resounding success in frustrating and defeating Bantay Laya.

The expansion of the revolutionary mass base has allowed us to undertake major steps to seize the initiative in fighting the enemy. We have been able to direct the commands at the levels of the guerrilla front, province and region to undertake politico-military work seriously, shake off conservatism and the roving rebel tendency or mentality and deliver lethal blows to the enemy forces. We have been able to prove that our revolutionary strategy and tactics and the unity of the NPA with the people through the organized mass base can defeat the enemy military and police forces despite their far larger size, more resources, more training and latest gadgetry from the imperialists.

Since the middle of September last year, the NPA has launched nationally coordinated tactical offensives under general guidelines in order to seize the initiative from the enemy forces, to accelerate the seizure of arms and thus the expansion of the NPA and to hasten the downfall of the Arroyo regime. On the basis of experience and strength gained so far, the nationwide tactical offensives can continue vigorously and move up to a new and higher level.

The intensified contradictions among the reactionaries help the NPA to intensify its nationwide tactical offensives. The Arroyo regime is drawing military and police forces to the national capital region in order to preempt and counter the prospect of being overthrown by a people's uprising cum withdrawal of military and police support, impeachment and trial by the legislature or by a coup d'etat.

Some military and police officers have expressed their desire for truce, alliance and cooperation with the revolutionary movement against the regime. And the NPA has welcomed their good intention. The Party has assigned cadres to do clandestine revolutionary work within the reactionary armed forces and police. A special bureau is in charge of the work. The Crispin Tagamolila Movement has been revived to encourage enemy officers and



personnel to shift to the side of the people. It is also expected that among the military and police personnel, they can undertake their own open democratic movement to defend and promote their rights and legitimate interests against the rotten ruling system.

The broad united front of anti-Arroyo forces and the mass movement have developed rapidly through peaceful and militant mass actions to oust the Arroyo regime. But the regime has reacted by usurping martial law powers under the guise of Proclamation 1017 declaring a state of national emergency and has used brute force to disperse mass actions, arrest progressive leaders without judicial warrant, raid newspaper offices and threaten to take over enterprises owned by anti-Arroyo businessmen.

The Arroyo regime has justified Proclamation 1017 and the continuing policy of state terrorism by inventing the story of a communist-military coup conspiracy that it claims to have foiled on February 24. It is whipping up anti-communist hysteria in order to justify repressive measures for keeping itself in power. It has converted into an arrest list the list of NDFP negotiators, consultants, staffers and other duly authorized personnel under the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and has completely ended the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. These can no longer be resumed unless a new government in Manila arises to propose resumption to the NDFP.

Under the increasing conditions of repression, the broad masses of the people are eager to join and support the armed revolution. The united front for armed struggle is developing rapidly. Leaders and activists of the mass movement are being forced by the Arroyo regime to go underground and join the armed revolutionary movement. Allies are offering their cooperation with the NPA so that it can deliver more effective blows on the enemy. The Arroyo regime is panicking about the prospect of a majority of military and police officers being opposed to it and ready to withdraw support from it as soon as a big mass uprising occurs either at Edsa or around the presidential palace. It is conducting a witchhunt within the armed forces and police and trumping up charges of coup plotting against officers suspected of being sympathetic to the opposition. These officers are being subjected to arbitrary arrest, restriction to quarters, floating status, demotion or dismissal.

We are aware that the anti-Arroyo currents within the armed forces and police are becoming stronger than ever. But these currents are being pent up and anti-Arroyo groups are considering how to fight back. Most groups continue to bide their time and wait for the occasion to withdraw support from the regime. Other groups are considering military strikes to demonstrate the inability of the regime to rule or to capture the usurper of presidential authority through electoral fraud or stage a coup against it.

Aside from the anti-Arroyo groups in the military and police, there are fringe armed groups in Mindanao, Visayas and Luzon that similarly wish to undertake sabotage actions against the installations and facilities of the Arroyo regime and their foreign and local corporate supporters. We admonish all armed groups opposed to the Arroyo regime not to undertake military actions that harm solely or mainly the civilian population or the environment. Otherwise, they cannot be regarded as acting in the interest of the people.

As far as it is concerned, the NPA follows the constant policy and line of the Party to deal lethal blows on the enemy in the most precise way possible, to protect and promote the national and democratic rights and interests of the people and to accumulate political, military, socio-economic and cultural victories for the forward march and ultimate victory of the people's democratic revolution.

### ***Guidelines for accelerating the offensives***

Under the leadership of the Party and in responding to the demand of the Filipino people for revolutionary change, the New People's Army must continue to intensify its tactical offensives against the military and police forces of the reactionary state, except those that show clear proof of opposition to the Arroyo regime. The tactical offensives are immediately aimed at weakening and causing the ouster of the Arroyo regime but they are also intended to further strengthen the revolutionary forces and advance the people's democratic revolution against the entire ruling system.

It is impossible for the people and the broad united front of anti-Arroyo forces to oust the Arroyo regime in a relatively peaceful manner without the withdrawal of military and police support from it as in the so-called Edsa 1 of 1986 and Edsa 2 of 2001. Without the withdrawal of such support, the Arroyo regime would continue to monopolize control over the reactionary military and police forces through the chain of command and can at will curtail civil and political rights and suppress the mass actions as it has done on February 24.

The people and revolutionary forces are eager to hasten the downfall of the Arroyo regime. They are outraged by the crimes of the regime. The current broad united front of opposition political parties, democratic mass organizations and anti-Arroyo sections within the reactionary forces and police has enough potential strength for ousting the regime. But the regime still has ways of prolonging itself in power by using the bureaucratic and military machinery of the state and by conniving and exchanging favors with the US imperialists and the most reactionary institutions, particularly the highest officials of the dominant Catholic Church and the big business chambers and clubs of foreign multinational firms and big compradors.

These are the forces that allowed the Marcos fascist dictatorship to run for fourteen years. They claim the main credit for finally overthrowing it. But in fact, they junked the fascist dictatorship only when it became more of a liability than an asset to them. They wanted to head off the challenge of the rising revolutionary mass movement and the people's army to the entire ruling system. The Arroyo ruling clique knows how the US-controlled ruling system of big compradors and landlords works. Thus, it is poised to use the charter change scheme not only to prolong its stay in power but also to acquire Marcosian dictatorial powers in exchange for amendments desired by the US and the local exploiting classes.

The prolongation of the Arroyo regime in power is a bad thing in one sense. But in another sense it is also a good thing because the long-rotten system is burdened by a regime, which is the stinking concentration of rottenness in the system. The fact that it is able to stay in power only through naked violence and deception proves the necessity of the armed revolution. The short-term movement to overthrow the Arroyo regime through armed struggle is in line with the long-term movement to overthrow the entire ruling system through armed revolution.

The enemy armed forces are superior to the people's army in terms of the number of troops, military training, equipment and financial resources. It suits them to go on a strategic offensive or a war of quick decision against the people's army. But their strength is extremely limited relative to our strategy and tactics and the social and physical terrain for the maneuver of the NPA. Our strategic line is protracted people's war and our current tactics involve tactical offensives within the strategic defensive. The NPA is based among the peasant masses and has plenty of room for maneuver in the countryside. The enemy forces can be strategically superior to the NPA at the ratio of 10 to 1. But at the tactical level, the NPA can achieve superiority over the enemy forces at the ratio of 10 to 1 and thus wage battles of quick decision.

The NPA must carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. We must develop the middle phase of the strategic defensive by expanding, consolidating and increasing the number of guerrilla fronts, multiplying our combat platoons and employing them against the enemy frequently and on a nationwide scale in order to wipe out and disarm the enemy. At the same time, we must have the flexibility to employ small teams and squads (for sniping, sabotage and punitive operations) as well as oversized platoons and companies, depending on the nature and requirements of a mission.

We must develop the operational commands of the NPA at the levels of the guerrilla front, province and region in order to overcome the downside of having long focused on mass work and having become accustomed to the mode of deployment and ways of the armed propaganda squads and teams, which have been described as conservatism and roving rebel band tendency or mentality. Each of the commands at the levels of the guerrilla front, province and region can have at least a platoon as a strike force, develop their capabilities (politico-military training, intelligence, operations, ordnance, medical services, etc.) and contribute to increase the frequency of tactical offensives.

We must maintain the fighting initiative against the enemy. We can do so because we have the ample mass base from which to launch our tactical offensives and within which we can maneuver, whatever are the tactics needed, be it of concentration, dispersal or shifting.

We can always observe the enemy forces to discover their weakest points. We can choose the time and place for concentrating our force and deal lethal blows on the target. We can compel the enemy forces to make mistakes and become confused on how to deploy their strategic and tactical units.

We must fight only battles that we can win. We must not enter into any indecisive battle, which we are not sure of winning. We must avoid being put into purely defensive battles. We must conduct ambushes, raids and arrest operations in which we have the upper hand by concentrating a superior force and taking advantage of the element of surprise. We must do so at such a rapid rate on a wide scale that the enemy cannot know where and how to seize the initiative.

When the enemy force advances with a superior force raring for a fight, we must not meet it headlong with an NPA force that it can easily see, pin down and crush. We can inflict casualties on an advancing enemy force by using land mines, small teams and snipers. When the enemy force camps, we can undertake harassment actions and keep him from taking any rest. When it retreats, we know where to hit it hard on the basis of the information that we have gathered about its movement.

We must continue the nationwide tactical offensives. We do so under broad guidelines from the Party center and national command of the NPA. In consonance with the long running policy of decentralized operations, the NPA in the various guerrilla fronts, provinces and regions must avail of a wide range of flexible tactics, using various types of offensive units and weapons. There are tactical offensives well within the jurisdiction and capacity of the NPA at a certain level of command. Proposals for tactical offensives requiring a larger force than available at a certain level can be made to a higher level of command, with sufficient intelligence buildup and timely reconnaissance of the target provided.

We must increase the tactical offensives for seizing weapons. We do so through raids, ambushes and arrest operations against units and elements of the military, police, paramilitary and private security agencies. We need more weapons in order to build more fighting units of the NPA and to raise the level of the people's war. As the repression intensifies in the white areas, we expect to integrate more Party cadres and members and mass activists in the NPA.

We must pursue tactics of annihilation, attrition and disintegration against the enemy forces. We give first place to tactics of annihilation because it yields us the most arms. But when the smoke of battle clears up, we treat well the enemy survivors and give medical treatment to the wounded. In the course of battle, the enemy personnel can be allowed to surrender. Whenever possible, we do not fire at an enemy unit or element that can be disarmed without firing a shot.

We can make the enemy side pay heavily through attritive actions. We must observe and study the lines and means of transport, installations, depots and other facilities that are vital to the counterrevolutionary war effort of the enemy. We must subject these to attacks as often as necessary in order to weaken and destroy the war capability of the enemy forces and to compel them to go on the defensive, put more personnel on guard duty and lessen the number of combat effectives for deployment in the field.

We must disintegrate the enemy personnel through various tactics. We must ensure that our revolutionary propaganda reach the enemy troops. We remind them of the oppressed and exploited conditions of their families and the toiling masses and persuade them to join the armed revolution. We offer truce, alliance and cooperation against the hated Arroyo regime. We spread the word that we do not attack enemy units that show proof of being against the regime. We respect the surrender of enemy personnel even in the midst of battle. We treat our captives with leniency in accordance with international humanitarian law.

We must give no quarter to the worst and most notorious among the reactionaries: those most culpable for directing and carrying out repression, human rights violations, plunder, destruction of the environment and the drug trade. Upon complaint of the victims, the Party or the pertinent organ of political power, the people's court must issue the warrants of arrest, search and seizure for the NPA to enforce. In case the criminal suspect is well armed and dangerous or is surrounded by armed cohorts, the NPA arresting team is authorized to use the necessary amount of force or to give battle in order to subdue any resistance.

Against all the repressive measures being undertaken by the Arroyo regime, the people and broad united front of legal anti-Arroyo forces must persevere in their efforts to exercise their civil and political rights and wage mass actions in defense of national and democratic rights. They know how isolated and weak is the position of the Arroyo regime and they can draw from their rich experience in waging legal struggles in the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The united front for legal struggle is distinct from the united front for armed struggle but the two have continuity, interaction and interoperability. The broad united front for legal struggle is arousing and mobilizing the people in the millions and for isolating and weakening the enemy. The poll surveys indicate that 65 to 80 percent of the people want the ouster of the Arroyo regime. The broad united front for legal struggle opens the way wider for the united front for armed struggle, which is the main aspect of the united front for overthrowing the current regime and the entire ruling system.

The leaders and members of the patriotic and progressive forces who are now most threatened by deadly

repressive measures, such as kidnapping, torture and murder, can shift to the revolutionary underground and onward to the field of revolutionary armed struggle. Allies are also welcome in playing a role in and contributing to the armed struggle. The revolutionary forces are willing to negotiate and agree with the anti-Arroyo groups of military and police officers on social, economic and political reforms and on how to carry these out.

The revolutionary united front policy is comprehensively anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist even as from time to time it focuses on a narrow target such as the Arroyo regime (the chief representative of the exploiting classes) and broadens as to include certain sections of the reactionary forces against the common target. Under conditions of the broad united front, the revolutionary forces must be firm as a matter of principle to uphold the revolutionary class line and maintain independence and initiative even as they adopt flexibility of policy and tactics.

The revolutionary united front policy is founded on the worker-peasant alliance, which is led by the CPP and has a people's army. The revolutionary united front is expanded through such further alliances as the progressive alliance of the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the temporary alliance with sections of the exploiting classes opposed to the enemy, that is the worst among the reactionaries servile to imperialism.

The Arroyo regime is worried to death by the broad united front and mass movement in the national capital region and the existence of several anti-Arroyo groups of officers among the military and police forces. Thus, for its supposed protection, it is deploying more troops under those considered loyal officers in the national capital region. The number of troops deployed against the NPA in the countryside tends to be reduced. The regime is trying to firm up its ceasefire with the MILF and improve its relations with the MNLF (Misuari) in order to make more troops available for deployment against the NPA. But we are confident that the Moro people will intensify their own armed struggle as we deal lethal blows and inflict defeats on the common enemy.

In the proliferation of anti-Arroyo groups within the military and police, there are some groups that wish to undertake punitive and sabotage actions in the national capital region and in provincial cities supposedly in order to demonstrate the inability of the Arroyo regime to rule. We are in no position to stop them from doing what they plan to do. But we publicly advise them to avoid harming civilians in the process of undertaking punitive and sabotage actions against selected targets.

Lest the Party and the NPA be blamed for actions of anti-Arroyo military and police groups in the national capital region, we stress at this point that no matter how violent the Arroyo regime becomes in the national capital region, the position of the CPP and NPA is that the form of struggle in the cities is legal and defensive and that the arena for armed struggle in the meantime is in the countryside. However, the armed city partisans and other special teams of the revolutionary movement are available for punitive actions against the worst of the reactionaries wherever they are in the country.

The Arroyo regime is generating a spiral of violence in the national capital region in order to justify its use of brute force for suppressing the people, the opposition parties, the democratic mass organizations, the mass media and other entities. This broad array of actors must have full play in waging legal struggle against the regime. We can undertake punitive actions against the enemy in the urban areas. But we must always make clear the just character of such actions and ensure that the rate at which these are undertaken does not run counter to the main legal and defensive character of struggle in the urban areas.

In justifying the issuance of Proclamation 1017 and unleashing draconian measures, the Arroyo regime has fabricated the myth of an alliance for a coup d'etat between communists and military rightists. The revolutionary forces are categorically and strongly against any coup d'etat by any anti-Arroyo group of military and police forces. But like the legal democratic forces and the opposition parties, they want the military and police forces of the reactionary state to respect the right of the people to free speech and assembly, to withdraw military and police support from the regime, to uphold the principle of civilian supremacy, to support the establishment of a new civilian government and to agree to the resumption of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

We can anticipate that the Arroyo regime will become harsher and harsher nationwide, in both cities and countryside. We have already seen the brutal operations of the regular military and police units and the death squads and other irregular units. The gross human rights violations have outraged the Filipino people and the people of the world. But it is not enough to protest. There is need for tit for tat struggle and for intensifying and raising the level of people's war.

The broad masses of the people are engaged in a self-reliant struggle for national liberation and democracy. Our revolutionary cause is just. It enjoys abundant moral and political support from the people all over the world. We further exert efforts to bring about a new and higher level of international support. As always, we deem it our duty to make our own contribution to the global struggle of the people against imperialism and reaction.

The NPA will become stronger by intensifying armed struggle, carrying out land reform on a wider scale and building a stronger mass base. It is determined to advance from one phase to another and from one stage to another in the protracted people's war along the general line of new democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We look forward to the complete victory of the people's democratic revolution and the advent of socialist revolution in the long march to communism.

***Why the New People's Army Is Invincible  
and Victorious and How the People's War  
Can Rise to a New and Higher Level***

**38<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Message, March 29, 2007**

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On the 38<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army (NPA), we the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) salute the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army (NPA) for their firm commitment, hard work, sacrifices and achievements in the revolutionary struggle.

We accord the highest honors to the revolutionary martyrs and to all comrades who have dedicated their entire lives to the revolutionary cause of serving the Filipino people. Today we renew our resolve to carry out the Filipino people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class and its Party against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We are determined to win total victory through protracted people's war, culminating in the overthrow of the counterrevolutionary state and establishment of the people's democratic state. The New People's Army is the principal instrument of the Party and the people in the armed revolution.

We joyously celebrate the accumulated victories of the NPA since its founding on March 29, 1969. We are happy about the victories of the NPA from year to year against the all-out war policy of the US-directed Arroyo regime. The NPA has frustrated and defeated Oplan Bantay Laya I in the five-year period of 2002-2006 and is in the process of delivering even more lethal blows against Oplan Bantay Laya II, which the enemy has launched since the beginning of this year. And yet the highest officials of the Arroyo regime and those of the military and police forces keep on boasting that they can either destroy or reduce the NPA to inconsequentiality before Arroyo leaves office in 2010.

In response to the cowardly assaults and braggadocio of the enemy, let us state why the NPA is invincible and victorious in the context of the objective conditions and the development of the subjective forces of the revolution. Then we proceed to identify the vulnerabilities and weak points of the ruling system and show how to concentrate our political and military offensives against these in order to further weaken, isolate and destroy the enemy and raise the people's war to a new and higher level.

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## ***I. Why the NPA is invincible and victorious***

It is an incontrovertible fact of history that the NPA has grown from 60 Red fighters with only nine automatic rifles and some 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac province in 1969 to so many thousands of men and women with automatic rifles and other high-powered weapons spread throughout the country. These are equivalent to a few divisions and regiments, tens of battalions, scores of companies, a few hundreds of platoons or many hundreds of squads nationwide. They are deployed in more than 120 guerrilla fronts covering significant portions of 70 provinces, 800 towns or 10,000 of the more than 40,000 barrios of the Philippines.

The Marcos regime sought to nip the NPA in the bud in the years 1969 to 1972, using division-size task forces in every region where squads and armed propaganda teams of the NPA appeared. It went so far as to declare martial law in 1972 and impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people for 14 years, until 1986. It murdered tens of thousands of people, illegally detained and tortured some hundreds of thousands and forcibly displaced five million people from their homes and farms. But the NPA grew precisely because of the intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation under the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The NPA withstood and prevailed over the much-ballyhooed campaigns of suppression unleashed by the post-Marcos regimes, including the campaigns of low intensity conflict warfare and low-intensity democracy strategy of the Aquino regime under US direction. Lambat Bitag I, II, III appeared to be successful in the 1980s only because of the grave errors of the incorrigible "Left" opportunists who engaged in adventurism, ruined the revolutionary mass base and engaged in criminal witchhunts to cover up their errors, as well as of the Right opportunists who wished to end the people's war and join the reactionary government, and who tried to propagate Gorbachovism, populism, reformism and liberalism within the Party. But the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party prevailed and launched the Second Great Rectification Movement to identify, criticize, repudiate and rectify major errors, reaffirm basic revolutionary principles and revitalize the Party and the entire revolutionary movement.

The NPA has stood as the largest and strongest army of the Filipino people in their entire history. It has surpassed the level of strength of the Philippine revolutionary army in the old democratic revolution against Spanish colonialism and then in the war of resistance against US imperialism at the start of the 20th century. The NPA has also surpassed by far the scope and level of strength attained by the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) during World War II and the subsequent People's Liberation Army, whose backbone was broken by the enemy in the early 1950s.

Under the direction and influence of US imperialism, particularly the Bush policy of global war of terror, the Arroyo regime has adopted the policy of all-out war and unleashed Oplan Bantay Laya, with the announced objective of destroying the NPA and entire revolutionary movement. Both the imperialists and the Arroyo regime forget that the Marcos regime imposed a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people for 14 years, when the revolutionary movement was still small and the regime had far greater access to foreign loans and US military assistance in exchange for the continued stay of the US military bases and could rapidly expand the puppet military forces from the level of 60,000 troops to more than 200,000 troops, excluding local police and the paramilitary.

Despite all this, the Marcos regime failed to destroy the fledgling revolutionary movement and fell in 1986 under the blows of the people's army, the revolutionary mass movement and the broad legal opposition. The Arroyo regime is now faced with a far larger and stronger NPA and a comprehensive revolutionary mass movement with much richer experience and sharper skills in various forms of struggle. The military and police forces of the regime are stagnant and deteriorating in terms of the number and capacity of personnel, training and equipment, despite the hype about increased military assistance and training from US military forces.

The objective of Bantay Laya I was to concentrate military and mobile police units on 600 barangays in six regions at every given time to search and destroy the NPA and then proceed to another 600 barangays for the same purpose. But only 300 barangays of the more than 40,000 barangays could be covered at every given time. Bantay Laya II is bound to fare worse because it seeks to militarize and terrorize both the rural and urban communities and in the name of "development" take over the functions of the police and civilian officials.

The objective conditions in the world are not favorable to the Arroyo regime. But they are favorable to the revolutionary movement. The crisis of the world capitalist system has been deepened and aggravated rapidly by the so-called free market policy of "neoliberal globalization." This has been wrongly supposed by the US and other policymakers as the cure to the problem of stagflation blamed on state interventions under the Keynesian economic policy.

The concentration and centralization of capital in the US and a few other countries have accelerated and have resulted in a global depression, afflicting mainly the underdeveloped countries. These have suffered most from the worsening chronic crisis of overproduction, unequal terms of trade and excessive debt burden. The illusion of economic growth in the imperialist countries and a few other economies like China and India has been conjured by sheer financial flows. But the real global economy shows chronic mass unemployment, widening deficits and unrepayable debts.

The Bush administration has further aggravated the crisis of the US world capitalist system by trying to stimulate industrial production and consumer demand since the bursting of the high-tech bubble in 2000 by stepping up war production and encouraging consumerism based on borrowed funds from abroad and from a domestic housing bubble (overvaluation of private homes to support consumption loans).

The 9/11 attacks have facilitated the Bush mix of "military Keynesianism" and "neoliberal globalization." But there are limits to war production, outsourcing of consumer goods and debt-consumerism and overvaluation of stocks and real estate property. These do not solve but aggravate the crisis of overproduction and the financial overstretch and speculation.

In the name of anti-terrorism since 9/11, the US has whipped up war hysteria, pushed repression and fascism on a global scale and unleashed military intervention and wars of aggression. But the wars of aggression, which are intended to secure oil sources and supply lines, have put the US into a quagmire in Iraq. The US-NATO alliance in Afghanistan is also facing stiff resistance from a resurgent Taliban. The people's armed resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan has made US aggression unprofitable and has inflicted heavy costs on the US in terms of casualties, both killed and wounded, and the loss of financial resources in the hundreds of billions of dollars.

The US has undermined itself as well as its allies by overreaching in the Middle East and Central Asia. Right within these regions, resistance to the US and its allies is expanding and intensifying. The people of Palestine and Lebanon have heroically resisted the combination of US imperialism and Israeli Zionism.

China, Russia and other neighboring countries have also spearheaded the Shanghai Cooperation Organization for the purpose of economic cooperation and collective security outside of US control.

In South Asia, there is a rising wave of people's wars, especially in India. Particularly in Nepal, the Maoist party is leading the people and striving to install a democratic republic as the fruit of people's war.

In East Asia, the US is exposing its weaknesses. It uses cheap Chinese labor in the outsourcing operations of its multinational firms but it depends on China and Japan for selling treasury bonds and financing consumer imports.

The Korean people and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have successfully defied US imperialism and have put forward their just demands. It has had to request China for assistance in order to revive the six-party talks.

In the Philippines, the Filipino people continue to wage people's war and demonstrate that US military intervention cannot stop them. In fact, the US military forces expose from year to year their failure to destroy even only the small bandit group Abu Sayyaf.

In Latin America, the anti-imperialist currents are running strong among the people. The governments of Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia are riding on these currents. They are defying the impositions of the US. They are trying to advance the nationalization of the economy and expand employment and social services. Meanwhile, certain parties and organizations are preparing to wage revolutionary armed struggle.

In Africa, the people continue to suffer from severe economic and political crisis and are struggling hard to fight imperialism and neocolonialism. There is social unrest and political turmoil in several African countries. Such conditions are conducive to the emergence and growth of revolutionary forces. China and Russia are taking diplomatic initiatives in this continent while the US is overconcentrated in Iraq.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines has become far worse than ever before. By following the US policy of "neoliberal globalization," the Arroyo regime has pushed the denationalization, liberalization, privatization and deregulation of the Philippine economy for the benefit of the foreign monopoly interests in investment, trade and finance. It has continually surrendered the political and economic sovereignty of the people and auctioned off the national sovereignty.

It has tried to undertake the revision of the 1987 constitution in order to allow the foreign corporations to have 100 percent ownership of all businesses. The multinational firms and banks have prevented national



industrialization and land reform. These are mocked by the pro-imperialists as impermissible because they involve state intervention and are supposedly contrary to the "free market."

The Arroyo regime has thus deepened and aggravated the underdevelopment of the Philippine economy, the unequal terms of trade and the dependence on foreign debt. The foreign monopoly firms have gone on a rampage of plundering the country through free flow of exploitative capital and surplus goods. The Arroyo regime has further made the Philippine economy dependent on the export of raw materials and live labor (mostly women) and the re-export of low value-added semimanufactures. These exported goods are in oversupply in the global market and are being sold in greater volume at lower prices. And finished manufactures and agricultural products from abroad flood the country because of much-lowered or negligible tariff walls and because of rampant smuggling. The trade and budgetary deficits are ever increasing.

From year to year, however, the illusion of economic growth is conjured by ever rising government spending and consumption of the few rich and well-to-do. The financial flows are effected by increasing the foreign and local public debt and, recently, the tax burden in order to cover the ever growing trade and budgetary deficits, and to pay the debt service on the accumulated debt.

Of course, the Arroyo regime also grabs the foreign exchange earnings of the overseas contract workers for consumption and other counterproductive purposes. It has further bankrupted and depressed the Philippine economy in real terms and faces the limits of borrowing and raising taxes under conditions of economic depression. Under these conditions, the regime cannot expand and satisfy the reactionary armed forces and police without further exacerbating the economic and social crisis.

Unemployment is massive and cumulative because of the total failure to adopt a policy of national industrialization and land reform that can expand capital and generate employment. Incomes are depressed and dwindling, especially for the toiling masses of workers and peasants. And yet the prices of basic commodities and services are rising. Hunger is at record high. In budgetary appropriations, the regime gives the highest priority to debt service, military spending and graft-ridden infrastructure projects, while reducing the funds for education, health and public housing.

The infrastructure in the rural areas is always rotting, while showy infrastructure projects are undertaken mainly in urban areas and tourist areas. The promise of developing "super-regions" through infrastructure projects is not a promise of development but opportunities for corruption by the Arroyo ruling clique. Under Arroyo, the puppet government has been rated as the most corrupt in the whole of Asia, and one of the most corrupt in the whole world.

Social discontent is widespread and acute among the toiling masses and even among the middle social strata. The Arroyo regime has used brute force to suppress workers' strikes and legal protest rallies of the broad masses of the people. It has gone as far as to issue a thinly disguised martial law proclamation and makes false charges against the broad united front of legal opposition forces. Under Oplan Bantay Laya, it has deployed large military forces and mobile police units in suspected guerrilla fronts of the NPA in order to massacre, round up, detain and torture the peasant masses and national minorities and force great numbers of them out of their homes and farms with the use of arson, machinegun fire, bombardments and artillery.

It has extended Oplan Bantay Laya to the cities, conducting military saturation drives and psywar in worker and urban poor communities and student campuses, especially where progressive party-list groups and people's organizations are strong, campaigning against these parties and organizations, and witch-hunting and harassing their leaders, members and supporters, with the objective of denying them the legal and parliamentary avenues of struggle. It has engaged in extrajudicial killings, abductions and torture of unarmed legal activists, including leaders of progressive party list groups, mass leaders of workers, peasants, women and youth, the religious people, (including a bishop, numerous priests and pastors), lawyers, doctors, human rights activists and journalists. These barbarities have outraged the people of the Philippines and the whole world.

The socioeconomic crisis has generated a severe political crisis among the reactionaries of the truly rotten "strong republic." The contradictions between the Arroyo regime and those out of power have become bitter because of the regime's inordinate drive to enrich and perpetuate itself in power through brute force. The regime is notorious for its barefaced puppetry to imperialist interests, flagrant corruption and use of electoral fraud and state terror against all opposition and critics.

It has tried to revise the 1987 constitution of the reactionary government in order to keep itself in power under

the pretext of shifting from the presidential to the parliamentary form of government, and at the same to please the imperialists by allowing them to have 100 percent ownership of all businesses and to reestablish their military bases on Philippine territory. It has become even more brutal in the face of the growing resistance of the broad masses of the people and broad united front. The Arroyo regime's brutality is inspired by the Bush global war of terror.

The contradictions among the various reactionary political factions extend to the reactionary armed forces and police. These are factionalized according to their political masters and according to their interests in racketeering and criminal syndicates. In an attempt to override the factionalism and rising anti-Arroyo currents within the military, the regime has ordered and agitated the military and police to go into a rampage of extrajudicial killings, abductions, attacks on communities and other human rights violations against the revolutionary movement and the people.

After having sabotaged the peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines since 2001, the Arroyo regime has pretended to hold on-and-off peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and has been launching sporadic attacks against MILF forces. The Arroyo regime is increasingly exposing its unwillingness to recognize the right of the Moro people to self-determination and their rights to ancestral land by launching military attacks on the Moro people, the MILF and its army.

The Arroyo regime and its loyalists within the military and police are hell-bent on using fraud and terrorism in order to prevent the opposition from getting a number of seats in House of Representatives sufficient to impeach Arroyo as well as in the Senate sufficient to convict her. Arroyo and her security and military establishments are ready to use the recently signed Antiterror Law in order to outlaw and suppress not only the revolutionary forces but also the legal progressive forces and the forces of the conservative opposition. They are out to prevent the broad united front and the broad masses of the people from rising up in mass actions to overthrow the Arroyo regime. They are making a hue and cry about destroying the CPP, NPA and the entire revolutionary movement before 2010 under Oplan Bantay Laya and the Antiterror Law in order to set the stage for the escalation of state terrorism against the broad opposition and the broad masses of the people.

They plan to use the Antiterror Law to impose martial law on the people without having to declare it and without having to comply with the 1987 constitution in order to ensure the political survival and even the perpetuation of the Arroyo ruling clique in power through the revision of the 1987 constitution after the 2007 elections. Arroyo is scheming to make herself or her choice to become the prime minister upon the shift from presidential to parliamentary form of government. To succeed, she has to use the Antiterror Law to suppress the armed revolutionary forces and the legal progressive forces and thus prevent the formation of an effective broad opposition, render weak and inutile the conservative opposition forces and relatively independent critics in the churches, civic and professional associations, business and mass media and silence them in the chilling climate of the unceasing gross human rights violations with impunity.

However, the Arroyo regime overestimates its power to strike down the opposition and the people. Like the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the current regime cannot destroy them but can only unwittingly push the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement and the broad alliance of democratic forces by aggravating the fundamentally oppressive and exploitative conditions of the Philippines. Arroyo and her military and police officers have unwittingly become the best recruiters of the NPA by attacking the people and driving them to join the NPA. They have likewise become the best transport and supply officers of the NPA by getting arms from the Pentagon and sending out their troops for ambush by the NPA in the guerrilla fronts and hinterlands.

The revolutionary forces are invincible and victorious because the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in the Philippines provide the fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of the people's army and people's war. The Filipino people, especially the workers and peasants, need the NPA so long as the three monsters—foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism oppress and exploit them. Without the NPA, they have nothing with which to fight the enemy. They do not even have hope of liberation, unless they have the NPA. On the basis of the objective conditions that are intolerable to the people, the subjective forces or organized forces of the revolution thrive and march forward.

The most important subjective factor for the invincibility and victories of the NPA is the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. This revolutionary party of the proletariat is guided by

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applies it to the study of history and current circumstances of the Philippines and the world. It inculcates among the Party cadres and members in the NPA and among the Red commanders and fighters the dialectical materialist stand, viewpoint and method, and it combats subjectivism, be it dogmatism or empiricism.

It propagates the basic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao about nature and human history, the laws of motion in capitalism and imperialism, the economic, political and cultural aspects of society, the state and revolution, the corrosiveness of opportunism, reformism and revisionism, the strategy and tactics of the new democratic revolution through people's war, socialist revolution and construction, the cultural revolution in socialist society and the general outline of the communist future. The continuing recruitment, education and revolutionary work of Party cadres and members guarantee that there is an indestructible core of proletarian revolutionaries within the people's army and the revolutionary mass movement.

The Party has defined the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the corresponding general line of the national democratic revolution of a new type. It requires the building and correct handling of the Party, the people's army and united front as the three powerful weapons of the Philippine revolution. A clear understanding of the character of Philippine society, the current stage of the revolution, the friends and enemies of the revolution, the forces and tasks of the revolution and the socialist perspective is a guarantee against errors of Right and Left opportunism.

The Party can lead the people's army and the people's war from victory to victory so long as it pursues the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism against subjectivism, the general line of new democratic revolution against opportunism and the organizational line of democratic centralism against bureaucratism and ultra-democracy. The Party secures itself and other revolutionary forces from destruction by taking care not to expose its Party cadres and members to the enemy unnecessarily and without safeguards and at the same time always developing the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist mass movement from which to recruit new Party members.

In the course of people's war, the NPA is the main instrument for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses in the rural areas. It carries out land reform in order to let the peasant masses achieve economic, social and political revolution and realize the main content of the democratic revolution. It wages the revolutionary armed struggle in order to seize weapons and other resources from the enemy and thereby expand and further strengthen itself in order to defeat the enemy. It assists the Party in organizing the organs of political power and the associations of the workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. It facilitates the mass campaigns for the self-organization of the masses, public education, land reform, production, health and hygiene, defense and internal security, settlement of disputes, sports and cultural activities.

The basic alliance of the working class and peasantry is the strongest foundation of the national united front for the armed struggle and for all intents and purposes. In the anti-feudal united front, the Party must 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 weaken and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. We may come upon various groupings and various levels of political consciousness among the workers and peasants. It is our task to unite with them and raise the level of their consciousness and organizations according to their best interests in the immediate circumstances and in the long run.

The worker-peasant alliance must win over the urban petty bourgeoisie in order to build the progressive alliance. In turn, the progressive alliance can win over the national bourgeoisie in order to build the patriotic alliance against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The united front can be further broadened to include unreliable and unstable allies from the reactionary classes in order to accelerate the isolation and defeat of the worst reactionary faction in power or the faction most servile to imperialism. The progressive, patriotic and broad unstable alliances for legal forms of struggle can become stronger if, in the first place, there is a strong basic worker-peasant alliance at work in the people's war.

If the line of the Party is correct, then the NPA and other revolutionary forces can keep on gaining strength and winning victories. But errors and shortcomings can arise as a result of deviations from the line. Thus, the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties was defeated in the early 1950s. The Party had to carry out the First Great Rectification Movement to draw lessons and reestablish the Communist Party of the Philippines. There were also grave errors within the Party in the decade of the 1980s. Thus, the Party had to carry out the Second Great Rectification Movement, in order to learn lessons. The Party has amply demonstrated its ability to identify

and rectify errors and to raise the fighting will and capability of the people and all revolutionary forces.

The Party is at the head and at the core of the New People's Army. It makes sure that revolutionary politics is in command of the gun. The Party and the NPA work together to pursue the general political line of national democratic revolution and the mass line of learning from the masses, relying on them and mobilizing them to accomplish revolutionary tasks. Within the Party and the NPA, periodic and timely meetings for study, summing up, evaluating work and criticism and self-criticism are conducted. Thus, the Party and NPA strengthen and sharpen themselves as the weapons of the people against the current enemy and the entire ruling system.

## ***II. How to define and attack the weak points of the system***

The three monsters, foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, which are oppressing and exploiting the Filipino people, appear to be so solid, strong and indivisible. But in fact they make the entire ruling system rotten and destructible. Each monster is quite extended, divisible and has vulnerable parts spread out all over the country. The entire semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system is actually unstable and can be made to collapse through the protracted people's war. We can observe the weak points of the system and define these as the targets against which we can concentrate our attacks.

The main determinant of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society is US imperialism. When the US shifted from direct colonial rule to semicolonial rule in 1946, it made the Philippines nominally independent and passed on national administration to the high politicians and bureaucrats of the local exploiting classes, who were generally united in serving US monopoly capitalism and their own big comprador and landlord interests even as they competed for political power in the name of bourgeois democracy. But the US made sure that it would continue to control the Philippines in an all-round way—economically, politically, militarily, culturally and diplomatically.

Military control is the alpha and omega of US hegemony over the Philippines. It has continuously controlled the Philippine puppet state by providing the indoctrination, strategic plans, officer training, equipment and other supplies to the reactionary armed forces and police. Until 1991, the US had military bases in the Philippines. But even without these, it has never ceased to surveil the country with the use of nearby US military bases, spy satellites, radar stations and lorans, air and naval patrols and intelligence assets in the reactionary armed forces and police, in the entire bureaucracy and in various non-governmental organizations and institutions. Under the pretext of mutual defense, it can invade and occupy the Philippines anytime. Right now, it can engage in military intervention and deploy US military forces for any length of time and on any scale on various pretexts, including antiterrorism, joint military exercises, civic action, humanitarian work, disaster relief, anti-drugs and anti-epidemic mission. The US has recently been hyping the lie that illegal drugs production and trafficking are proliferating in NPA and MILF areas and using this as pretext for further intensifying US military intervention and intelligence activities in the Philippines.

The US has been engaged in massive military intervention in the Philippines since after the 9/11, under the pretext of combating terrorism in the "second front" of the so-called global war of terror. It claims to be running after the Abu Sayyaf bandit gang, which the CIA and the Philippine Army formed in 1992 in an attempt to outflank the Moro National Liberation Front. The US has steadily increased the number of its troops and deployed them in various parts of the country, especially those near and within the NPA guerrilla fronts. The US troops have collaborated with the Philippine puppet troops not only in military training but also in intelligence and surveillance, occupying outposts and patrolling, and joining the puppet troops in combat operations. There is a growing possibility that the US military intervention would become a war of aggression and the current revolutionary civil war would become a national war against foreign aggression.

Foreign monopoly capitalism has so overloaded the Philippines with loans that it draws more profits from debt service than from returns on direct investments. Of course, it continues to extract profits from the direct investments in various types of business enterprises and from the lopsided exchange of manufactured imports and the raw material exports and the low-value added reexports. The growing current account deficits have resulted in a huge foreign debt whose interest and amortization are becoming more and more difficult to pay. The multinational banks and firms are ever eager to convert the loans to equity in Philippine corporations and to expand investments in raw material production (mineral and agricultural), fuel production and distribution, transport and communications, construction, trading and so on. Thus, the Arroyo regime is eager to revise the 1987 constitution to allow the US and other foreign monopoly corporations to have unlimited ownership of all businesses.

The export-oriented mining, logging and agricultural operations of the multinational firms and the big compradors are among the most exploitative and plunderous activities. But they are in the hinterlands and are the most vulnerable to actions by the people and the NPA. The foreign-owned mines must be closed down because they have proliferated in violation of the economic sovereignty and national patrimony under the infamous Mining Act of 1995. They take out the irreplaceable natural wealth of the country and devastate the environment and the entire economic and social future of the people. Logging for export must also be stopped totally because it has ruined the environment and brought about the extremes of flooding and drought on a wide scale.

Large tracts of land owned or controlled by foreign and big comprador agrcorporations for producing and exporting various types of agricultural products must be broken up to stop the foreign exploiters from owning or controlling land, to make way for land reform for the benefit of the poor peasants and farm workers, to enforce the union rights and fair wages for the farm workers, to free the small and medium landowners from the clutches of the unfair grower agreements, and to allow some reasonable amount of Filipino entrepreneurship in agriculture. The building of hydroelectric dams, irrigation systems, road and bridges should not be used as a pretext for grabbing land from the poor peasants and indigenous people, destroying their means of livelihood and environment and expanding the landholdings of the big foreign corporations and the local big landlords.

The US and other foreign oil giants have mercilessly squeezed the people by raising fuel prices. The people and the NPA must take action against the greed of these foreign companies and cause the nationalization of the oil industry. They must also fight the so-called independent power producers for having overpriced their plants and benefited from state-guaranteed loans and for making their power supply excessively expensive. We must study how to create the conditions for the nationalization of oil and exploration and production in the Philippines.

Most and eventually all foreign-owned and local big comprador firms engaged in any kind of business, including oil and gas exploration, production and distribution, power generation, manufacturing, transport and communications, construction, trading, tourism, real estate development and other businesses have installations, warehouses, motor pools and delivery lines inside and near the territory of the people's democratic government. All these must comply with the laws and regulations of the people's government. In case of non-compliance and refusal to negotiate with the revolutionary authorities, they are subject to appropriate actions by the people and the NPA.

If Filipino entrepreneurs are ready to take over any foreign-owned enterprise, they may be supported by the people and the revolutionary forces in the spirit of promoting the nationalization of the economy and fighting for national liberation against foreign domination. Every effort may be undertaken to favor the Filipino entrepreneurs and force out the foreign monopoly interests, especially the US. Irrespective of the nationality of the owners, an enterprise which is useful to the people but cannot be taken over by the people or by Filipinos, may be tolerated, provided such enterprise complies with the laws and regulations of the people's democratic government. In all cases the rights of the workers and the trade unions must be upheld and safeguarded.

Agrarian revolution is the process by which the largest class of the people in the Philippines, particularly the poor and lower middle peasants, can be aroused, organized and mobilized to take actions on feudal landholdings and thereby realize the main content of the democratic revolution. We must take the initiative in carrying forward the agrarian revolution, and respond to the longrunning demands of the peasants against bogus land reform programs and against the ongoing reactionary disdain for land reform under the slogan of "neoliberal globalization." Studies and decisions must be made in order to raise land reform higher from the level of the minimum land reform program of reducing land rent, eliminating usury and controlling interest rate, raising the wages of farm workers, raising the farm-gate prices of the products, and promoting agricultural and sideline occupation through rudimentary forms of cooperation.

We have extensive experience in driving out land grabbers in the hinterlands, in restituting the grabbed land to the owner-cultivators and in confiscating land from selected despotic landlords who are hated by the people. Confiscation of the land can be effected, with the peasants becoming determined not to deliver the rent to the landlord, and with the people in general and the NPA preventing the entry of the overseers and other running dogs of the landlord. If the landlords use force to attack the peasants, then the people's government can order the NPA to arrest, try and punish the criminally culpable landlords. When the landlords are armed and protected by armed guards, the NPA is justified to give battle and do everything possible to bring the landlords in question to justice.

Efforts at confiscation of the land planted to rice, corn and other staples can be made where we have

successfully carried the minimum land reform on a wide scale. We can certainly target for confiscation the landholdings of the biggest and most despotic landlords. We can study and carry out confiscation on a much wider scale by targeting landholdings bigger than 50 hectares, provided those landlords owning less than 50 hectares follow the laws and regulations of the people's government. We must be well prepared to arrange the equitable distribution of the land among the landless tillers, the credit facilities from creditors who comply with the rules set by the peasant association and the people's government and the simple forms of cooperation, including labor exchange, to raise production and reduce the costs of production and sale of the produce.

In the case of land planted to sugar and coconut, which require some kind of central milling, we must make sure that we have alliance with the millers or some landlords who can have the product milled. We must ensure that the tenants and farm workers get their respective fair shares of the income from selling the product. We must also encourage them to plant staple crops in parts of the land. They can increase the land for staple crops if cash income from sugar and coconut is likely to fall short of their needs. There are large export-oriented plantations which are better taken over by the peasants for land reform and for food production for the domestic market.

We must continue with the antifeudal line of relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, 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 big and despotic landlords. As soon as land confiscation from the landlords occurs anywhere, we can expect the enemy to attack the peasants. But the peasant masses will prevail and the enemy will not have enough strength to take the initiative. In due course, we can create and make effective the organs of people's government at the municipal and provincial levels, with the help of the urban petty bourgeoisie, middle bourgeoisie, if in the first place the peasant masses take power and the land on a wide scale in the barrios under the leadership of the Party and with the support of the NPA.

Under the direction of US imperialism, the Arroyo regime has issued since the beginning of 2002 the orders to the reactionary armed forces and police under Oplan Bantay Laya to destroy the entire revolutionary movement by attacking a number of guerrilla fronts at every given time and engaging in so-called clear-hold-consolidate-develop (or, as they call it now, win-hold-win) military operations, involving massacres, mass intimidation and forced evacuation or eviction of people (now numbering 3.2 million, with more than half of these displaced during the Arroyo regime), and at the same time carrying out extrajudicial killings, abductions and torture against unarmed legal activists who are labeled as "communists" and "enemies of the state." In a vicious campaign of bloody intrigue, the regime misrepresents those murdered by its own special teams or death squads as victims of an "internal purge" in the CPP and NPA.

After murdering hundreds of unarmed legal activists, including mass leaders, religious people, lawyers, journalists and human rights activists, the Arroyo regime has outraged the broad masses of the people and respected institutions in the Philippines and in the entire world. International fact-finding missions of human rights, civic and religious institutions and organizations, UN special rapporteurs of human rights treaty bodies have listened to and verified the testimonies of surviving victims, witnesses and the relatives, colleagues and friends of the dead victims. They have noticed the pattern of the reactionary armed forces and the police stigmatizing the targeted victim as a "communist" or "enemy of the state," then "neutralizing," i.e., murdering him or her and blaming the NPA for the crime. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Arroyo has refused to accept command responsibility and has not made the lower commanders accountable for the extrajudicial killings and abductions occurring within their jurisdiction. The fascist killers are so arrogant and so power-drunk that they flagrantly kill witnesses and facilitators in the investigations of the killings.

Despite the clarity of their command responsibility and exposure of their culpability for the heinous crimes, Arroyo and her military and police minions keep on repeating the lie and intrigue that communists are killing communists or NPA fighters are killing NPA fighters. They continue to hope that they can destroy the revolutionary movement by murdering its suspected members and then claiming that it is destroying itself. The dirty trick of the Arroyo regime looks smart. But it is practically pushing us to hurry up with actions to render justice to the victims and their murderers. In the meantime, while we are still making the necessary preparations for the just actions to be undertaken against the brutal enemy, they continue to murder people and blame the murder on us. Their bloody intrigue fails especially when they make it appear that the erroneous anti-infiltration campaigns of more than twenty years ago can be passed off as an ongoing "internal purge," and further concoct stories and "testimonies" and recycle and transfer "evidence" from interior community cemeteries and from one "mass grave"

to another.

Everyone who has studied the history of the CPP knows that through the Second Great Rectification Movement, an educational campaign which was launched by the Party Central Committee in 1992, the CPP criticized and condemned the anti-informer campaigns of hysteria that occurred mainly from 1985 to 1988, like Kampanyang Ahos, OPML and the like. The few who were most responsible for the crimes left the CPP to evade responsibility, established anti-CPP groups and sought employment in the reactionary system. It is well known that the CPP has firmly upheld the principle of due process in administrative cases of discipline within its ranks and in criminal cases before the people's court. The broad masses of the people know and even the UN special rapporteurs have determined that the Arroyo regime and its military and police have been fabricating "evidence" and are lying when they try to confuse the anti-former hysteria in certain areas in the 1980s with the Second Great Rectification Movement of the 1990s, and make the false claim that there is an ongoing "internal purge."

As a result of the severe socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system, especially after having engaged in electoral fraud and terrorism in 2004, the Arroyo regime has been obsessed with political survival against the broad popular demands for its ouster and is deliberately using the slogans of anti-communism and antiterrorism in order to ingratiate itself with US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. It calculates that only if it could destroy or paralyze the revolutionary movement or at least the legal progressive forces with murderous attacks, then it would be easier to control and even coopt the conservative opposition. It has thereby become increasingly violent not only against the people and revolutionary forces in the suspected guerrilla fronts but also against the legal patriotic and progressive forces.

The problem of the Arroyo regime is that the people are outraged by its gross human rights violations. The broad united front against the regime has become stronger. Instead of mending its ways, the regime has become even more arrogant and more violent. It is overdependent on the use of the coercive apparatuses of the state (army, police, courts and jails) and has a strong proclivity for using force even against the broad legal opposition and the people.

The Arroyo ruling clique has inflamed the contradictions among the reactionaries. We can expect more bitter and violent strife among them, especially after the 2007 elections. The contending reactionaries have private armed groups and their own factions among the officers of the armed forces and police. They are increasingly engaged in violent attacks against each other. In the face of the fratricidal strife within the ruling system, we must intensify the tactical offensives and raise the level of the people's war. We must take advantage of the splits within the ruling system and its general weakness. And we must also recognize that the Arroyo regime is trying to deceive the Moro revolutionary forces and deliver surprise blows on them. We must encourage the Moro people to persevere in the armed struggle for self-determination. Their armed struggle has served significantly to weaken the current regime and the entire ruling system. We must strengthen our alliance, cooperation and coordination with the revolutionary forces of the Moro people.

The simplest and best way to take advantage of the fractiousness and instability of the ruling system is to concentrate fire on the Arroyo ruling clique and its retinue of traitors, murderers and torturers, plunderers, racketeers and election-riggers. The broad masses of the people and the families of the victims of human rights violations cry out for justice. The people's court must issue the warrants for the arrest of the criminal suspects at every level. Then the NPA and its auxiliary forces can act to surveil, arrest them and give battle to them if they are armed or protected by armed personnel and resist arrest. The people and the NPA are not at all helpless against those who inflict state terrorism on them.

There must be a priority list in the standing order of criminal suspects to be arrested or to be given battle when they and/or their companions are armed and are dangerous. The highest priority must be given to those liable for the extrajudicial killings, abductions and torture. Since the actual human rights violators are often masked, the NPA must hold criminally responsible those with command responsibility, from the level of the commander-in-chief and her fellow plotters in the cabinet oversight committee on internal security to every lower level of command. At the same time, efforts must be exerted to conduct counter-surveillance operations on the death squads or special teams when they are on the job or when they park the motorcycles or vans in enemy camps or safe-houses.

To help ensure that justice is carried out for the victims of human rights violations, those most concerned about the victims and most determined to counter-attack the enemy may be allowed to help in the pertinent

intelligence and surveillance work. The barbaric attacks against the leaders and activists of democratic parties and organizations and against the people in both urban and rural areas impel all of us to accelerate the recruitment into the NPA as well as promptly provide the necessary sanctuaries and appropriate organizations and tasks for those whose lives and liberty are threatened by the enemy forces. Comrades, relatives, associates and friends of victims who wish to join the revolutionary underground or the NPA should be given priority in politico-military training. We can draw positive results from the martyrdom of the victims.

We can accelerate the rendering of revolutionary justice to those who are culpable for the heinous human rights violations. These are themselves vulnerable because their arrogance of power often makes them complacent and are not always in the protective company of their criminal accomplices. We may also avail of the assistance of anti-Arroyo elements within the military and police to identify these criminals or even act against them.

We must persevere in the strategic line of protracted people's war along the line of the national democratic revolution of the new type. We must encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate our armed strength until we have enough to be able to seize power in the cities and on a nationwide scale. We expect to go through the probable course of three stages: strategic defensive (when the enemy is on the strategic offensive), strategic stalemate (when our strength and that of the enemy are more or less the same) and strategic offensive (when the enemy is on the strategic defensive).

While we are on the strategic defensive, we change the balance of forces by launching tactical offensives, seizing arms from the enemy and making him bleed from a thousand wounds. In the face of the Arroyo regime's heightened total war and fascist aggression, we define the following central tasks at present: the intensification of our guerrilla warfare; the frustration and defeat of Oplan Bantay Laya II; the fight to oust the Arroyo regime; and the further strengthening and advance of the armed revolution.

The intensification of our guerrilla warfare to frustrate and counter the Arroyo regime's fascist attacks and terrorism is our most important urgent task. We must launch more frequent tactical offensives in each region, province and front, especially in areas where the revolutionary forces are larger and stronger. We must inflict heavier blows on the fascist enemy more often than it can strike at the people's army. The NPA can seize and maintain the initiative in battle through numerous, frequent and extensive tactical offensives.

We must put more focus and effort on tactical offensives that have major political effect. We must grasp the fact that each tactical offensive and battle contributes to our propaganda. In the face of the aggravating crisis and intensified political battles this year and the remaining years of the Arroyo regime, our delivery of head blows in concert with multiple body blows to the much despised regime is of particular importance. At stake is the preservation and further strengthening of our guerrilla forces and mass base. The intensification and spread of people's protests in various forms and the entirety of people's struggles are crucial in bringing down the hated regime.

The Arroyo regime pins on Oplan Bantay Laya II its vain hope of debilitating the armed revolutionary movement and the militant legal opposition forces before the end of its present term. We should study well its design, direction, components, tactics and weaknesses, and prepare all our forces in the people's army, the revolutionary mass base and the broad mass movement to effectively confront and defeat it. By frustrating and countering the enemy's attacks and exploiting its weaknesses, we can defeat Oplan Bantay Laya II as we did its predecessor Oplan Bantay Laya I.

The Arroyo regime wants to increase concentration of military operations and has principally targeted for encirclement and suppression campaigns one-third of NPA guerrilla fronts. But the reactionary armed forces can only concentrate on 10 or just a few more guerrilla fronts at any given time, and yet has failed to crush a single consolidated front. The Armed Forces of the Philippines has also diverted a significant part of its forces to extend Oplan Bantay Laya II and conduct military saturation drives and terror campaigns in the urban poor and worker community constituencies of progressive parties and open, legal democratic organizations.

The people's army has not only been able to preserve its forces, it has creatively devised means to maintain a certain level of operations, continue with its work among the people and make sure to strike back at the enemy in areas where it concentrates its attacks and sows fascist terror. In untenable situations, the NPA can easily shift and gain momentum in over a hundred more guerrilla fronts where enemy forces are thinly spread and weak and where the NPA forces remain free to expand and consolidate their strength and launch more tactical offensives against the regime.

Even in the midst of relentless battles, we must persevere in expanding and consolidating our forces, guerrilla



fronts and mass base. Opportunities are excellent for the NPA to organize the masses, recruit more Red fighters, establish local organs of revolutionary political power, respond to the needs of the masses and launch tactical offensives to seize weapons and weaken the enemy.

The intensification of the revolutionary armed struggle is coordinated with expanding and invigorating antifeudal, antifascist and anti-imperialist mass struggles and campaigns. We must give thorough attention to advancing campaigns that promote the people's livelihood and production, education and culture, health and enable them to achieve at least immediate relief to their various other daily problems.

The Party, the NPA and the revolutionary movement have developed further the capacity to engage the enemy's intensified fascist attacks and terrorism. Even as it needs to enlarge and strengthen itself to make greater advances, the NPA presently has the necessary capability and a deep and wide mass support to fight the attacks and ravages of the enemy forces and make these pay dearly for their fascist crimes.

In spite of the Arroyo regime's all-out war and fascist viciousness, the Party, the people's army and the revolutionary movement have solid confidence and concrete basis in declaring with utmost certainty that Oplan Bantay Laya II will fail and turn out as nothing more than bluster.

We are carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. To be able to do so, we must form more company-strength guerrilla fronts and more NPA combat platoons. At best, a guerrilla front has the strength of a company, with a platoon relatively concentrated to serve as the center of gravity and the other platoons relatively dispersed as squads or armed propaganda teams for the development of an extensive mass base.

The militia and self-defense units set up in every organized barrio in the guerrilla fronts serve as auxiliaries and reserves and as deep reservoirs of recruits for the NPA far more numerous than the present full-time fighters. They can multiply the strength of the present crop of full-time NPA fighters as soon as arms and politico-military training are provided. At the same time, we urgently need to deploy more cadres and step up the recruitment of urban-based workers and educated youth for revolutionary work in the countryside and the people's army and combine them well with the peasant fighters and veteran fighters.

We wish to advance from the early phase of the strategic defensive and develop the middle phase by multiplying the guerrilla fronts and guerrilla platoons as maneuver units until we reach the advance phase in which the guerrilla fronts shall have merged as stable base areas and developed companies as the maneuver units. We expect that in the course of time, as we seize more arms from the enemy, we can train and develop the personnel and units for higher levels of administration above the guerrilla front and higher levels of command above the guerrilla front's company command.

On the basis of the guerrilla fronts, we aim for the development of municipal, district, provincial and regional levels of administration and command. Now, it is possible for higher levels of administration and command to avail of, direct and coordinate combined units from lower levels for the purpose of tactical offensives. The national operational command and regional operational commands have their own centers of gravity.

For the purpose of preserving our forces and having a constant basis for growth, the guerrilla fronts should not send any unit into battle without sufficient preparation and the certainty of winning through superior position and strength and the element of surprise. Also, a guerrilla front should not put into battle all or most of its armed strength in any decisive win-or-lose engagement with the enemy. But there can be nationally and regionally coordinated tactical offensives in which the guerrilla front commands can participate by carrying tactical offensives well within their capabilities and without putting at risk the continued existence and growth of all the units under each command. The level of command, tactics, armaments and technique can rise on the basis of victories in the battlefield.

The NPA uses flexible tactics in a war of fluid movement. These include concentration, dispersal and shifting. It concentrates enough force to gain superiority over the targeted enemy unit. It also chooses the time and place for the attack and takes advantage of the element of surprise. It can disperse in order to retreat from the site of its own successful offensive and regroup elsewhere, in order to "disappear" before an advancing superior enemy forces, or in order to conduct mass work while conditions are favorable for such or while the enemy force is away. It can shift in order to circle around and evade a superior enemy force, or transfer to another area because the enemy is concentrating a large force on an area for an extended period.

The main offensive tactics of the NPA is annihilation of targeted enemy units. The main objective in fighting is

to wipe out the enemy unit and seize its arms. Most of the time this is possible by ambushing enemy units. At certain times, it is possible to raid the enemy position. When it is not possible to raid a well-fortified enemy position, it is the better part of wisdom and valour to wait for the enemy to come out to the road for an ambush. However, it is sometimes possible to disarm the enemy through surprise raids, arrest operations and checkpoints without firing a shot or with some casualties on his side.

Offensive tactics are of many types, from the simple ones to the relatively complex ones. The simple ones include the ambush, the raid and arrest operation on the enemy force in one limited place at one time, without any elaborate deployment of NPA fighters (such as attack, containing and blocking units). The relatively complex ones involve more elaborate troop deployment and wider time and geographic scale. Some of these tactics include: baiting an enemy unit to investigate an incident, ambushing an enemy unit to make a bigger ambush on the reinforcement, feigning an attack on the East to attack the West, attacking the vacated or weakened position where the enemy came from, using a small unit to lure the enemy into a big trap or a series of traps, zapping the enemy vehicles while these are stationary, delivering head blows on the enemy while he is minding the body blows and making the enemy bleed from a thousand wounds in regionally or nationally coordinated offensives.

It is self-defeating for the NPA to engage in attritive actions in which it loses plenty of ammunition and does not seize arms and ammunition. But the NPA can engage in certain attritive actions at the expense of the enemy, especially acts of harassment at little cost and with far-reaching benefit to the NPA. Sniping, grenades, land mines and mortars can inflict casualties on enemy troops in vehicles, marching or resting. The enemy troops can thus become demoralized, jittery and strained in their relations with their officers and fellow soldiers. The NPA can also use explosives and flames to destroy enemy positions, installations, transmission towers and lines, depots, vehicles and the like and compel the enemy to go into static guard duty. Actions of armed city partisans can also compel the military to go into guard duty in urban areas.

In the course of battle, we shoot to render the enemy troops incapable of fighting. But subsequently we allow those who wish to surrender to do so, we give medical treatment to the wounded and we also deal with the dead enemy troops respectfully in accordance with the NPA Rules of Discipline, International Humanitarian Law and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. It is up to the NPA commander to decide on detaining ordinary troops as prisoners of war. But as much as possible, the enemy officers must be detained for the purpose of investigating them whether they are liable for crimes or whether they are qualified for prisoner exchange.

Our policy of leniency towards prisoners of war is not only a matter of respect for human rights, discipline and legal compliance with the Geneva Conventions and CARHRIHL. It is also a matter of political consideration that the enemy troops come from the working classes and the junior field officers often come from the middle class. It is a matter of taking the moral high ground against the barbarism and inhumanity of the enemy. In accordance with our policy of disintegrating the enemy forces, we try to convince them that our revolutionary cause is just and that they can join it or stop fighting it. However, we do not take it against them if they return to their enemy units and we capture them again from the enemy side.

We must encourage anti-imperialist and democratic elements, groups and movements within the reactionary army and police. We must develop secret cells of the CPP and NDFP among them without their knowing each other as such. There are several groups of officers and their respective followers that are opposed to the Arroyo regime and its favorite officers. We should encourage these anti-Arroyo officers to develop their political and organizational strength against the Arroyo regime and not to expose this to the Arroyo favorites until the mass actions shall have become large enough for them to support these actions openly. Before then, they must promote within their ranks respect for human rights and the people's right to free speech and assembly. While we relate to allies in the military and police, we must have reliable links and adopt safeguards against counter-intelligence and betrayal. Allies are independent of us as much as we are independent of them.

As we celebrate the 38th anniversary of the NPA, we do not spend time discussing whether to resume the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations or not, because in the first place it is absolutely clear that the Arroyo regime has scuttled these negotiations and has vowed to destroy the revolutionary movement. We demand compliance by GRP with all agreements with the NDFP from The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 to the Oslo joint statements. And we cannot take lightly and let pass the criminal and treacherous abduction and probable murder of national and regional consultants of the NDFP and their staffers, the blacklisting of holders of NDFP documents of identification and

the escalating human rights violations by the GRP. With all resoluteness and valor, we respond to the clamor of the people for revolutionary change. We must defeat the brutal campaigns of the enemy and advance the national democratic revolution. We are highly confident that we shall win greater victories in intensifying our tactical offensives and in striving to raise our people's war to a new and higher level.

### ***III. Prospects of the people's war***

So long as imperialism and local reaction persist to oppress and exploit us, the Filipino people will persevere in the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We will continue to fight until we win national liberation, realize our democratic rights and proceed to the socialist revolution. It took our ancestors more than 300 years to attain national unity and liberate themselves from Spanish colonialism. It will take much less time to achieve national and social liberation from imperialism and local reaction because of the cumulative force of history even as this goes through ups and downs and twists and turns.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and domestic ruling system inflict intolerable suffering on the Filipino people. But this impels them to fight back and struggle for national liberation and democracy. The vow of the Arroyo regime to destroy the revolutionary forces, especially the NPA, before 2010 will not come true. Instead, before then, the NPA has ample opportunity to prove the inability of the regime to rule and has a good chance of causing its downfall. At any rate, we must intensify the tactical offensives and raise the people's war to a new and higher level. The crisis conditions are favorable to the growth in strength and advance of the NPA.

The US-directed policy of neoliberal globalization and the policy of global war of terror have brought to an unprecedented level the new world disorder of economic and financial crisis, fascism, racism and religious bigotry and wars of aggression. In so short a time, since the US became the sole superpower, it has accelerated the worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system. It is floundering in its own economic, social and political crisis at home and in the quagmire of Iraq. The struggles of the people for national liberation, democracy and socialism are clearly resurgent and are resounding throughout the world.

We are confident that the struggle of the proletariat and people of the world for greater freedom, democracy, social justice and all-round progress will continue to expand and intensify against imperialism and reaction. The resurgence of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles throughout the world is of great help to the strengthening and advance of the Philippine revolution. In turn the revolutionary victories of the Filipino people are contributory to the advance of the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world.

May 19, 2007

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## ***Introduction***

The subject of people's war in Southeast Asia is quite large. It would take at least a book to answer many of your possible questions. In a short discourse, I can only try to give you an outline of the subject, some important facts and ideas. Of course, I do so from my viewpoint. Thus, I prefer to describe my contribution as "notes" to signal that there is plenty of room for discussion.

Let me present to you the armed struggles led by communist parties in Southeast Asia before, during and immediately after World War II, focus on the people's war when Southeast Asia developed into the storm center of the world proletarian revolution from 1960 to 1975, evaluate the post-Mao China policy against people's war in the region, describe the people's war in the Philippines and explore the prospects of people's war in Southeast Asia.

Arranged chronologically according to their order of establishment were the following communist parties that led armed struggles at one time or another in Southeast Asia:

1. Communist Party of Indonesia (organized as the Communist Association of the Indies in 1920 under the auspices of the Communist International and renamed Communist Party of Indonesia in 1924)
2. Communist Party of the Philippines (Communist Party of the Philippine Islands in 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines as merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties in 1938 and the Communist of the Party of the Philippines as reestablished in 1968)
3. Communist Party of Vietnam (Communist Party of Indochina in 1930, Vietnam Workers' Party in 1951 and Communist Party of Vietnam in 1976),
4. Malayan Communist Party (1930)
5. Burmese Communist Party (1939)
6. Communist Party of Thailand (Communist Party of Siam in 1942)
7. Party of Democratic Kampuchea (Kampuchea People's Revolutionary Party in 1951, Cambodian Communist Party in 1960 and Party of Democratic Kampuchea in 1981)
8. Lao People's Revolutionary Party (Lao People's Party in 1955 and Lao People's Revolutionary Party in 1975)
9. North Kalimantan Communist Party (1971)

### ***1. Before World War II, 1926 to 1941***

Under the auspices of the Third Communist International (Comintern), communist parties were established in Southeast Asia before World War II. The earliest to be established was the Communist Party of the East Indies in 1920. It had the distinction of being the first communist party in the whole of Asia. It led an armed uprising for national liberation against Dutch colonialism in 1926, the first armed struggle in the region led by a communist party. The armed uprising was brutally suppressed by the Dutch colonialists but gave the Communist Party of Indonesia the highest prestige as the fighter for the national liberation of the Indonesian people.

Under the shadow of the Great Depression and upon the intensified work of the Comintern, the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands, the Communist Party of Indochina and the Communist Party of Malaya were organized in quick succession in 1930. The Vietnamese communists launched in 1930 and 1940 uprisings against French colonial rule. Both failed but raised the prestige of the communists as fighters for national and social liberation. The Communist Party of the Philippine Islands was suppressed by the US colonial authorities a few months after its founding. The exile and imprisonment of the principal leaders served to pressure the legal cadres to stay within the bounds of legalism with regard to the questions of national liberation and agrarian revolution.

The peasant masses were severely exploited in these countries. Thus, there were spontaneous peasant uprisings in the 1920s and 1930s in Southeast Asia. But in general the communist parties were not able to systematically arouse, organize and mobilize the peasants for the purpose of waging a protracted people's war against colonialism and feudalism through the encirclement of the cities from the countryside until the accumulation of armed strength made possible the seizure of political power in the cities.

The main thrust of the political work of the communist parties in the 1930s was to oppose the Western colonial powers and seek national liberation through all forms of struggle. Like the Filipino, Indonesian and

Indochinese communists against US, Dutch and French colonialism respectively, the Malayan and Burmese communists were so focused on opposing British colonialism that it took sometime for them to accept entirely the decision of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 to focus the revolutionary struggle against the fascism of Germany, Italy and Japan and develop the popular front with forces associated with the Western colonial powers but were opposed to fascism.

The Southeast Asian communist parties gradually took the anti-fascist position and more quickly after Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China in 1937. However, in the case of the newly-established Communist Party of Burma, principal party leaders Thakin Aung San went to Japan in 1939 for military training against British colonialism and came back to form the Burmese National Army. Japanese fascism had been using the slogans of nationalism and Asian economic co-prosperity sphere to oppose the Western colonial powers in Southeast Asia.

## ***2. In the course of World War II, 1941 to 1945***

Immediately following its surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Japan invaded the Southeast Asian countries. The communist parties of Southeast Asia exposed the phenomenon of fascism and the inter-imperialist war as the result of the rotten character and crisis of the world capitalist system, called for the national unity of all anti-fascist forces and the building of the people's armies and other revolutionary forces against Japan.

The inter-imperialist war created the excellent conditions for the communist parties and the people to build their revolutionary strength in fighting the Japanese invasion and occupation. The communist parties organized people's armies against Japan mainly among the peasant masses, engaged in land reform and built organs of political power in Indochina, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma.

The Communist Party of Indochina had organized the Revolutionary League for the Independence of Vietnam (Viet Minh) since 1941 to unite the communist and other anti-fascist forces to engage in guerilla warfare against the Japanese invaders and occupiers. It succeeded in building a powerful people's army based in the countryside and in building organs of political power and mass organizations. Ultimately, it defeated the Japanese aggressors, launched the uprising of August 1945 to seize political power, proclaim the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and suppress the pro-Japanese collaborators and made preparations to fight the plan of the French colonialists to reconquer Vietnam in 1946 and thus to ignite the First Indochina War.

The Communist Party of Indonesia was able to build guerrilla forces during the resistance against Japan and an alliance of the left wing and youth section of the Indonesian Socialist Party. These were the most reliable forces for upholding the proclamation of national independence by Sukarno in August 1945, frustrating the British military intervention and continued use of Japanese military units and fighting the return of Dutch colonialism to Indonesia. The US also began to intervene in Indonesian affairs.

The merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties in the Philippines organized the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) in 1942, independently of the US Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE). Despite Right opportunist errors in strategy, it was able to build units of the people's army and organs of political power and carry out land reform. But it overconcentrated in only one region close to the national capital region and was unable to expand the revolutionary movement on a nationwide scale.

US imperialism took tremendous special efforts to reconquer the Philippines as a colony because of its strategic importance in the US counteroffensive against Japan and the US plan to impose its hegemony over the whole of Southeast Asia even at the expense of its imperialist allies. As early as September 1943 the US had started its bombing operations in the Philippines to destroy Japanese forces and to prepare for massive US troop landings in 1944.

Right opportunism persisted in undermining the merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties because of the leadership's decision to welcome the return of the US imperialist military forces and the puppet Commonwealth government. Subsequently, the Browderite line of peace and democracy blew in from the Communist Party of the USA, which had had a long relationship with the merger party.

The Malayan Communist Party built the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army and cooperated with British military forces in fighting against the Japanese occupation. But it maintained its initiative and independence. It demanded the independence of Malaya from British colonialism upon the defeat of Japan, thus incurring the hostility of British imperialism which was determined to recolonize Malaya and secure British interests in Southeast Asia.

The Burmese Communist Party took a major role in organizing the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League

(AFPFL) to fight the Japanese occupation which began in 1941-42. The AFPFL cooperated with the British military forces to expel the Japanese in 1945. Later on, it came under the control of military officers who increasingly became anti-communist, chauvinist and militarist. The Burmese Communist Party and the national minorities resisted the military regime.

### **3. Aftermath of World War II, 1946 to 1959**

After proclaiming the independence of Vietnam in 1945, the Viet Minh formed the National Assembly in January 1946. The French government recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a free state of the French Union in March 1946 but declared war against it in November of the same year and began the First Indochina War. It set up the puppet government of Bao Dai in Saigon in 1948. The people's army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam strengthened its bases in northern Vietnam and gained support from the victorious Chinese Communist Party in 1949.

In 1951 the Indochinese Communist Party decided to divide into three parties in to order let them focus on the problems in their respective countries. The kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos were recognized by France as "independent states" of the French Union in 1953. In the name of the Cold War, the US started to give substantial political and financial support to the French war effort in 1949 and at the same time increased its influence among prospective Vietnamese puppets. The Vietnamese people's army defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 on the eve of the Geneva Conference.

The Geneva Conference of 1954 agreed to divide Vietnam into North and South temporarily and to reunite it after elections in 1956. But the US-supported Ngo Dinh Diem regime that had deposed the Bao Dai regime in 1955 refused to hold elections. Following orders from the US, it declared South Vietnam a republic. A Filipino lawyer asset of the US Central Intelligence Agency drafted the constitution of the phoney republic.

The Ngo regime unleashed a reign of terror against the Viet Minh, the people and all opposition forces, including patriotic religious organizations. Local revolts occurred in 1957. A full scale civil war developed in 1959. This began the Second Indochina War, in which the US increased its military intervention until this became a full-scale war of aggression.

Following the declaration of Indonesian national independence in 1945, Indonesian president Sukarno proceeded to call for national unity to fight against the British military forces and thereafter the Dutch military forces who sought to reconquer Indonesia. At first, he relied mainly on the disciplined and battle-tested guerrilla forces of the Communist Party of Indonesia and on the left-wing and youth section of the Partai Sosialis Indonesia. But he and his vice president Hatta increasingly relied on the pro-US and pro-Western military officers, including those who had served in the Japanese occupation army. The communists were massacred in Madiun in 1948 to make way for the neocolonial compromise in the Round Table Conference Agreement.

Challenged by the US and pro-US forces and ultra-reactionary forces in Indonesia represented by Hatta and the right wing forces of the Masjumi and Socialist Party, Sukarno sought once more the alliance of the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1951. The Communist Party of Indonesia ordered its remaining armed units to disband and appeared to thrive politically by pursuing the peaceful and parliamentary road of struggle and by keeping an anti-imperialist alliance with Sukarno and his nationalist following.

It was able to increase its party membership, rapidly build large mass organizations and won 16.4 percent of the votes in the 1955 elections. It was able to stand up against the US military intervention and armed rebellions of the pro-US ultra-reactionary forces in 1958. In this connection, it was able to build militia units and gain followers and influence within the military and police of the Sukarno government. But subsequently, it agreed to relinquish leadership over its armed units and submit them for integration in the Indonesian army. The Communist Party of Indonesia became bound to the Right opportunist and revisionist line of legalism and parliamentarism and wishing to enlarge the "pro-people aspect" of the Indonesian semi-colonial state of the big compradors and landlords.

The old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties pushed for and welcomed the grant of nominal national independence to the Philippines by the US in 1946. It agreed with the reactionary authorities to demobilize the people's army and surrender its arms despite the rising brutal acts of the US and local reactionary forces against units of the people's army and the peasants who had undertaken land reform during the Japanese occupation. It was heavily influenced by the Browderite line of peace and democracy. It formed the Democratic Alliance to compete in the electoral struggle.

The Democratic Alliance won enough seats in Congress in 1946 to prevent the passage of an amendment in

the 1935 Constitution for the purpose of allowing US corporations and citizens to have rights at par with the Filipinos in exploiting Philippine natural resources and operating public utilities. The puppet government ousted from Congress the progressive members on false charges of electoral fraud and terrorism. Moreover, the brutal attacks on the people in the revolutionary areas escalated. Thus, the ground was laid for a decision of the old merger party in 1948 to start revolutionary armed struggle. But only in the latter half of 1950 was the people's army able to launch some relatively large offensives on a wide scale along the Sierra Madre mountain range.

The "Left" opportunist line of seeking to win complete victory in two years' time without painstaking mass work, without land reform and without building the people's army in stages but relying on the growth of the spontaneous uprising of the people due to the severe crisis of the system and violent contradictions among the reactionaries proved disastrous. The enemy was able to launch a sustained counter-attack against the forest-based camps of the people's army and capture most of the city-based principal leaders in 1950-52. Since then, the old merger party swung back to Right opportunism, including the orders to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the party in 1957, and caused the party to become moribund, until efforts were made to revive it from 1959 onwards.

The British colonialists legalized the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army but banned it in 1948 and declared a state of emergency in order to suppress it. Peace talks between the Malayan communist leaders and the chief ministers of Malaya and Singapore broke down as the latter officials demanded the dissolution of the Malayan Communist Party. The state of emergency was ended in 1960 after the authorities estimated that they had virtually crushed the people's army. But in fact this continued to fight from a relatively secure area along the Thailand-Malaya border area.

After being expelled from the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League in 1946, the Burmese Communist Party launched an armed revolution in 1948. It operated mainly in Central Burma and the in the Arakan mountains and Irrawaddy delta. It engaged in alliances with the minority nationalities that were also waging armed struggle against the Burmese reactionary government. It engaged in peace negotiations within this government in 1958 but these did not stop the people's war.

The people's armies led by communist parties in Southeast Asia stood their ground against the attempts of the old Western colonial powers to reconquer and reimpose their rule on their former colonies. The people's armies were also resolutely and vigorously against the attempts of the US to expand its hegemony. The resounding victories of China against the US-Guomindang tandem inspired the communist parties of Southeast Asia to engage in people's war. The US became more aggressive in carrying out the Cold War in Asia from 1948 onwards as well as in unleashing the wars of aggression against Korea in 1951-53 and in the next decade in Vietnam

#### **4. *People's wars in Southeast Asia, 1960 to 1975***

The communist and noncommunist forces in the armed struggle against the US-supported Ngo Dinh Diem regime united to form the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in 1960. In 1961 the US began to deploy large numbers of "advisors" in the South Vietnamese military and bureaucracy and in 1964 it began to launch military operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by land, sea and air.

The US war of aggression against the people of Vietnam became indubitably clear with the rapid deployment of hundreds of thousands of US troops and with large military operations from US military bases inside and outside of Vietnam. The Vietnamese communists and people were determined to carry out a war of national liberation against the US war of aggression through the strategy of protracted people's war.

At that time, the Vietnam Workers Party was close to the Communist Party of China under Comrade Mao Zedong. It was disappointed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under Khrushchov was hyping the general line of peaceful coexistence and the road of peaceful transition and was not interested in assisting the Vietnamese communists in people's war. It was only after the overthrow of Khrushchov that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under Brezhnev extended support to the Vietnamese war of national liberation. Consequently, the Vietnam Workers' Party took a centrist position in the Sino-Soviet ideological debate.

The US escalated its military intervention through military advisors and military supplies to the level of a full-scale war of aggression involving hundreds of thousands of troops, huge US military bases and US fire bases all over South Vietnam. It engaged in all types of vicious military campaigns in South Vietnam and made frequent bombing raids on North Vietnam. The Vietnamese people intensified their resistance and inflicted heavy casualties on US and puppet troops on the ground, shot down thousands of US planes and destroyed convoys of enemy vehicles.

The US instigated the military coup in Cambodia against Sihanouk by Lon Nol in 1970 in the vain hope of disrupting and preventing the passage of supplies for the South Vietnam National Liberation Front through either the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail or ports of Cambodia. Earlier in 1968 the Communist Party of Kampuchea had launched the armed revolution against the Sihanouk government. But the overthrow of Sihanouk by Lon Nol brought about the conditions for the alliance between the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the forces of Sihanouk with the support of the Communist Party of China.

The people's war led by the Communist Party of Cambodia advanced very rapidly. The alliance of patriotic forces formed the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao-tian revolutionary parties and peoples united in waging people's war against US imperialism and its puppet forces. Their intensified people's wars compelled the US to negotiate towards the Paris Peace Accord of 1973 and paved the way for the total victories of their revolutionary struggle for national liberation against US imperialism.

From 1960 onward, the calls for people's war in Southeast Asia resounded against the continuing aggressiveness of the US in expanding its hegemony. In the growing Sino-Soviet ideological debate the revisionist line of Khrushchov did not dull but sharpened the resolve of the communist parties to wage armed revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China further sharpened such resolve and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao was enthusiastic in supporting the communist parties that decided to wage people's war in Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Kalimantan Utara and the Philippines. All these had long been inspired by the victories of the Chinese people in the new democratic and socialist revolutions and in making a great breach on the imperialist front in the East.

Even the Communist Party of Indonesia, which had become the biggest communist party among those in nonsocialist states by pursuing the line of peaceful and legal struggle from 1951 to 1965, began from 1963 onwards to consider the necessity of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. It was then categorically expressing support for the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party in the ideological debate against the line of modern revisionism espoused by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchov. But it also wanted to retain friendly relations with the Soviet party.

It intended to "prepare" for the armed struggle by waging the campaign of rural investigation and intensified peasant organizing, the campaign to nationalize foreign enterprises and the "crush Malaysia" campaign. It called on the Sukarno government for arming the people, especially the militia. But it remained unclear on whether to wage armed struggle against the semi-colonial state and was vacillating about what form of armed revolution it would undertake, even as the US, British and Dutch imperialists and their puppets headed by Suharto were feverishly preparing to massacre the Indonesian communists, their mass following and sympathizers in 1965-66.

The debacle of the Indonesian communists was in sharp contrast to the growing victories and ultimate victory of the Indochinese communists against US imperialism in the period of 1965 to 1975. But the communists of Indonesia were still expected to fight back and recover their debacle through people's war. However, they did not succeed in their initial efforts at people's war in Blitar and Kalimantan in 1967 and 1968. Their further defeat allowed the US, British, Dutch and Japanese imperialists to take advantage of the oil and other natural resources of Indonesia. The North Kalimantan Communist Party was founded only in 1971 and had some armed units. It was unable to sustain and develop its revolutionary armed struggle.

Since 1961, the Communist Party of Thailand had taken a strong Marxist-Leninist position in the Sino-Soviet ideological debate and decided to adopt the strategic line of protracted people's war. It started guerrilla warfare in 1965 in the northeastern provinces of Thailand along the border with Laos, where they won the support of the Meo tribesmen, and subsequently spread to the northern provinces and to the extreme south, where the Malayan Communist Party and people's army were based. The Thai People's Liberation Army received considerable support after 1970 from China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It was able to carry out major offensives, including raids on US air force bomber bases in Thailand.

In the early 1960s the Burmese Communist Party also took a strong Marxist-Leninist position in the Sino-Soviet ideological debate. In 1967 the Communist Party of China openly declared its support for the Burmese communists and their people's war. The Burmese Communist Party transferred its headquarters to the Chinese border area and received substantial military assistance from China. However, in 1967-68, it mishandled a rectification movement and committed grave errors which undermined the revolutionary integrity, strength and prestige of the party in the short and long term.



As early as 1959 the proletarian revolutionaries in the Philippines were already desirous of resuming the armed revolution along the general line of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. They were also enlightened by the international debate between the Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists in the early 1960s and inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 onwards. But they were also desirous of summing up and analyzing the concrete conditions and revolutionary experience in the Philippines, rectifying errors and rebuilding the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass movement for a certain period of time before launching the people's war.

The rectification movement under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought began in 1967. The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on December 26, 1968 and in a few months' time founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. The enemy tried to nip the armed revolutionary movement in the bud from 1969 to 1971, pitting a full division against a few squads of the NPA, but failed. Then in 1972 the Marcos regime began to impose a fourteen-year fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. The revolutionary forces and people grew even stronger through people's war.

The period of 1960 to 1975 may be described as the period when the whole of Southeast Asia was the focus of the storm of the world proletarian revolution through people's war and the eye of the storm was in Vietnam and then the whole of Indochina, when the people's war completely triumphed in 1975. In view of this great victory, there were bright hopes for the peoples of Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines to persevere in people's war and win their own great victories.

#### **5. *Post-Mao policy of China, 1976 to the present***

In the last five years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 1971-1976, the Rightist and Centrists in the Communist Party of China had gained so much ground in weakening the Left, in devaluing the need for people's war in Southeast Asia, in giving priority to developing rapprochement with the US under the guise of opposing the Soviet Union.

Ultimately, after the demise of Comrade Mao Zedong, the alliance of Centrists and Rightists paved the way for a counterrevolutionary coup and the restoration of capitalism, under the slogans of "reforms" (capitalist-oriented reforms), "opening up to the world" (integration into the world capitalist system) and "promoting peace, stability and economic development in the region" (including the withdrawal of support from the Southeast Asian communist parties, the dissolution of Central Committee delegations of fraternal parties in China and wherever possible the liquidation of people's war).

What obfuscated China's policy of liquidating people's war in Southeast Asia was its conspicuous support for Democratic Kampuchea from 1975 onwards and in the entire duration of the Third Indochina War from 1979 onwards, its opposition to the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam and its counter-invasion of Vietnam also in 1979 and its support for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CDGK) based on the three-way alliance of the Party for Democratic Kampuchea (the erstwhile Communist Party of Kampuchea), the Sihanouk forces and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front led by Son Sann in 1982, extending until 1991.

But the Party of Democratic Kampuchea was put in the position of being cornered by its two major allies in the coalition government. It was supported by China but it was also required to collaborate with the US and Thai governments to allow all allies in the coalition government to have bases along the Thai border and free passage of personnel and materiel to and from Kampuchea across Thailand. Democratic Kampuchea retained the UN seat of Kampuchea until 1982. Then this was passed on to the CGDK until 1993.

The Party of Democratic Kampuchea became bound to agreements in 1991 under the auspices of the UN to liquidate the people's war and attain national reconciliation among all political forces through elections in the 1993 under the supervision of the UN peacekeeping mission. The Party of Democratic Kampuchea was outmaneuvered by the other political forces, including its allies in the CGDK, and by the US, Chinese and Thai governments. It backed out of the agreements and resumed the people's war after realizing that it had been outmaneuvered. But by then, it had become isolated and deprived of the support of its former foreign supporters. The Party of Democratic Kampuchea went into a process of rapid disintegration from 1996 to 1998.

The war between Vietnam and Kampuchea disrupted the previous important relations and arrangements of the Communist Party of Thailand with the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos. China also used its support for the Party of Democratic Kampuchea and its allies in the coalition government to advise the Communist Party of Thailand to refrain from revolutionary radio broadcasts against the Thai

government and finally to close down its Yunnan-based radio broadcasting station.

In connection with its policy of peace, stability and economic development and policy of supporting the resistance in Kampuchea, the Chinese authorities had advised, pressured and induced the Communist Party of Malaya to make a peace agreement with both the governments of Malaysia and Thailand since the early 1980s. The peace agreement was done in 1989. Subsequently, the Malayan Communist Party liquidated itself, surrendered its arms to the Thai authorities and converted the former revolutionary base at the Thai-Malaysian border into a tourist spot.

There are reports that upon Deng Xiaoping's return to power, the Chinese authorities prevented the leaders of the communist parties of Thailand and Burma from promptly communicating and meeting with their forces across the border. It may be true that these parties suffered setbacks due to external factors. But in the first place there are internal factors to consider. A communist party has to develop on its initiative and be self-reliant. Otherwise it becomes dependent on another party and becomes vulnerable to dictation from the outside.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand based in Northeast Thailand was predominantly Chinese and failed to expand towards the non-Chinese communities in the plains and to handle correctly the thousands of Thai students who had joined the revolution after the military coup of 1976. The Thai government succeeded in attracting back these students with an amnesty proclamation in 1982. From that time on, it was able to make military advances on the armed base of the people's army and to arrest cadres of the communist party in urban and rural areas. There is no open manifestation of the current existence and activities of the Communist Party of Thailand.

Nearly all members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma were outside of Burma. Unable to cross the border from China, they could not have a handle on the people's army which increasingly came under the control of localist commanders. But the Communist Party of Burma still shows some signs of life, such as a website and statements by a prominent communist general who was one of the major founders of the Burmese National Army but who joined the Burmese Communist Party. The Burmese military regime had rebuffed previous proposals of the Burmese Communist Party to retain its armed units and some territory in exchange for a truce.

#### ***6. Perseverance and development of the Communist Party of the Philippines***

By virtue of its own history and circumstances, the Communist Party of the Philippines could be reestablished in 1968 and could resume the revolutionary armed struggle in 1969. A series of major Right and "Left" opportunist errors had afflicted the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties and needed to be rectified in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The Right opportunist line of reducing the units of the people's army to small teams of three to five members and refraining from tactical offensives from 1942 to 1943 and welcoming the return of the US from 1943 to 1945 limited the development of the people's army in the course of World War II and subsequently derailed the revolutionary mass movement towards legalism from 1946 to 1948. It shifted to "Left" opportunism when the party decided in 1948 to wage armed struggle and win in two years' time, without developing the people's army in stages, implementing land reform and carrying out painstaking mass work. After the arrest of the principal cadres in 1950, Right opportunism came back with a vengeance and continued until the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968.

The CPP was among the parties least expected to succeed in people's war, supposedly because the Philippines was an archipelagic country, without the advantage of having a common land border with China. That is not the only disadvantage. The Philippines is the favorite secure base from which US imperialism launches all kinds of intervention and military aggression in Asia. The ruling classes of big comprador and landlords are well schooled and trained in counterrevolution. Moreover, the US-Marcos regime imposed a 14-year long fascist dictatorship on the people. But it failed to destroy the CPP and the revolutionary movement. Instead, these grew from small to big and from weak to strong.

The CPP has proven that under correct leadership it can preserve and develop the people's army and other revolutionary forces, such as the organs of political power and the mass organizations. It has generated powerful mass movements in the economic, social, political and cultural fields for the benefit of the people along the line of national democratic revolution. The people's army has been waging people's war for more than 38 years, far

longer than it took China to win the people's democratic revolution. The CPP has learned much from the teachings of Comrade Mao about protracted people's war and has successfully applied these on the concrete conditions of the Philippines.

But there are those who might say that the people's war has been extremely protracted in the Philippines. If this is said to demoralize the people and the revolutionary forces, the riposte is: how much more successful at social revolution or basic reforms are those who have engaged mainly or solely in legal and electoral struggle or those who have been wishing for a quick victory in armed struggle?

The CPP has accumulated enough revolutionary experience and knowledge to respond to the challenge of accelerating the advance of the people's democratic revolution. In this connection, it must study well and analyze the concrete conditions of the Philippines. At the same time, it must consider how people's war can resurge in Southeast Asia and in other global regions under the present crisis conditions of the world capitalist system.

### ***7. Prospects of people's war in Southeast Asia***

There are some bright prospects, especially in the objective conditions, for the resurgence of people's war in Southeast Asia. The world capitalist system is in an increasingly severe economic and financial crisis. Southeast Asia has never fully recovered from the crisis of 1997. This has been covered up merely by new lethal doses of foreign borrowing to cover trade and budgetary deficits. The people of Southeast Asia suffer from intensifying exploitation and oppression. They are therefore being driven to wage resistance.

The policy of "neoliberal globalization" has accelerated as never before the concentration and centralization of productive and finance capital in the hands of a few imperialist powers. The adoption of higher technology has only served to maximize imperialist profit-taking and step up the accumulation of constant capital and reduction of variable capital for wages. After every round in the crisis of overproduction, unemployment rises and incomes of the working people sink, thus the market is further constricted.

The economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system has become so grave and deep that it is leading to acute political crisis and pushing the monopoly bourgeoisie to step up military production, whip up war hysteria, chauvinism, racism and fascism on a global scale and unleash wars of aggression under the pretext of a permanent and preemptive global war of terror. Since 9/11, US imperialism has been drumming up the line that the Philippines and the adjoining countries with large oil resources and Muslim population constitute the "second front" in the "global war on terror".

The restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries has resulted in the increase of imperialist powers competing for economic territory (sources of oil and other natural resources, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence) and struggling for a redivision of the world. The world cannot accommodate too many imperialist powers. As the US and the NATO preoccupy themselves and are overextended in Iraq and Afghanistan, their attention to other parts of the world is reduced or their spurts of attention are increasingly rebuffed by the people and various forces.

The basic contradictions in the world are intensifying, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples, those among the imperialist powers and those between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries. Driven by greed for oil, the US imperialists insist on staying in Iraq and are incurring significant losses. Elsewhere in the world, especially in South Asia, there is high probability of widespread people's war. We can also look forward to the emergence of revolutionary forces in countries where the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation drive the people to wage armed resistance.

In Southeast Asia, there is something precious to learn from the experience of the Communist Party of the Philippines in preserving and developing the people's army and in waging people's war for more than 38 years. If protracted people's war is viable in a country like the Philippines, it should be even more viable in a country like Indonesia, with a bigger number of people suffering from semicolonial and semifeudal oppression and exploitation and with an archipelagic and rough terrain of a scale far larger than that of the Philippines.

Indonesia has the high potential of becoming a major field of people's war against the US and other imperialist powers that were behind the massacre of more than three million Indonesians and the 33 years of the military fascist dictatorship of Suharto. We are gratified to know that proletarian revolutionaries here are determined to pursue the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and to grasp and realize such three magic weapons, as the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party, the people's army and the united front.

As the Communist Party of the Philippines was able to rise from the ashes of the 1950-52 defeat of its

predecessor party and from the prolonged period of violent anti-communist reaction, so can other communist parties in Southeast Asia rise from defeats and setbacks through summing up and analysis of conditions and experience, through a rectification movement and through resolute and militant efforts to resume the revolutionary struggle.

In a country where the people have won the new democratic revolution through people's war and are carrying out socialist revolution and construction, modern revisionism can rear its ugly head in the bureaucracy and generate the line and policies for the restoration of capitalism. The genuine communists and the people can wage the ideological struggle and the cultural revolution to combat modern revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism. They can wage people's war if the modern revisionists succeed in overthrowing them. If they fail to do so, a later generation of communists will wage people's war under worse conditions of social retrogression.

***Seize the Initiative, Launch the Offensives***  
***to Reap Victories for the 40<sup>th</sup> NPA Anniversary***

**March 29, 2008**

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With utmost joy, we celebrate the 39th anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army by the Communist Party of the Philippines. We salute all Party cadres and members, Red commanders and fighters and the broad masses of the people for their long-accumulated and recent victories in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords.

We honor and congratulate you for achieving highly significant political and military victories. We pay our highest respects to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes for having sacrificed the most in order to advance the great red banner of our just revolutionary cause.

We look forward to the achievement of far greater victories in the revolutionary struggle in the forthcoming year. We wish to achieve these victories in order to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the NPA. We can reap great victories by continuing to seize the initiative and launching far more tactical offensives against the enemy than last year.

The US-Arroyo regime is daydreaming as it boasts that it can destroy or reduce the NPA to an inconsequential force before 2010. Oplan Bantay Laya 1 failed miserably to destroy a single guerrilla front from 2002 to 2007. Oplan Bantay Laya 2 is bound to fail even more miserably in the few remaining years of the regime. The regime itself is in grave trouble and is on the brink of an ignominious downfall.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is worsening rapidly. This oppressive and exploitative system will rot faster than ever before as the crisis of the world capitalist system has resulted in a global depression, unprecedented since the Great Depression, due to the unraveling of the US-dictated policies of "neoliberal globalization" and "global war on terror." The conditions are exceedingly favorable for the people's war in the Philippines and for all forms of revolutionary antiimperialist resistance by the people throughout the world.

***The world capitalist system in the throes of depression***

The world capitalist system is in the throes of a depression. Gone are the days when the abuse of credit could facilitate sales and conjure the illusion of growing economies. The core of the system, which is the US, is exposed as afflicted by a grave economic and financial crisis and is generating waves of economic and social ruin in all imperialist countries, in the largest so-called emerging markets and worse than ever before in the general run of underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At the base of the global crisis is the crisis of overproduction in the real economy. New technology has raised higher the social character of production but has also whipped up the private monopoly character of appropriation. The policy of "neoliberal globalization" has accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in the US and a handful of monopoly capitalist countries through the denationalization of the less developed countries, liberalization of investments and trade, privatization of public assets and deregulation, against the social rights of the working people, women, children and the environment.

The maximization of monopoly profit through the expansion of constant capital and the reduction of the wage fund and social spending by the government in the US and other imperialist countries has contracted global and domestic markets and have steadily resulted in the decline of industrial production and the increase of unemployment. More efficient means of transport and communications have pushed the imperialist powers to out-source the manufacturing of consumer goods in a few less developed countries like China and India in which the cost of labor is far lower. The high end of industrial production, especially of goods which are most profitable or are related to military policy and war, is retained. Growth of irregular employment in the service sector has failed to make up for the general decline of regular employment in the industrial sector.

Since the onset of the 1980s, the imperialist policy makers have presumed that inducing economic growth is merely a matter of making available an abundant supply of money and credit and countering the boom-and-bust cycles of capitalism with gentle manipulation of interest rates and with the least state intervention in the so-called

free market. The fundamental crisis of overproduction has been recurrent and has become worse from period to period but it has been covered up by ever increasing doses of credit for generating consumption, piling debt on debt and pure speculation.

The celebration of the US as the engine of growth and as the market of last resort for the world economy is practically over. The US national debt of US\$9.4 trillion is proving to be intractable. It is the result of higher trade deficits due to outsourcing of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods as well as budgetary deficits due to the tax cuts for the monopoly bourgeoisie and the ever growing payments to the military industrial complex, overseas military development and the wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is understandable why the US dollar is in rapid decline when one looks at the US national debt and industrial decline.

But the financial crisis of the US involves not only the massive national debt. US monopoly corporations have also engaged in excessive borrowing through bank credit and sale of corporate bonds. The US investment houses and banks are facing the prospect of bankruptcies under the combined weight of corporate bad debts and the bankruptcies of most US households due to the current subprime mortgage meltdown on top of failed stock purchases during the high-tech bubble.

In recent years the growth of the global economy has been conjured by the fluctuating growth rates of around 2-4 percent in capitalist countries (except Japan) and by the high growth rates in so-called emerging markets like China and India and in major oil-producing countries. But in the current and prospective years, the global growth rate is bound to go down drastically because of the tightening international credit and the consequent decline of production.

The financial crisis of the US has spread like an epidemic to the other imperialist countries. These countries also expect their exports to suffer as a result of the decline of the US dollar. China, India and the Southeast Asian countries that are dependent on US orders for the manufacturing or semi-manufacturing of consumer goods are bound to suffer from reduced production and closure of shops. At the same time, the rising costs of fuel and food imports will adversely affect most countries of the world.

The current socioeconomic crisis in the world capitalist system is expected to be prolonged because it is extremely grave and deep-going. It is the result of so many decades of abusing domestic and foreign credit for the benefit of the imperialist powers and at the expense of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. Even before the current severity of the crisis, the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been in a constant state of depression since the overproduction of raw materials in the late seventies. The life of extreme oppression and exploitation for the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, is becoming far more intolerable than ever before.

We can expect that there will be more frequent and bigger outbursts of mass protests against the deterioration of socio-economic and political conditions in the US and other imperialist countries as well as in the so-called emerging market countries like China and India. Wherever life is most impoverished and miserable and the level of exploitation and oppression is escalating, the broad masses of the people are launching various forms of struggle, including militant mass protests and revolutionary armed struggle. The imperialists and their reactionary puppets do not heed grievances but unleash state terrorism against the people and pretend to be the ones conducting a "war on terror."

Under the auspices of US imperialism all the imperialists and reactionary puppets in the world continue to use the slogan of antiterrorism in order to repress the people who fight for national liberation and democracy, to engage in wars of aggression against countries that assert national independence, and to persecute and destroy leaders and forces that take an anti-imperialist position.

For more than five years, the Bush regime has failed to defeat the Al Qaeda, which it has accused of responsibility for 9/11. Instead, it has concentrated its war of aggression on Iraq on false pretenses in violation of international law. This war has resulted in the death of more than 1.2 million Iraqis, the displacement of more than four million and the devastation of the economy and social infrastructure of Iraq. But it has also cost the US death casualties of 4,000 troops, serious injury to more than 30,000 and other illnesses of 260,000. The US has already officially allocated up to the present US\$700 billion on the wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, exceeding the cost of war in Vietnam. Actual total cost of the war to the US has already run up to more than US\$3 trillion, and this is estimated to double or triple before 2010.

The US has put itself in a quagmire because of its greed for the oil resources of Iraq and its scheme to

strengthen its hegemony over the Middle East and the rest of the world. Because it is sinking in the quagmire in Iraq, the US is losing effectiveness even within the ambit of the Middle East and Central Asia. Farther away, it is still regarded as the sole superpower, but a fading one that is afflicted by industrial decline and financial crisis and whose military power is overextended and ineffective at close quarters fighting. In all global regions, the US has dual relations of economic cooperation and competition as well as political collusion and contention with other imperialist powers and certain regional powers.

The US and its closest imperialist allies have dual relations with Russia and China in Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East, with China in East Asia and Africa and with India in South Asia. In Latin America, the current Chavez government has been able to dramatically stand up against the US policies because of US overextension elsewhere in the world. As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens, there is increasing multipolarity and complexity and the tendency of the imperialist powers to struggle for a redivision of the world in terms of economic territory and political hegemony.

Various forms of anti-imperialist resistance are being waged by the people in imperialist countries and in all other kinds of countries. But the most decisive forms of anti-imperialist struggle are those that involve the struggle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution. In this kind of struggle, the people answer the central question of revolution in the most effective way. The revolutionary armed struggles for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines, India, Colombia and other countries are playing an important role in taking advantage of the current and prospective crises of world capitalism. They show the way how advancing the politico-military revolution enables the people to carry out social revolution and defeat imperialism and its reactionary allies.

#### ***Arroyo regime aggravates crisis of ruling system***

The Arroyo regime has aggravated and deepened the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system beyond what the Marcos fascist regime and the succeeding pseudo-democratic regimes of Aquino, Ramos and Estrada did. The systematic application of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal or “free market” globalization has thoroughly prevented economic development through national industrialization and genuine land reform and has kept open the floodgates to US and other foreign monopoly firms in violating economic sovereignty and selling out the national patrimony through the denationalization of the economy, liberalization of investments and trade, privatization of public assets and the most antisocial and anti-environmental forms of deregulation.

The Philippine economy has remained dependent on raw material (agricultural and mineral) production for export and the semimanufacturing of consumer goods for reexport to the imperialist countries in exchange for the far higher valued imports of essential consumer and producer goods, components of semimanufacturing, fuel and food. The Philippines is an agrarian country, but its agricultural production has been lopsidedly in favor of certain export crops and is subjected to dumping by foreign agricultural producers. Thus, it has become a net food importer at an increasing rate. Currently, it faces the grave problem of shortage and soaring price of rice. This problem has already caused malnutrition on a national scale and starvation in certain areas.

The reactionary state has sought to cover the deficits in trade and in the budget by engaging in ever greater amounts of foreign and local borrowing from year to year. This is also how the Arroyo regime has been able to conjure the illusion of growth in gross domestic product, even as the borrowings and other resources are used for debt service, consumption at all levels, unbridled profit-taking by the multinational firms and cronies of the regime and the overpriced and graft-ridden state contracts for the equipment of the bureaucracy and the military and for substandard infrastructure projects.

The data for the foreign and local borrowings of the Philippine reactionary state are always understated through certain devices from period to period. The latest available figure places the national debt at ₱3.871 trillion or US\$81.91 billion excluding the so-called contingency liabilities in which the state assume the liabilities whenever the state or private corporate borrowers fail to fulfil their obligations. The Arroyo regime has the distinction of having borrowed ₱2.83 trillion from 2001 to 2006, overshadowing the ₱1.51 trillion total borrowings of the Aquino, Ramos and Estrada regimes in 14 years, from 1986 to 2000.

In recent years, the Arroyo regime has been increasingly compelled to borrow from the global commercial market by selling bonds and to take tied loans or credit lines from China, Japan and other countries. It has also resorted to increasing the tax burden on the people but the collection of tax revenues has continued to decline because of bureaucratic corruption and the depression of the Philippine economy. The current economic and

financial crisis of the world capitalist system is already resulting in such adverse conditions for the Philippines as the global credit squeeze, the rapid deterioration in terms of trade and larger budgetary deficits due to decreasing tax collection in a further depressed economy. The Philippine peso has started to rapidly depreciate and will further depreciate at an accelerated rate.

The yearly claim of the growth of the gross domestic product by the Arroyo regime does not show the distribution of income and the aggravation of poverty in the country. On the contrary, it covers up the fact that most of the social wealth created by the people and the foreign and local borrowings flow into the hands of the foreign multinational firms and banks, the big compradors, the landlords and the corrupt bureaucrats. The growth of the GDP does not signify socio-economic upliftment of the people but exposes how much they are fleeced by their exploiters.

Under the current conditions of economic crisis and depression in the Philippines, the political crisis of the ruling system is becoming more bitter and more heated than ever before. The contradictions among the factions of big comprador and landlord politicians are sharpening. The anti-Arroyo factions are encouraged by the growing democratic mass movement against the Arroyo regime and are gaining ground over the Arroyo ruling clique by exposing the regime's corruption, human rights violations and servility to foreign interests.

The Arroyo regime is terribly afraid of impeachment or ouster from power and possible prosecution for its high crimes against the people. Thus it is using the coercive apparatuses of the state to intimidate the legal opposition. It has gone to the extent of kidnapping and threatening the life of a government official who has agreed to testify before the Senate against the ruling clique in the National Broadband Network scam fixed by big comprador bureaucrats on the Philippine and Chinese sides.

Under the direction of the US-instigated global war of terror, the Arroyo regime has used state terrorism under Oplan Bantay Laya not only to seek the destruction or weakening of the armed revolutionary movement but also to intimidate and destroy the broad range of opposition forces. It has engaged in extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances and torture of progressive legal activists and the filing of false charges against the progressive opposition leaders not only to destroy the legal forces of the national democratic movement but also to intimidate the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces and discourage them from going into a broad united front with the legal patriotic and progressive forces.

However, the broad united front against the corrupt and brutal Arroyo regime is resilient and becoming more vigorous mainly because of the resoluteness and militancy of the forces of the national democratic movement. The opposition forces led by those vying to replace Arroyo from the presidency are wary that if she were ousted and her vice-president would take over the presidency in her interest and would have enough time to consolidate power for running for the presidency in 2010. But if the broad united front fails to discredit, isolate and put Arroyo always on the brink of downfall she could recover to some extent and gain the position of choosing her successor in order to protect herself against criminal prosecution.

The long running division among the reactionary military and police officers into political factions and criminal syndicates is a major manifestation of the rottenness and weakness of the ruling system. However, certain patriotic military and police officers have emerged to denounce and oppose the Arroyo regime and a number of them have been imprisoned since 2003. They are inspiring the military rank and file to uphold the principle of civilian supremacy, to respect the people's right to speak and assemble and to withdraw support from the Arroyo regime. They are eagerly awaiting the protest mass actions to reach the level of at least 100,000 at Edsa or before the presidential palace in order to make a dramatic act of withdrawing support from the regime.

The broad masses of the people are seething with outrage over the Arroyo regime's puppetry to imperialist interests, its unbounded corruption and its gross and systematic human rights violations. They are determined to wage protest mass actions in the national capital region and on a nationwide scale until the Arroyo regime is ousted from power. The demand for the ouster of the Arroyo ruling clique rings loud in the factories, farms, communities and institutions like the schools and churches, and in various types of gatherings of whatever size. All forms of mass media are being used to expose and oppose the Arroyo regime and call for its ouster from power.

The people are rallying to the calls of the organized forces of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata and the issue-based organizations and movements. The people are being mobilized by an echelon of alliances: the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie and



the broad united front that includes the anti-Arroyo reactionaries who are temporary and unstable allies.

It is the immediate aim of the people to oust the Arroyo regime from power before 2010. All efforts are being exerted to achieve this aim. But if the regime persists and tries to put its own successor in power, the people's outrage will become even sharper. The weaknesses of certain allies in the broad united front do not discourage the patriotic and progressive forces but encourage them further to use their independence and initiative to enlarge the mass movement, determine its course and accelerate its advances. The growing protest mass actions have compelled the Arroyo regime to deploy more military and police personnel in urban areas. At the same time, the New People's Army has been intensifying its tactical offensives in the rural areas.

The prospects for resuming the formal talks in the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are dim or nil. The Arroyo regime is unwilling to do away with the many obstacles it has put up and even demands the capitulation of the NDFP as precondition to mere exploratory talks. The main and essential thrust of the Arroyo regime is to seek the destruction or strategic defeat of the revolutionary movement before 2010. It is opposed to peace negotiations within the framework of The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992. Instead, it tries in vain to use deceptive tactics, such as so-called "localized peace talks" and "amnesty and rehabilitation" as adjuncts of the military campaigns of suppression. These tactics are all calculated to mislead and divide the people and at the same time allow the regime and its military agents to enrich themselves by fabricating fake lists of amnesty beneficiaries.

The CPP, NPA and NDFP are prepared to resume formal talks in the GRP-NDFP negotiations after the downfall of the Arroyo regime or to end the peace negotiations if the next reactionary regime continues the policy of the Arroyo regime on the question of peace negotiations. They must intensify the people's war and take advantage of the people's outrage over the crimes of the Arroyo regime in order to isolate and weaken and eventually overthrow the ruling system of the big compradors and landlords.

### ***The invincibility and advances of the New People's Army***

The New People's Army is invincible and continues to score revolutionary victories because it is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines along the line of new democratic revolution through people's war. It serves the national and democratic rights and interests of the people and it therefore enjoys the active participation and support of the people in the revolutionary movement against the extremely oppressive and exploitative system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The US-directed Arroyo regime are engaged in wishful thinking by repeatedly announcing their objective of destroying or "reducing to inconsequentiality" the people's armed revolution before 2010. History has shown that the Marcos regime failed to destroy the newly resurgent revolutionary movement from 1969 to 1986, including 14 years of fascist dictatorship from 1972 onward. It merely succeeded in generating conditions for the growth and advance of the NPA and all other revolutionary forces. Despite bourgeois democratic pretenses to sugarcoat the armed counter-revolution, the post-Marcos regimes, from Aquino to the Arroyo regime, have likewise failed to destroy the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement.

The NPA is battle-tested and tempered like steel in the crucible of revolutionary armed struggle for nearly forty years. It has an inexhaustible source of strength in the broad masses of the people. It has accumulated rich experience in preserving and further strengthening itself, fighting the enemy and winning victories in the political, military, economic and cultural fields. The rank and file of the CPP and NPA have remained steadfast in upholding their revolutionary cause. The incorrigible subjectivists and Right and Left opportunists have served only to push the proletarian revolutionaries in the CPP and the revolutionary movement to undertake the Second Great Rectification Movement and to win resounding victories in educating the revolutionary rank and file on the basic principles, rectifying errors and shortcomings, developing all-round strength and defining the revolutionary tasks in the clearest of terms.

Together with the CPP and NDFP, the NPA has become stronger precisely at the time that the Arroyo regime is thoroughly discredited and isolated and that the entire ruling system has become more rotten and weaker than ever before. The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the domestic ruling system have become far worse than ever before. The conditions are exceedingly favorable for the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement to grow in strength as a fighting, propaganda, productive and cultural force, to seize initiative and intensify the armed struggle and gather the widest possible popular support through the united front policy and tactics.

Oplan Bantay Laya 2 failed miserably in its objective in 2007, as OBL 1 has failed in 2001-2006, to concentrate

the reactionary armed forces and regional mobile police units in 600 barangays in some 10 to 12 guerrilla fronts in six regions all at the same time in order to clear barangays of the NPA, hold them for an extended period and develop them against the people's army. The military and police forces could hardly occupy 300 barangays at every given time and have failed to destroy a single guerrilla front of the NPA. The enemy simply does not have enough troops and resources to cover extensive areas of the country. The NPA can freely move in at least 80 percent of Philippine territory.

The NPA has easily moved in the wide gaps in the deployment of enemy brigades between enemy battalions, between companies and between platoon-size special operation teams. The NPA has been able to maneuver in order to be on the exterior line in concentrating the Red fighters for tactical offensives to wipe out enemy units. It has been able to disperse and shift position in order to evade the enemy with superior strength and at the same time secure a position for launching offensives against the enemy. Enemy units are withdrawn from a guerrilla front either because of the need to be deployed in other guerrilla fronts where the NPA is launching more frequent tactical offensives or in Moro areas whenever the level of armed conflict rises there. Whenever enemy forces vacate an area, the NPA disperses its units in order to do mass work and further develop the mass base and mass support.

From Phase 1 to Phase 2, Oplan Bantay Laya has perpetuated gross human rights violations. It has carried out mass intimidation, arbitrary arrests and detention, massacres, assassinations and torture, enforced disappearances, rape, arson, food blockades and forced evacuation of rural and indigenous communities to serve the landgrabbing interests of foreign corporations, mining companies, high bureaucrats and local tyrants. Oplan Bantay Laya has gained global notoriety for the killing of legal mass activists of workers, peasants, youth, women, religious leaders, journalists, lawyers and judges, human rights activists and NDFP consultants. The victims are first maligned by the military as "communists" and "enemies of the state" before they are murdered or disappeared. After murdering or disappearing them, the political, military and police authorities of the Arroyo regime blame the NPA for the criminal deed and further malign the victims as having been victimized by their own comrades for supposedly malversing funds or being enemy spies. The murderous and deceptive scheme of the criminals in power cannot hoodwink even the UN special rapporteur on extrajudicial killings.

It is sheer fantasy for the enemy to think that Oplan Bantay Laya 2 can destroy or reduce the NPA to "inconsequentiality" within the period of 2007 to 2010. The NPA has mastered the strategy and tactics of the people's war against the brutality and deceptiveness of Oplan Bantay Laya. It has delivered fatal blows to wipe out enemy units and to render impotent the rest of the armed forces and police.

In the one year period before the current NPA anniversary, the NPA was able to launch more than 500 major and minor tactical offensives against the enemy. It has been able to increase the number of NPA units as a result of the seizure of weapons from the enemy and the progress of mass work. It has been able to maintain 120-130 guerrilla fronts and to expand and upgrade most of them. It is now in a position to increase the number of guerrilla fronts. These can be the building blocks of relatively stable base areas and even as the enemy causes some fluctuation in the number of guerrilla fronts due to concentrated onslaughts.

The NPA owes its great victories to its resolute and militant implementation of the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It follows the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines as the advanced detachment of the working class. The Party makes sure that the national democratic revolution is to be basically completed through the overthrow of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system before the socialist revolution can follow. It wields the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as the two powerful and invincible weapons of the revolution.

The Party is at the head and at the core of the NPA. It makes sure that the three integral components of people's war are developed. These are the building of the people's army through revolutionary armed struggle, the carrying out of agrarian revolution and the building of base areas as the political, military, economic and cultural bulwark of the revolution.

To build the NPA, the Party makes sure that the Red fighters are recruited from the revolutionary mass movement, particularly from the ranks of cadres and mass activists, the local militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations. It provides the recruits with politico-military training, and the soonest possible participation in tactical offensives. More and more Red commanders and fighters gain experience and the arms to increase the number of NPA units by launching tactical offensives against the enemy.

The people's army and the people's war have developed in the countryside over a protracted period of time because of the support of the peasant masses. They join and support the people's war because they are interested in agrarian revolution. They are the majority of the people. The fulfilment of their outcry for land is the main content of the democratic revolution.

The minimum land reform program has been implemented on a national scale. In many areas, the land in the hands of brutal agricorporations, despotic landlords and landgrabbers have been recovered and redistributed to the peasants, farm workers and national minorities. The time has come to extend in a big way, the main land reform program. This is becoming possible through the success of the minimum land reform program as well as the growing strength of the revolutionary peasant movement and the people's army. The growing strength of the peasant movement and that of the people's army interact and support each other to advance genuine land reform and destroy the power of the land-based exploiters and oppressors of the people.

All basic factors for building relatively stable base areas are present. These can grow from the existing guerrilla fronts which cover 9,000 barangays in 70 provinces and 800 municipalities. The most advanced guerrilla fronts can merge to form the relatively stable base areas. At the same time, efforts are being exerted to increase the number of guerrilla fronts in each one of the 173 congressional districts in the provinces. The NPA plays a decisive role in building the guerrilla fronts as well as developing them to become stable base areas at the provincial level. These serve as stronger political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution.

As political bastions, guerrilla fronts have the organs of political power at the barrio, municipal and district levels, which are supported by the mass organizations and the working committees assisting the organs of political power in matters of mass organization, mass education, economy, finance, health, defense, arbitration and cultural activities. As military bastions, they have the NPA as well as the militia units and the self-defense units. As economic bastions, they implement the land reform program and raise production in agriculture and sideline occupations. As cultural bastions, they promote the activities of the cultural troupes of the NPA and those of the various mass organizations.

### ***The fighting tasks of the NPA***

The NPA must take full advantage of the rapid worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system. As the broad legal united front exerting all efforts to oust the Arroyo regime from power, the NPA must intensify its tactical offensives and carry out vigorously related revolutionary activities with the active participation and support of the masses.

The Arroyo regime is now so afraid of the people that it is increasing the number of military troops in urban areas to guard the high bureaucrats and their big private collaborators and intimidate the broad masses of the people. It is also deploying more troops to guard mines, plantations, logging areas and installations like fuel depots, power lines and towers, communication towers and others. There is therefore a decreasing number of troops for direct offensive actions against the NPA. With the enemy forces being compelled to take guard duties, they become more dispersed and are more vulnerable to tactical offensives by the NPA.

The NPA must harvest greater victories in the current year to celebrate its forthcoming 40th anniversary and to avail of the opportunities for launching offensives as a result of the worsening crisis of the ruling system, the people's outrage over the puppetry, corruption and brutality of the Arroyo regime and the growing mistakes and weaknesses of the enemy. Greater victories must also be achieved in developing the united front for armed struggle as well as for legal struggle.

The guerrilla fronts must increase in number from the current level of 120-130 to 173 in order to cover all congressional districts in the provinces. These must be seed units for building new guerrilla fronts. The seed units could be at least two squads or platoons divisible into armed propaganda teams. In building relatively stable base areas, it is a matter of administrative political cohesion at first and all-round development of a number of guerrilla fronts.

The regional Party committee and the regional operational command must see to it that Party committees and operational commands at the provincial and congressional or guerrilla front level are working effectively and developing further. The assignment of Party cadres especially from the ranks of workers and educated youth to the NPA must be accelerated. The recruitment of Red fighters must be heightened. They must come from the ranks of mass activists, the militia and self-defense units. They must be provided with politico-military training and assigned to offensive actions to gain experience as soon as possible.

The main purpose of intensifying the tactical offensives is to seize weapons and increase the number of Red fighters and fighting units of the NPA. Certain enterprises (mines, plantations, logging, etc.) and certain installations are targeted by the NPA because these are detrimental to the interest of the people. By attacking these, the NPA compels the enemy to deploy guard units at separate places, each one of which or whose line of supply is vulnerable to further offensive actions by the NPA. It is of strategic importance to dismantle mining, plantation, logging and other operations of foreign and big comprador firms because the people do not want to be robbed of their natural resources and because they wish to use these in the future for the development of their own country. The Arroyo regime has wantonly opened the natural resources to answer for the foreign debts.

The NPA must arrest for trial the worst of plunderers, human rights violators and other anti-social criminals. Formal complaints must be drawn up to serve as basis for the people's court to issue warrants of arrest and seizure of case pertinent materials. If the criminal suspect does not surrender himself for investigation and is armed and dangerous or has armed bodyguards, those assigned to arrest him should be ready to give battle. A criminal suspect for whom a warrant of arrest has been issued by the people's court may be considered resisting arrest if he does not surrender himself to or through any authority of the people's government.

The minimum land reform program must be raised to the level of the maximum program whenever the latter is already possible due to the success of the minimum land reform program, the sufficient strength of the peasant mass movement and the NPA, and the weakness, paralysis or flight of the class enemy. Production in agriculture and other lines of economic activity must be raised. The Party, the NPA and the peasant movement must firmly and vigorously apply the anti-feudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants and workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, taking advantage of the splits in the landlord class and isolating and destroying the political power of the despotic landlords.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA must play a major role in building the guerrilla fronts and the stable base areas. In its mass work, it must establish the organs of political power and the mass organizations. It must augment its military strength by training the militia and self-defense units for the mass organizations. It must develop propaganda and cultural teams and urge the mass organizations to do likewise. It must encourage the public school teachers who are still paid by the reactionary government to undertake revolutionary education among the students. It must support the work of the people's court and enforce its decisions.

We are confident that in the near future we shall be able to develop the revolutionary struggle from the middle to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive, multiply the number of platoons for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever widening and deepening mass base, gain the capability to undertake company-sized and battalion-sized offensives under provincial and regional commands, carry out agrarian revolution on an ever widening scale at an accelerated rate, and govern combinations of guerrilla fronts as relatively stable base areas.

# *Win Greater Victories in the People's War*

March 29, 2009

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With boundless joy, we celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29 under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Since then, the NPA has won great victories in the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We congratulate all the Red commanders and fighters, the Party cadres and members in the NPA and the broad masses of the people for their accumulated and current victories. We render the highest tribute to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. Our high revolutionary principles, courage, perseverance, hard work, fierce struggle and sacrifices have won us our victories since the establishment of the Party and the NPA.

The NPA stands today as the largest revolutionary army built by the Filipino people nationwide. It is larger and stronger than the Philippine revolutionary army that fought Spanish colonialism from 1896 to 1898 and against US imperialism from 1899 onward. It is also larger and stronger than the People's Liberation Army against Japan from 1942-45 and the People's Liberation Army from 1949 onward.

The NPA today is far stronger than itself in the 1980s. It has excelled as a force fighting the enemy, spreading revolutionary propaganda, organizing and mobilizing the masses in campaigns for advancing their national and democratic rights and interests. It is the main organization for defeating and overthrowing the reactionary state and for establishing the people's democratic government. It has succeeded in integrating the revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass base building.

It has built its strength by waging tactical offensives within the stage of strategic defensive and looks forward to carrying out bigger offensives in subsequent strategic stages of the people's war. It is attending to the demand for land reform and all other demands for the attainment of national and social liberation. Thus, it has won the participation and support of the peasant masses and the rest of the people in the armed revolution.

With the NPA, the people have been able to establish revolutionary organs of democratic political power. These draw strength from the mass organizations and the mass campaigns. With the NPA as its weapon, the people's democratic government is developing and is bound to defeat and replace the reactionary state of the big compradors and landlords completely.

The NPA has benefited from the First Great Rectification Movement against the Lavaite opportunists and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in the 1960s and 1970s and the Second Great Rectification Movement in the 1990s. Through these rectification movements, the NPA has reaffirmed basic revolutionary principles, has enabled itself to overcome errors and weaknesses in ideology, politics and organization and has always emerged ever stronger.

The NPA has overcome tremendous odds posed by military campaigns of suppression unleashed by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the succeeding post-Marcos regimes. It has proven to the entire world that it is possible to wage a protracted people's war successfully in an archipelagic semicolonial and semifeudal country dominated by the US imperialists and the most clever and cruel puppets.

It is precisely through fighting the armed counterrevolution that the NPA has grown in strength and advanced. It has totally frustrated and defeated Oplan Bantay Laya I (OBL I) from 2001 to 2006 and Oplan Bantay Laya II (OBL II) from 2006 onward. The brutal attacks unleashed by the US-directed Arroyo regime on the broad masses of the people, including communities and unarmed activists from various walks of life, have isolated and weakened this regime and discredited it throughout the world.

Today, the NPA enjoys high prestige as a revolutionary force. It shines as a valiant fighting force against the rottenness of the Philippine reactionary ruling system and the current regime of puppetry, corruption, cruelty and mendacity. As the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system worsens, the NPA is availing of the exceedingly favorable conditions for people's war and winning greater victories and accumulating strength. The broad masses of the people clamor for the intensification of the people's war and are waging all forms of struggle.

### ***1. Deepening depression of global capitalism***

Not so long ago, the imperialists and their camp followers were gloating that China, the Soviet Union and other revisionist-ruled states, which they misrepresented as socialist, were in turmoil and were carrying out the full and undisguised restoration of capitalism. They were proclaiming that the cause of national liberation and of socialism were hopeless and that history cannot go beyond capitalism and liberal democracy. Since then, the monopoly capitalists have launched ideological, political, economic and military offensives against the working people and the revolutionary forces. Now, the world capitalist system is imploding.

The worst financial and economic crisis of the world capitalist system since the Great Depression has rapidly spread from the US as its epicenter and continues to deepen with no end in sight. It is well on the way to becoming the Greater Depression, wreaking havoc on the forces of production and the lives of the broad masses of the people throughout the world. The current depression has been running since the latter half of 2007 but the imperialists and the local reactionaries persist in calling it a mere recession.

The policy of "neoliberal" globalization has collapsed. It has utterly failed to overcome the chronic tendency of monopoly capitalism to stagnate and go into ever worsening cycles of boom and bust. US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system are engulfed by economic catastrophe and gloom. The "free market" dogma is being condemned widely as a hypocritical slogan of the monopoly bourgeoisie for privatizing profit and "socializing" losses.

Trillions of US dollars have been handed over by the US federal government to the giant banks and other financial corporations since 2007. Only belatedly and inadequately has it adopted relief measures for a small percentage of the tens of millions of people who have lost their jobs, homes, savings, pension funds and social benefits.

For three decades, the imperialist powers headed by the US have implemented the policy of pressing down the wage levels of the working people, cutting back on government social spending and making more capital available to the monopoly bourgeoisie supposedly in order to counter stagnation and inflation and to stimulate economic growth. They have blamed the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s on rising wage levels and government social spending and not on the over accumulation of capital in the hands of a few, the growing competition among imperialist powers and the demand-pull inflation caused by excessive military spending.

The imperialist powers firmed up an international division of labor with themselves in charge of high-tech production of capital goods and other big items (weaponry and luxury items), with a few other countries allowed to produce some basic industrial products and low value-added consumer semimanufactures and with the overwhelming majority of countries consigned to providing cheap labor and raw materials.

The problem of monopoly capitalism in pushing down the wage and income levels of the working people in the imperialist countries and abroad is the recurrence of the crisis of overproduction at ever worsening levels at every round. Thus, the policy of "neoliberal" globalization has repeatedly unleashed ever more serious financial and economic crises from decade to decade.

Nevertheless, the imperialist policymakers have presumed that such crises can always be overcome by deregulating the financial markets and resorting to debt financing. Debt financing is supposed to enable the monopoly bourgeoisie to beat the tendency of the falling rate of profit; states to overcome rising levels of budgetary and trade deficits; and households to maintain high levels of consumption despite the reduction of regular employment and income. But even if from time to time debt financing could seem to stabilize the so-called free market and conjure the false illusion of economic growth, the unsustainable accumulation of debt would ultimately collapse on the entire economy.

The current grave financial and economic crisis is rooted in a) the maximization of profit through the ceaseless cheapening of labor power; b) the accumulation of both productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the course of competition; c) the crisis of overproduction resulting in further overaccumulation of capital; and d) the drive of the monopoly bourgeoisie to overcome the tendency of the rate of profit in production to fall by extracting profit from the creation of fictitious capital and sheer financial speculation. This explains the unbridled expansion of credit and the money supply, the invention of derivatives, financial bubbles and overvaluation of assets. The financialization of the economy in the hands of an oligarchy and the overaccumulation of finance capital for the purpose of control and speculation characterize the US.

The policy of "neoliberal" globalization accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in the hands

of the imperialist powers, with the US taking a full 70 percent of global capital. To push down the wage levels in the US economy, the US monopoly bourgeoisie opted to outsource consumer manufacturing from countries with very cheap labor as in China and to use debt financing to cover huge deficits in trade with the major European countries, Japan, China and others.

But the US monopoly bourgeoisie could not just leave the US working class and middle class alone with decreasing regular employment and incomes. It devised one financial bubble after another: the savings and loans association bubble of 1986-1989, the high-tech bubble of 1995 to 2000 and then the housing bubble of 2002 to 2006 in order to make credit available to the working class and the middle class for buying stocks and houses and make them share the "irrational exuberance" and the "wealth effect" and ultimately to fleece and dispossess them.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, particularly the financial oligarchy of all imperialist countries, have pursued the same policy of "neoliberal" globalization under the US baton. Thus, all the imperialist countries have been gravely afflicted by the serious crisis and have spread the plague to the other countries with which they have bilateral and multilateral economic and financial relations.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has ceaselessly waged a fierce class struggle against the proletariat and people by using the instruments of state power (all branches of government, especially the coercive apparatuses) to suppress trade union and other democratic rights and bring down the wage and income levels of the working people. It has also used the educational system, the mass media and other persuasive means to steer the working class away from waging class struggle in a conscious and organized way.

But the moment of truth has come. In the wealthiest and most iniquitous country of the world, the broad masses of the people are outraged that there are no prompt and adequate relief measures for the working people who have lost their jobs, whose homes have been foreclosed, whose pension funds have been lost in 401K and other investment scams, who suffer the lack or dearth of unemployment relief, medical care and other social benefits. The persistent adherence of the officialdom and the finance oligarchy to the policy of "neoliberal" globalization is obstructing and delaying the adoption of Keynesian measures in the effort to stimulate demand and production.

Social discontent and unrest are spreading in all imperialist countries-in the US, the European Union, Japan and Russia. The workers, youth, women, migrants and other people are demanding democratic rights and social justice. There is polarization in imperialist countries as the monopoly bourgeoisie try to distract the people from the urgent social and political issues with slogans and acts of chauvinism, racism, anti-terrorism and war-mongering.

At any rate, the current severe and protracted economic crisis provides favorable conditions for the working class and the rest of the people in the imperialist countries to build progressive and revolutionary parties, mass organizations and movements against monopoly capitalism and for socialism. The broad masses of the people need to lift themselves from the economic and social morass, prevail over the repressive and aggressive instruments of the imperialist state and to promote revolutionary solidarity among all peoples.

The Obama regime seems to be drawing away from the worst features of the Bush-hyped "global war on terror". But the fact remains that US imperialism is the No.1 force in the occupation of Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine, the military intervention in the Philippines and many other countries and in the maintenance of hundreds of US military bases and forward stations all over the world. The people in the imperialist countries and the rest of the world need to unite and move against the wars of aggression unleashed by the US and other imperialist powers.

As the financial and economic crisis worsens, the tendency towards multipolarization and intensified struggle for a redivision of the world is growing among the imperialist powers. The imperialists have no effective center for unifying overall economic policies as well as urgent fiscal and monetary policies. Unlike in the past, no single country like the US or financial institution like the IMF now can claim to have the sufficient pool of funds for advancing stabilization loans. The US and the IMF are begging China, Japan and some oil-producing countries to ante up the funds, as if these countries were not themselves adversely afflicted by the crisis.

Any imperialist state that is serious in generating stable jobs tends to make its own plan of reviving production. The Obama regime has already been accused by other imperialist countries of protectionism for requiring "Buy America" in its economic stimulus package and for extending direct financial support to the giant car and other manufacturing firms.

In contrast to the arrogant unilateralism of the Bush regime, the Obama regime is stressing multilateralism in US relations with allies and is thus trying to make imperialist interventions and wars of aggression more effective under US command. But the worsening economic crisis and competition for energy resources, raw materials, markets and fields of investment are straining relations among the imperialist powers. Resentment is growing over the US use of its military power to grab the lion's share of spoils. Russia, France and Germany have expressed resentment towards superpower arrogance and global hegemonism of the US.

US-China relations are also strained by economic and military contradictions. China is worried that the US is building up a new big bubble in US treasury bonds, that it can rapidly devalue these, that it is deliberately reducing its demand for China's exports and that it is seeking to revive its own manufacturing capacity for export. China is deeply concerned that the US wants to maintain military supremacy in the Asia-Pacific region and carries out shows of military strength and provocations in the region in order to keep China in a position of subordination.

Among so-called emerging markets, China is the biggest US partner. But the current economic and financial crisis is making the US ever more wary of China's domestic and foreign policies that are assertive of national sovereignty and independence, despite the long period of Sino-US collaboration within the framework of global capitalism.

Those hit hardest by the global financial and economic crisis are the overwhelming majority of countries that are dependent on the export of raw materials and are ever in need of foreign loans to cover their trade and budgetary deficits. There is now a drastic reduction of demand for their exports and a credit crunch. The IMF and the World Bank do not have enough resources for lending. All the promises of unilateral debt relief for the most impoverished countries and poverty alleviation and development for all underdeveloped countries have long been proven empty.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe have been economically and socially devastated for decades under the IMF-imposed structural adjustment programs and under the policy of "neoliberal" globalization. They are rapidly being further degraded economically and politically in the current crisis. They undergo terrible suffering and are impelled to resist and strive for national and social liberation.

The peoples in countries victimized by imperialist wars of aggression, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan, have been the most fierce in waging armed resistance and inflicting casualties on the imperialist and puppet forces. Under the current global crisis conditions, they are more than ever inspired to fight for national liberation.

All armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy, such as in the Philippines, India, Tamil Eelam, Turkey, Palestine, Colombia, Peru and Nigeria, are more confident than ever of growing in strength and advancing amidst the current global crisis. The revolutionary forces pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war are providing a clear example to the peoples of Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, Middle East, Latin America and Africa.

The crisis is bound to deepen further and run for a long time. It is conducive to the development of the subjective forces of the revolution through various forms of mass struggles in many countries and in all continents. The security officials of the imperialist powers, especially the US director of national intelligence, have started to express fears that the current global crisis can worsen to the point of bringing about conditions of turbulence comparable to those of the 1920s and 1930s in the imperialist as well as underdeveloped countries.

## ***II. Smash the rotten ruling system***

The constant demagogic line of the US-directed Arroyo regime is that the armed revolutionary movement is the cause of underdevelopment. It is rather the extremely oppressive and exploitative semicolonial and semifeudal system which causes underdevelopment that generates the armed resistance. The exploitativeness and oppressiveness of the ruling system have been aggravated by the regime's subservience to US imperialist policy dictates in the economic, political, military and cultural fields.

Under the policy of "neoliberal globalization", the Arroyo regime has pushed denationalization, liberalization, privatization and deregulation. It has used legislation and executive fiat to negate economic sovereignty and national patrimony, allow the unrestricted flow of foreign investments, to let foreign monopolies take over public assets, natural resources and all types of businesses and do away with all regulations that previously served to protect public interest, the working people, women, children and the environment.

By following the policy of "neoliberal globalization", the Arroyo regime has opposed the people's demand for national industrialization and genuine land reform. It has limited the economy to raw-material production and low



value-added semimanufacturing for export. It has gone so far as to allow the dumping of agricultural surpluses on the country, thus ruining domestic food production.

The regime has deepened the preindustrial, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy and thus is always beset by budgetary and trade deficits and by ever mounting foreign and local debt. As it is now engulfed by the global financial and economic crisis, the economy is sinking rapidly due to the drastic reduction of demand for its exports, the drying up of international credit, the flight of speculative foreign capital and the fall in the amount of remittances from overseas contract workers.

The broad masses of the people are suffering grievously from the breakdown of production and depressed condition of the economy. The rate of unemployment is rapidly rising. Incomes for the basic masses and the middle social strata are falling. The prices of basic commodities are soaring and social services have deteriorated.

The people are therefore rising up to protest and condemn the puppetry and corruption of the regime. They are making demands for policies and measures to overcome the crisis and revive the economy, to keep jobs at decent wages, to assure a means of livelihood for all families of the lower and middle classes and to ensure sufficient food production.

The regime is reacting violently more than ever before to the democratic mass movement of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata. It has escalated military and police assaults on communities under the pretext of "counterinsurgency" in order to displace the people and grab the land for the benefit of agri-corporations, mining companies, logging companies and the like. It has carried out extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances and torture of unarmed activists as well as other civilians who are close relatives and friends of suspected revolutionaries. It vilifies them as "enemies of the state" and sets them up for the worst forms of human rights violations.

For its arrogance and brutality, the regime finds support in the growing US military presence and intervention in the Philippines. It is US imperialism that is instigating the gross and systematic violations of human rights through the US-RP Mutual Defense Board, Joint US Military Advisory Group, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) agents and their Filipino intelligence assets and the US-indoctrinated and trained puppet bureaucrats and security officials.

The new chieftain of US imperialism Obama has followed the path of Bush in endorsing the brutal military policy of the Arroyo regime by justifying it as antiterrorism. Thus, the regime continues to pipedream about destroying or weakening both the legal democratic mass movement and the armed revolutionary movement of the people before the middle of 2010. It draws confidence from such unequal agreements with the US as the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement, the Mutual Defense Treaty and the Visiting Forces Agreement.

It does not heed the growing clamor of the people for the repudiation of the Visiting Forces Agreement as a travesty of Philippine national sovereignty and territorial integrity and as a license for the US to deploy military forces anywhere in the Philippines for any length of time in violation of the 1987 constitution prohibiting foreign military troops and nuclear weapons.

The Filipino people are fully justified in waging armed revolution for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The US-directed Arroyo regime is obsessed with using military force to suppress the people's war and the legal democratic protest movement. It has opted to carry out the so-called Internal Security Operational Plan Bantay Laya and to sabotage the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations by labeling the forces and representatives and consultants of the NDFP as terrorists or common criminals and by stopping formal talks and the implementation of bilateral agreements.

The regime is hellbent on using military force to suppress the Moro people's revolutionary movement for self-determination and their ancestral domain. In this regard, the reactionary armed forces have divided their strength, deploying half of this in Moroland and spreading the other half more thinly than ever before in so many other parts of the Philippine archipelago against the New People's Army. Rendered blind and deaf by the people, the enemy has moved battalions from one province to another often without reason or in knee-jerk reaction to NPA tactical offensives.

As the economic and social crisis worsens, the political crisis of the ruling system also worsens. The spoils for division among the competing factions of the exploiting classes have become smaller than before. Those in power tend to monopolize the bureaucratic loot and intimidate their political rivals. Thus, the contradictions among the reactionaries are intensifying and are becoming more bitter and violent.

The regime has become extremely discredited and isolated because it has been exposed for so many gross acts of corruption. In fact, it has been rated as the most corrupt regime in Asia and one of the most corrupt in the world. Acts of corruption include the bribery of Comelec officials to fake the votes for Arroyo and cohorts in the 2004 and 2007 elections, the cutting into all major business contracts requiring approval of public officials, overpricing of all government purchases and infrastructure projects, misuse of government loan guarantees and misappropriation of funds intended for the indemnification of victims of human rights violations during the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The Arroyo regime has a deliberate policy of letting the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the paramilitary forces to commit gross human rights violations with impunity in order to intimidate the people and opposition forces and discourage them from exposing and opposing its acts of puppetry, corruption and cruelty. Moreover, it has persistently tried to push for changes in the 1987 constitution that would allow the fake president to stay on as prime minister after 2010 as well as to amend or delete certain constitutional provisions on the protection of human rights and on putting limits on the declaration of martial law, on economic sovereignty and conservation of national patrimony and on the prohibition of foreign military bases and weapons of mass destruction on Philippine territory.

The broad masses of the people and the broad range of opposition forces are not at all intimidated by the regime. They are outraged by its antinational and antidemocratic policies. A broad alliance of opposition forces has therefore been formed to fight the regime and seek its ouster. To counter this alliance, the regime has used all kinds of dirty tactics, including unwarranted searches and seizure of persons and property, disruption of mass actions and the kidnapping, torture and murder of opposition activists. The patriotic and progressive forces have suffered the main brunt of the fascist attacks.

So far failing to push charter change, the Arroyo regime is trying to consolidate an alliance of the most reactionary and most corrupt political factions, such as the regime's KAMPI and Lakas-NUCD and Eduardo Cojuangco's National People's Coalition, and to put up defense secretary Gilbert Teodoro as their presidential candidate in the 2010 elections. These factions expect to prevail in the 2010 elections with the use of their power and money and with the supposed inability of the opposition to agree on a single presidential candidate.

The contradictions among the political factions of the big compradors and landlords are reflected in the military and police forces of the reactionary state. In the first place, the ruling reactionary clique has the initiative in using the chain of command in the military and police against its political rivals. It rewards its loyalists among the military and police officers with promotions and lucrative assignments that involve stealing public funds or collaborating with criminal syndicates.

However, there are officers and men in the armed services who resist the criminal dictates of the ruling clique and who form groups or movements seeking at least a clean and honest government and at most the national and social liberation of the people from foreign and feudal domination. Some officers simply wish to improve on the existing form of government while others wish to participate in or cooperate with the revolutionary movement.

One quick way to achieve a just and lasting peace in the country is for the patriotic and progressive officers and men in the reactionary armed services to succeed in withdrawing support from the traitorous ruling clique and support a transition government of predominantly civilian leaders who are patriotic and progressive and are willing to negotiate a just peace with the NDFP at an accelerated rate.

The revolutionary forces and the people led by the CPP are ever willing to participate in any broad democratic alliance or movement as well as in a coalition government that upholds national sovereignty and independence, carries out national industrialization and land reform, promotes a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture and adopts a foreign policy of peace and development.

The socio-economic and political crises are already of such gravity that the armed revolutionary movement is assured of conditions favorable to its growth in strength and advance as well as to the evolvment of the concept and realization of a democratic coalition government. If the most reactionary forces succeed in arranging the next regime, the people's war in the Philippines will intensify as never before. If the opposition were to win, the people's war would also intensify if the new ruling clique betrays the people.

### ***III. Accumulated and current victories of the NPA***

In the last 40 years of its existence, the New People's Army has followed the leadership of the Party and has struck deep roots among the people. It has accumulated strength and rich experience and has won great and

glorious victories in carrying out the new democratic revolution through the protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Red commanders and fighters launched in 1992 the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) to identify and rectify major errors and stood fast against subjectivism and "Left" and Right opportunism during most of the 1980s until the early 1990s. They won great victories in criticizing, repudiating and rectifying the errors in ideology, politics and organization. They consolidated and revitalized the Party and NPA and brought about immediately a new upsurge of the revolution in various aspects of work.

The worst subjectivist error was the notion that the Philippine economy is no longer semifeudal but industrial capitalist, by implication affirming the claim of the Marcos fascist dictatorship to have developed it. The Right opportunists openly espoused such notion and tried to take out the leadership of the working class from the united front supposedly to make it more attractive to the people under a bourgeois leadership. The "Left" opportunists also exaggerated the degree of industrialization and urbanization in the Philippines in order to justify urban uprisings as the lead factor in the revolution and reject the strategic line of rural-based protracted people's war.

As a result of consolidation in ideology, politics and organization, the Party and the NPA stopped the retrogression and deterioration of the revolutionary movement, particularly the drastic reduction of the mass base, which had become conspicuous in the latter half of the 1980s. By 1998-99 when the SGRM was declared closed, the Party and the entire revolutionary movement had registered significant growth and advances. Party membership doubled in the next four years. Most of this growth occurred in the guerrilla fronts (in the units of the NPA and local Party branches). Most were recruited in the countryside. Recruits from the urban areas also increased.

The armed strength of the thousands of NPA fighters increased by more than 15 percent. As a result of further successful tactical offensives, the number of firearms seized from enemy forces increased by 33 percent. The number of barangays where the NPA operated expanded to more than 9000 (21 percent of the total in the country). The number of guerrilla fronts rose to 128. The mass base increased threefold and included the millions of people in about half of the towns and cities in the country (800 out of 1600).

Today, the NPA surpasses the magnitude and scale of all previous revolutionary armies in Philippine history. It is far stronger in an all-round way than what it was in the 1980s, contrary to the claims of the reactionary armed forces and the renegades. It has comprehensive mass support. It has been tempered like steel in many battles and has the critical mass needed to deliver lethal blows on the enemy on a nationwide scale through tactical offensives with short rest periods.

For several years already, the Party Central Committee has put forward a program for completing the early phase of the strategic defensive and moving towards the middle phase. The main characteristic of this phase is the horizontal building of the Party, the people's army and the revolutionary mass movement. The revolutionary mass base is being widened and deepened ceaselessly. In this connection, the people's army is being built towards having company-size strength per guerrilla front, with a platoon as center of gravity on the scale of the district and with a platoon per municipality.

At the same time, the organs of political power are being established at the levels of the barangay, municipality and district in the consolidated areas. Different types of work are being attended to in major towns in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses in rural and urban areas. Alliances are built in the localities and at higher levels. The key to all these is the vigorous and widescale strengthening and consolidation of the Party, the people's army, the organs of political power and the revolutionary mass organizations.

In the initial year of implementing the program, the Party registered a rapid rate of growth. But subsequently the rate decreased. Only half of the recruitment target has been attained. It is of utmost importance to fulfill the requirements for increasing, training and promoting the corps of Party cadres and members, the people's army and the mass organizations in order to expand and consolidate them.

On the whole, the recruitment of Red fighters is vigorous. The people's army is continuously growing and has a high fighting morale. Concentrated enemy attacks in certain areas can result in temporary difficulties. But the barbarities perpetrated by the enemy forces outrage the people and drive the peasants and activists who are being hunted down to join the people's army. It is the fundamental weakness of the AFP, PNP and paramilitary forces that they are cruel instruments of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

In reaction to the strengthening of the armed revolutionary movement, the US-directed Arroyo regime laid out the so-called Internal Security Operational Plan Bantay Laya in 2001 in a bid to destroy the NPA. But Oplan Bantay

Laya (OBL) became exposed as a total failure in the second half of 2005 when the NPA carried out tactical offensives on a nationwide scale. In its internal assessment in 2006, the AFP general staff admitted the failure of OBL.

But the regime concealed the assessment and became more desperate in wishing the destruction or the strategic defeat of the NPA. Thus, it recycled and renamed the failed plan as Enhanced National Integrated Security Plan to launch a far more vicious and brutal than OBL 2. What is extremely malicious and evil about OBL II is that the military vilifies the suspected activists as "enemies of the state" to set them up as targets before the death squads kidnap, torture and murder them and finally the military propagandists proclaim that the victims were "purged" by the CPP and NPA despite contrary testimonies by the victim's colleagues, relatives and friends.

The Party has responded to the escalating enemy attacks on communities and activists by calling for all-out struggle to seek the overthrow of the regime, intensify guerrilla operations and advance all forms of struggle for national liberation and democracy. The human rights violations perpetrated by the enemy forces have been so conspicuously gross and systematic that international human rights and religious organizations, some governments and the UN Human Rights Committee and special rapporteurs have taken notice, engaged in fact-finding missions and held the Philippine government authorities accountable for the atrocities. Until now, the regime has covered up the crimes of its armed minions.

From a strategic viewpoint, the ratio of military strength between the AFP and the NPA may be 10:1. But within the strategic defensive, the NPA can launch tactical offensives against the AFP at the ratio of 10:1. The enemy forces do not know when and where the NPA launches tactical offensives against enemy units it can defeat. In stepping up hostilities against the MILF in Mindanao, the AFP has redeployed half of its forces to Moroland, drastically reducing the number of AFP troops against the NPA.

Even before this, the AFP has been overstretched and spread out thinly against the NPA. It has been unable to occupy more than 10 percent of the territory of the 128 guerrilla fronts. At every given time, it can occupy only 300 barangays out of the 42,000 in the whole country. Even in the priority target guerrilla fronts of Oplan Bantay Laya, the AFP has been able to cover only 12 barangays per guerrilla front for three to six months.

The small units of the AFP, PNP and paramilitary forces are all vulnerable to NPA tactical offensives in 90 percent of the territory of the guerrilla fronts and adjacent areas. In fact, units of the NPA can move at will in more than 90 percent of the Philippines. As the AFP concentrates its forces in only a few limited areas at every given time, the NPA has taken full initiative in launching tactical offensives, including raids, ambushes, sabotage, sniping and arrest operations. The NPA has given priority to seizure of arms in accordance with the objective of increasing the number of Red fighters and NPA units.

The enemy is bleeding from thousands of wounds inflicted by an ever increasing number of blows by the NPA. Morale is low among AFP and PNP officers and personnel. They are losing in an ever increasing number of NPA tactical offensives. The enlisted personnel are angry at their officers for bullying and maltreating them, for cheating them of their rations and allowances, for sending them out on blind and dangerous patrols or for committing too many fatal operational errors.

Rage from frequent defeats, frustrations and desperation are contributing factors to the propensity of AFP officers and enlisted personnel to engage in gross human rights violations in order to intimidate the people and extract information. They also invent military encounters with the NPA to claim battle merits or losses of firearms and ammunition which they sell in order to make up for their low pay.

The regime and the entire AFP chain of command are themselves completely shameless in fabricating victories by claiming that they have killed so many NPA fighters, made NPA units to surrender, overrun so many NPA camps and destroyed so many guerrilla fronts. In fact, they have suffered many casualties. They have misrepresented ordinary folks as NPA surrenderers

They have falsely depicted peasant communities as NPA encampments. They have not destroyed a single guerrilla front. All the 128 guerrilla fronts are intact and are the foundation for building 42 more guerrilla fronts in order to cover each of the 170 rural congressional districts.

The regime and the AFP are shamelessly repeating the lie that they will either destroy or reduce the NPA to inconsequentiality before the middle of 2010. At this point in time, they should admit their failure. Whether they admit this or not, the NPA will demonstrate the existence of all the guerrilla fronts through repeated tactical offensives in each guerrilla front before 2010.

OBL 2 has been further discredited for setting up checkpoints in urban areas, deploying troops on the grounds

of schools and churches and in 27 urban communities and engaging in so-called saturation drives in a futile attempt to intimidate the workers, urban poor, the youth and women and to suppress the national democratic movement in the urban areas. The broad masses of the people here are outraged and have become ever more determined to protest and resist.

The utter failure of OBL proves that the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war is the way for the Filipino people to achieve national and social liberation from their oppressors and exploiters. In the course of people's war, the NPA has excelled as a fighting, propaganda, organizing, productive and cultural force. It has integrated the revolutionary armed struggle, genuine land reform and mass base building. It has pursued the anti-feudal united front within the framework of the national united front.

The NPA is invincible and ever growing in strength because it follows the correct leadership of the Party and enjoys the inexhaustible support of the people. It is the people's instrument for carrying out agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution. It carries out land reform from the level of the minimum program (rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising the wages of farm workers, improving prices at the farmgate and raising production through mutual aid and rudimentary cooperation) to the level of the maximum program of confiscating land from landlords and distributing this free to the tillers.

The NPA is the main instrument for building the mass organizations of peasants, rural workers, women, youth, cultural activists and other people and for building the organs of political power from the level of the appointive organizing committee in the barrio to the elective barrio revolutionary committee. The organs of political power and the mass organizations ensure the close relationship of the NPA and the people. They engage in mass campaigns in public education, land reform, production, health and sanitation, training in self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural upliftment.

The armed revolutionary movement draws strength from the people not only in the countryside but also in the cities. The Party coordinates the mass struggles in both urban and rural areas and assigns cadres and activists from the working class and educated youth for work in the people's army and in the countryside. The continuous coordination of the masses in the urban and rural areas prepares the way for the building of a patriotic and progressive coalition government or for eventual revolutionary seizure of political power in the cities and on a nationwide scale.

#### ***IV. Advance the People's War***

In the entire year ahead, we must continue to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army by intensifying and raising the people's war to a new and higher level and thereby carrying forward the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

For this purpose, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines is calling on Red fighters and commanders, Party cadres and members in the people's army, the territorial organizations of the Party, the organs of political power and the mass organizations and the broad masses of the people to do their best and utmost in carrying out or helping carry out the fighting tasks as enumerated below.

1. Intensify guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base.

Maintain initiative in launching tactical offensives against enemy units, be these of the AFP, the PNP, paramilitary forces and private armed groups of the oppressors and exploiters. Wage only the battles that you are sure to win. Use the element of surprise to concentrate a superior force against an enemy unit of inferior strength.

Give priority to tactical offensives to annihilate enemy units and seize weapons. We need more weapons to increase the number of NPA units and guerrilla fronts. Destroy the oil depots, vehicles and other equipment and facilities of the enemy. Disrupt enemy movements and attack supply lines. Harass enemy detachments or encampments in order to further demoralize enemy troops, inflict casualties or bait a reinforcing unit for ambush.

The types of offensives include ambushes, raids, arrest operations, sabotage and sniping. Employ tactics flexibly in a war of fluid movement. According to the objective and circumstances, use the tactics of concentration to your advantage in attacking enemy units, of shifting to evade enemy blows and of dispersal to undertake propaganda and mass work.

2. Undertake politico-military education and training of Red fighters and commanders.

Put politics in command. This involves the leadership of the Party over the people's army, the propagation of the general line of people's democratic revolution and adherence to the mass line of learning from the masses,

trusting them and relying on them. Politico-military education and training should be undertaken in schools organized by the Party as well as in every NPA unit in accordance with guidelines provided by the Party.

The purpose of politico-military education and training is to raise the revolutionary consciousness and military skills of Red fighters and commanders and to develop Party cadres and Red commanders in the NPA at various levels. Simplified politico-military education and training must also be given by the Party and the NPA to the people's militia and to the self-defense units of the mass organizations.

3. Build the units of the NPA in accordance with the plan to increase the number of guerrilla fronts.

The standard force in every guerrilla front is a company, with a platoon as center of gravity and the other platoons deployed to cover a wider area. It is desirable to have a platoon in every municipality within a district covered by the guerrilla front. Efforts must be exerted to increase the number of guerrilla fronts from 128 to 170 in order to encompass all or nearly all the rural districts in the country.

Every municipality and barangay in the guerrilla front must have a unit of the people's militia in charge of police work. At every level, the mass organizations must form self-defense units. The people's militia and self defense units are the reserve and augmentation forces of the people's army.

From nearby guerrilla fronts, units of armed city partisans can be deployed on specific mission orders to urban districts. Such units must include those who have a mastery of the terrain and circumstances of the urban district. Their mission orders may include arrest, punitive and sabotage operations on the basis of accurate surveillance and reconnaissance.

4. Carry out minimum land reform to the fullest possible extent.

The minimum land reform program must be carried out in consideration of the limited strength of the Party, people's army and the peasant movement and the need to give concessions to rich peasants and landlords who are not big and despotic and who follow the laws of the people's democratic government and cooperate with the revolutionary forces.

The people's army can undertake actions to render the big and despotic landlords incapable of running their estates and force them to take flight and abandon the land. The same actions can be undertaken against all kinds of landgrabbers, including agri-corporations, logging enterprises for export, mining companies and real estate speculators. Land abandoned can be subsequently divided among the landless tillers for food production and land reform.

5. Carry out maximum land reform where possible.

The maximum land reform program of confiscating the land and distributing it free to the landless tillers must be carried out where the strength of the Party, the people's army and the peasant movement is sufficient for the purpose and where the landlords have lost power and have abandoned the land.

The preparations for the maximum land reform program include the destruction of the political power of the despotic landlords and the incapacitation of hostile agri-corporations, mining companies, logging-for-export enterprises and real estate speculators.

6. Expand and deepen the mass base.

Expand and consolidate the mass organizations for workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists, children and other sectors. Build the organs of political power at the barangay, municipal and district levels with the support of the mass organizations. Form the committees to lead the daily work and campaigns for public education, health, self-defense, land reform, production, settlement of disputes and cultural affairs.

By building the mass base, cadres and activists come to the fore. They become the resource base for building the Party in the localities and for recruitment of Red fighters. Mass work is a good preparation for those who wish to join the NPA.

7. Develop the guerrilla fronts as the base for building relatively stable base areas.

Guerrilla fronts develop into relatively stable base areas as they cohere and become stronger under the Party committees and army commands at the provincial and regional levels. The merger or cohesion of guerrilla fronts as relatively stable base areas in the future will develop from repeated coordination by the provincial and regional levels of Party leadership and army commands.

Such relatively stable areas arise and grow in strength as a result of the rising political and military victories of the people's war and the weakening or disintegration of the ruling system at various levels.

8. Ensure adequate economic and financial resources for administration, operations and social programs.

Always ensure adequate economic and financial resources for administration, operations and social programs undertaken by the CPP, NPA and the organs of political power. There are at least three sources of such resources.

First, the people's army has production projects for its needs. Mass organizations also undertake such projects for the people's army.

Second, a reasonable portion of the gains from land reform and cooperative projects can be given to the NPA as voluntary contributions.

Third, upon the direction of the Party or the people's democratic government, the people's army as enforcement agency collect taxes from productive and profitable undertakings of entities that do not belong to the toiling masses. The people's army receives a share of the tax collection in accordance with a periodic budget.

9. Enforce orders of the people's court to arrest, for investigation and trial, the violators of human rights, plunderers and other criminals.

On the basis of prima facie evidence submitted by the people and the people's army through the people's prosecutor, the people's court system issues warrants for the arrest of suspected principals, accomplices and beneficiaries in cases of human rights violations, plunder, drug trafficking and other crimes against the people.

The people's democratic government should provide protection and assistance to victims and witnesses of the aforesaid crimes.

When the criminal suspects are known to be armed and dangerous or protected by armed escorts for armed resistance to arrest, the necessary precautions and preparedness must be undertaken by the arresting team and its auxiliaries. Under the judicial warrant of arrest, the arresting team has the authority to protect itself from armed resistance by criminal suspects.

10. Enhance cooperation and coordination between the revolutionary forces in the rural and the urban areas.

Cadres and activists from the working class and educated youth are encouraged to render service to the people in rural areas or to join the people's army. Certain requirements of the people's war are best fulfilled by cadres and activists from the urban areas.

Teams of the people's army that have mission orders to carry out in the urban areas must be given the necessary support and assistance from underground personnel of the Party.

11. Inform the people of the world about our people's war.

The just revolutionary cause of the Filipino people must be made known to and gain the support of the people of the world. The exploitation and oppression suffered by the Filipino people and the revolutionary struggle that they are waging must be reported worldwide. All significant activities and accomplishments of the people's army, including combat, mass work, education, health care delivery and cultural works, must be promptly reported.

12. Contribute to the advance of the global struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

In the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, we do our best to advance the people's democratic revolution. This is our best possible contribution to the common struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism and reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism. We regard the revolutionary struggles and victories of other peoples as our own.

However, we should strive to have concrete mutual support and cooperation with other peoples to the extent that we are capable of. We can share experiences through publications, seminars and conferences. We can exchange cadres in programs of study and training. We must strive to promote international solidarity and contribute to the advance of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world.

# ***On People's War and Peace Negotiations***

**Interview by Roselle Valerio, *Liberation International*,**

**September 20, 2009**

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*1. Thank you for granting this interview in your capacity as the chief political consultant of the negotiating panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). I would like to ask some questions about the status and prospects of the people's war and the peace negotiations of the NDFP with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). But first let me ask you about your personal situation in exile as a political refugee?*

JMS: I am taking seriously and enjoying my role as chief political consultant of the NDFP negotiating panel and as chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle. I do a lot of research, writing and speaking before various types of audiences. I manage to speak through Skype, Yahoo Messenger and other video-conferencing methods to audiences in the US and other countries which refuse to give me visa.

I am on the terrorist blacklist of the European Union and other governments and I have been detained on false charges supplied by the Arroyo regime. I am banned from paid employment and I am deprived of social benefits. I have to borrow money in order to survive. However, my detractors misrepresent me as living it up whenever they get hold of pictures of me enjoying the company of compatriots and friends in social gatherings.

*2. Will the Arroyo regime be able to destroy or reduce the New People's Army (NPA) into inconsequentiality before the middle of next year?*

JMS: No. Even the top officials and military officers of the regime admit that they cannot destroy the NPA. The intensity, frequency and wide scale of the NPA tactical offensives belie the claims of military success by the most rabid psywar officers of the regime. The regime is worried about the worsening crisis and the rising strength of the NPA and other revolutionary forces of the people

*3. Why has the Arroyo failed in its military objective of defeating the NPA?*

JMS: The regime's anti-people policy of subservience to foreign interests, its big comprador-landlord character, its bureaucratic corruption and gross human rights violations drive the people to wage armed revolution. The ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system fuels the people's war. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata suffer mass unemployment, lower incomes, soaring prices of basic commodities, more expensive social services and other grave difficulties.

Following the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the NPA has successfully pursued the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and is at the moment carrying out an intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

*4. In your recent interview with the Wall Street Journal, you said that there are about 6,000 fighters of the New People's Army. Is that all the armed strength of the NPA?*

JMS: I said that the NPA should have at least 6,000 Red fighters with automatic rifles because as early as 1986 their number was already 6,100. I said this precisely to contradict the varying estimates of NPA strength of 4,800 to 5,200 by the reactionary armed forces. I also pointed out that the number of NPA fighters never reached 25,000 in the 1980s.

The revolutionary movement does not publicize the exact number of NPA fighters armed with automatic rifles. But I dare say that the NPA armed strength is far more than 6,000. And it is not limited to the thousands of Red fighters with automatic rifles. They are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and the hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of mass organizations in nearly 10,000 barangays of the country.

*5. Aside from armed struggle, how else does the NPA build its political strength?*

JMS: It is a matter of public knowledge that the NPA draws political strength from the people by arousing, organizing and mobilizing them along the line of the new democratic revolution and by serving them in every possible and necessary way. In very concrete and immediate terms, the NPA draws strength from the revolutionary mass organizations, the organs of political power and allied forces. These arise and grow due to the work of the CPP, NPA and NDFP.

*6. On the basis of information available to you as NDFP chief political consultant, what is your view or evaluation of*



*the plans of the CPP leadership to advance the people's war?*

JMS: From what I read in CPP publications, it is logical for the CPP to aim for expanding the current number of guerrilla fronts to more than 170 or enough to cover every rural congressional district within the next few years. Fulfilling the political and military requirements for such an expansion would certainly mean a great advance of the people's war and would lay the basis for a possible strategic stalemate or even a strategic offensive within the next ten years.

*7. If the CPP is aiming for a great advance in the people's war, why does it allow the NDFP to engage in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP)? Isn't there a self-contradiction in this regard?*

JMS: I don't think that there is a self-contradiction. The peace negotiations arise precisely because of the people's war. At whatever rate the peace negotiations run, the GRP seeks to destroy the armed revolutionary movement of the people and the revolutionary forces defend themselves and advance the people's war.

The peace negotiations provide the revolutionary forces the opportunity to broadcast their just cause of struggle for national liberation and democracy and explore possibilities of basic social, economic and political reforms. Even on the eve of complete revolutionary victory, the revolutionary forces can engage in peace negotiations in order to facilitate the victory.

*8. What are the chances for the resumption of formal talks in the peace negotiations before GMA steps down in 2010? What can be accomplished before then?*

JMS: The Arroyo regime has refused to respect and comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). It continues to use false criminal charges to abduct, detain, torture and murder NDFP panelists, consultants, staffers and other JASIG-protected people. Moreover, it seeks to undermine and scrap the JASIG and all other bilateral agreements of the GRP and NDFP since 1992.

It regards the peace negotiations as a minor adjunct of Oplan Bantay Laya. It wishes to pacify the revolutionary movement of the people through military force and deception in peace negotiations. It is obsessed with imposing the framework of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration on the NDFP. It also wishes to frontload the issue of ending the hostilities and evade the prior issues of social, economic and political reforms in the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations.

If only the regime would agree to resume the formal talks and comply with the obligations stipulated by previous agreements, it is still possible to go a significant way towards a comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms and to improve the human rights situation in the Philippines. But the regime is obviously determined to go down in Philippine history as a hated regime of unmitigated puppetry to US imperialism, unbridled corruption and gross and systematic human rights violations.

*9. Do you think that the next administration would be willing to negotiate with the NDFP?*

JMS: I believe so. The crisis of the ruling system shall have become worse. More than ever the people would be demanding peace negotiations even as they demand the advance of the revolutionary movement, especially because the peace negotiations have not as yet yielded substantial reforms for their benefit. The people clamor for basic reforms to realize a just and lasting peace, be it through people's war and/or peace negotiations.

*10. Is it possible that the NPA and the people's war would someday become so strong that those in GRP would choose to negotiate peace more seriously than now?*

JMS: Just as it is possible for the revolutionary movement of the people to win complete victory in the next ten years, it is also possible for patriotic and progressive sections in the reactionary government to seek peace negotiations and accept a historic concord of national unity and just peace against foreign and feudal domination.

Such historic concord should uphold, defend and advance national independence, democracy through empowerment of the working people, social justice, development through national industrialization and land reform, a national, scientific and mass culture and international solidarity for peace and development.

# ***Advance from Strategic Defensive***

## ***to Strategic Stalemate***

**March 29, 2010**

On the occasion of the 41<sup>st</sup> founding anniversary of the New People's Army (NPA), we salute the Red commanders and fighters and pay our highest respects to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. We congratulate the rank and file for the victories won in the past year and urge them on to garner further victories in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Since we announced our strategic plan to advance from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate in the protracted people's war, our Party cadres and members, Red commanders and fighters, mass activists, allies and the broad masses of the people have been enthusiastically discussing the basis, political requirements and strategy and tactics for the advance. Why and how shall we succeed?

First, the chronic crisis conditions of the world capitalist system and those of the domestic ruling system serve as the basis for our strategic plan and its implementation in the next five years. They continue to worsen and are increasingly favorable conditions for advancing the people's war.

Second, the CPP has maintained the correct ideological, political and organizational line and effectively leads the people and the revolutionary forces. It has rich revolutionary experience and all-round strength gained from more than 40 years of people's war for fulfilling the political requirements for people's war.

Third, the people's army under the leadership of the CPP has the correct strategy and tactics set forth by the Party for advancing the people's war. The Red commanders and fighters have high morale and are determined to inflict blows on the enemy and carry out the strategic plan.

### ***1. Crisis conditions in the world capitalist system***

The world capitalist system has been shaken from base to rafters by one serious economic and financial crisis after another since the mid-1970s. The policy shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism has merely deepened and aggravated the recurrent crisis.

The full restoration of capitalism in several revisionist-ruled countries has been touted by the monopoly bourgeoisie as proof that the socialist cause is hopeless and that the world capitalist system is stronger than ever before. But in fact, the increase of industrial capitalist countries has made the world more cramped for capitalism and has aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The economic and financial crisis has become extremely destructive in the imperialist countries and more so in the less developed and underdeveloped countries. It is pushing the imperialist powers to become more plunderous, more repressive and more aggressive than ever before. The crisis is generating conditions similar to those that brought about the two world wars of the 20th century, with the difference that there is far higher potential for peoples to wage revolution, nations to fight for liberation and non-imperialist countries to assert independence.

The class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is surfacing in the imperialist countries. The imperialist powers have become frenzied in their competition for economic territory and for spheres of influence. The interimperialist contradictions are becoming more intense and more violent.

However, the imperialist powers are still avoiding direct violent clashes among themselves and are directing their violence towards oppressed peoples in the neocolonial and underdeveloped countries. Even as China has become the main US global partner in carrying out the US policy of "neoliberal globalization," the bankruptcy of this policy is pressing China to secure its own markets; sources of fuel and other raw materials; and fields of investments. This tends to upset the balance of forces among the imperialist powers.

The ongoing economic and financial crisis of the US and the world capitalist system is not being solved as the imperialist powers stick to their neoliberal dogma. The bailout money from public coffers is being used merely to improve the balance sheets of the big banks and corporations in the military-industrial complex instead of reviving production and employment. Thus, the crisis of global capitalism is protracting and deepening.

Having become a big debtor, the US is vulnerable to efforts of China to adopt economic, trade and finance policies serving its national interest. Of long term importance to the Philippines are ASEAN-China economic relations as a departure from the sole dominance of US imperialism in East Asia. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization can be a counterweight to US hegemonism in the whole of Asia.

The US continues to be sucked in by the quagmires made by its wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan. Its military interventions in the Middle East, Africa, Central Asia and South Asia are adversely affecting its overall dominance. Certain countries have been asserting their national independence in East Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The people continue to wage armed resistance against the US and its puppets. In other countries like India, the Philippines, Peru, Turkey and Colombia, the people persevere in armed struggle for national liberation and democracy. Revolutionary parties of the proletariat are waging or preparing to wage people's war in a growing number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The social and political turmoil and the rise of revolutionary armed struggles in the world capitalist system will favor the advance of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. The high propensity of the US and other imperialist powers to unleash wars of aggression and state terrorism against the people drive the people to engage in revolutionary war.

## ***II. Crisis conditions in the domestic ruling system***

The Arroyo regime has been extremely reactionary and obscurantist in misrepresenting the character of the ruling system in the Philippines. It has brought upon the people the crushing weight of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism under such US-dictated policies as "neoliberal globalization" and "global war on terror."

And yet the regime has harped on turning the Philippines into a "first world country" and perversely puts the blame on the people's resistance to oppression and exploitation as the cause of underdevelopment and poverty. And it is using such a big lie as the rationale for seeking to destroy or reduce the revolutionary movement to inconsequentiality through brutal campaigns of military suppression since 2001.

Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL) has utterly failed in all its counterrevolutionary objectives. The New People's Army has successfully launched tactical offensives nationwide, thus belying the regime's psywar claims and demonstrating the growing strength of the armed revolutionary movement.

The people dismiss the psywar claims of the reactionary military about so many "NPA camps overrun," "NPA mass surrenders," "social integration of rebel returnees" and the like. Abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings of social activists and ordinary people are passed off as legitimate actions against the "enemies of the state" and the perpetrators rewarded and cited as "heroes."

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines will persist and continue to worsen. Nothing in sight indicates that a new administration would arise from the current presidential elections to make the Philippines truly independent and take the path of industrial development through land reform and national industrialization. Those in power at the highest level tend to monopolize bureaucrat looting and increase their take by further exploiting and oppressing the people, especially the toiling masses.

The abject semicolonial agrarian character of the Philippines provides the conditions for the development of people's war. The absence of genuine thoroughgoing land reform guarantees that the peasant masses follow the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines in carrying out agrarian revolution and participating in the people's war.

The chronic socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system will generate an unprecedentedly worse political crisis enough to render the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords incapable of ruling in the old way. Factions of the ruling classes have become more violent against each other as spoils of political power are reduced as a result of the worsening crisis.

As exposed by the Ampatuan massacre, the reactionary factions can use parts of the military, police and paramilitary forces as their private armed groups and build their own undisguised private armies by taking military supplies from the armories of the state. The rampancy of private armies has been generated by the US-Arroyo policy of state terrorism against the people.

The current presidential elections will not muffle but will intensify the contradictions among the reactionaries. The periodic elections for officials of the reactionary government have served to ensure the dominance of the politicians who are pro-imperialist and are representatives of the big compradors and landlords and have been a process for excluding the representatives of the working people and for redistributing and rotating power among the political dynasties and factions.

But the current presidential elections are becoming the gateway to further crisis of the system and further

violence among the reactionaries. The competing political factions are spending more heavily than ever before on the electoral campaign. The winners will try to recoup and profit from their government positions. The losers will become bitter with disappointment.

Whichever reactionary faction captures the presidency in May will continue the US-dictated policy of state terrorism against the people and the revolutionary forces. Not one among the four major presidential candidates is expressing a determination to carry out peace negotiations to address the roots of the armed conflict through social, economic and political reforms.

The resistance of the reactionaries, especially the pro-imperialist militarists and clerico-fascists, to serious peace negotiations is a good thing. It serves to cast away false illusions about peace negotiations and to drive the revolutionary forces further on to the great task of waging people's war.

The worst among the reactionaries and their pseudo-progressive followers, including the renegades exposed by the Second Great Rectification Movement, have long claimed that the people and forces in the new democratic revolution have been undercut and debilitated by the unarmed people's uprisings in 1986 and 2001 and the succession of pseudo-democratic post-Marcos regimes.

The detractors of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war obscure the fact that the revolutionary forces have contributed greatly to the success of the unarmed people's uprisings and that the NPA has not only preserved but has also expanded its revolutionary armed strength to stand out in Philippine history as the largest ever revolutionary army of the people.

Oplan Bantay Laya I and II have failed to suppress the armed revolutionary movement. The reactionaries unwittingly admit the significant strength of the people's army every time they declare that it remains the biggest threat to the ruling system. They merely make fools of themselves by endlessly repeating the lie that the NPA had 25,000 fighters in the mid-1980s and is now reduced to a few thousands.

From week to week, from month to month and from year to year, the NPA has demonstrated its capability to wipe out enemy units and will continue to do so under the policy and strategic plan of advancing from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate. The NPA is bound to grow in strength ever more rapidly by continuing to apply the specific line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base.

### ***III. Political requirements of people's war***

The No. 1 political requirement for the new democratic revolution in the Philippines and for the advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the protracted people's war is the revolutionary political leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Party has laid out the general line of new democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party has accumulated experience and achievements in leading the new democratic revolution. By carrying out the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998, it has recovered the mass base it previously lost through grave errors of "Left" and Right opportunism in the 1980s and has revitalized the armed revolutionary movement since the 1990s.

The key task of the Party in the next five years is to recruit at least 200,000 Party members in order to strengthen the revolutionary leadership and core of the revolutionary mass movement. The Party membership is an adequate base for reaching this goal within two years under the policy of expanding the Party membership boldly without letting in a single undesirable. The Party must recruit and swear in as Party candidate-members the activists in the mass organizations who accept the Constitution and Program of the Party.

Candidate-members of worker and peasant origin become full members within six months and those of petty-bourgeois origin, within one year. During the period of candidature, the concerned Party organ or unit must verify the good character and militancy of the candidate members in the mass movement and must provide to them the basic Party education. All leading Party organs and units must work fast to elevate to full membership both the backlog and the new crop of Party candidate-members.

There should be no unnecessary delays for Party candidate-members to become full members. The delays in elevating someone from candidature to full membership are often caused by negligence and lack of concern for the desire of candidate members to become full members. It suffices that the candidate-member gets the basic Party education and proves serious in carrying out his/her assigned tasks in the Party unit and mass organization.

To be able to build the Party rapidly, we must accelerate the building of the mass organizations for peasants,

workers, youth, women, children, cultural activists and other sectors. It suffices at the start for the applicants/recruits to become members by accepting the program and constitution of the mass organization. Without a growing mass movement from which it can recruit candidate-members, the Party cannot expand and perform the task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing a still greater number of people. Relative to the strategic task of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, both our Party organization and organized mass base are small. But they are more than adequate for us to aim for the level of strength necessary for reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate in less than five years if we sum up well the causes of the slow growth of the Party and the organized mass base and if we set the tasks for maximizing our strength and overcoming errors and weaknesses.

The expansion of the Party organization and organized mass base in both urban and rural areas can run ahead of the expansion of the people's army. The Party and the organized mass base can grow in all congressional districts of the reactionary state. Wherever they exist, their membership must be increased. Subsequently, some of the Party members and mass activists can be redeployed from time to time in order to cover areas where the Party and mass organizations do not yet exist and are too small.

In the next five years, Party branches must be built in at least 20,000 villages and Party cadres must be developed at the regional, subregional, provincial, district or guerrilla front and section levels through various levels of Party education and through work in the mass movement. The Party cadres and members in the localities must be able to lead the work of the mass organizations, organs of political power, people's militia, barrio self-defense corps, and self-defense units of mass organizations. The people's militia assume the role of serving as the principal forces in launching local guerrilla warfare and standing as centers of gravity of the barrio self-defense corps and the self-defense units of the local mass organizations.

They must enable the units of the NPA to carry out tactical offensives. Thus, new fighting units can be created with the firearms seized from the enemy. We must depart from the old practice of overloading units of the people's army with tasks that can be performed by the local Party branches, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power that take charge of public education, economic affairs, health, self-defense, cultural activities and arbitration.

Under the leadership of the Party, the organs of political power can form and administer the people's militia and barrio self-defense corps for the purpose of internal security and police work. The mass organizations can also form and administer their own self-defense units. The members of the people's militia and barrio self-defense corps should run into tens of thousands, with every village having a militia platoon and a self-defense corps platoon. The self-defense units should run into hundreds of thousands, with every mass organization in every village having a self-defense platoon.

The NPA must put its units through distinct periods of politico-military training, combat, mass work and production. It must provide politico-military training to its combat units as well as to instructors for the people's militia and the self-defense units. NPA units may be rotated and deployed for battles for three to six months, depending on the situation. The point is to accelerate the seizure of weapons from the enemy forces. NPA units must also be rotated in mass work and production so that they remain close to the people and produce part of what they consume.

It is necessary for the Party to sum up its experience and current situation and to draw up the guidelines and plans for the NPA in every regional, subregional, provincial and district or guerrilla front level with definite reasonable targets for the number of weapons to seize from the enemy forces. What is reasonable is based on previous experience and current capabilities of the NPA units. An NPA command, for instance, may recommend to the Party committee a 10 percent increase in the number of weapons every three months.

Soft targets for raids, ambushes and disarming operations abound. These include police stations, small army detachments, paramilitary units, private security agencies, private armed groups and armed individual reactionaries. There are even softer targets for attritive actions to sap the strength and morale of the enemy forces, force them to do guard duty and commit mistakes in deploying troops and resources. Operations can be easily launched on the basis of intelligence build-up and timely reconnaissance.

It is by entrusting mass work and the mass movement to local Party branches, local organs of political power and the mass organizations, that the NPA can be confident that the mass base is being maintained and developed while it is concentrated on fighting and destroying the power and apparatuses of the reactionary state on a wide

scale in the localities. Thus, the NPA can inspire and enable the people in the localities to take revolutionary power.

The revolutionary organs of political power grow stronger and more secure when reactionary power is destroyed and the reactionaries flee or are deprived of their local power and authority. The organs of political power should be based mainly on the mass organizations of the working people and are augmented through united front relations at various levels against the worst reactionaries.

#### ***IV. Strategy and tactics***

The Party has correctly set the politico-military strategic line of protracted people's war. This means encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength over a long period of time until enough strength and capability have been accumulated to seize the cities on a nationwide scale in the stage of strategic offensive.

This line is based on the reality of the Philippines where the majority of the people are peasants, and the countryside offers the social and physical terrain for building the people's army and carrying out the people's war in stages.

The correctness of the strategic line is well proven by the fact that the New People's Army has been able to preserve itself and has grown from small to big and from weak to strong against brutal enemy attacks. Such attacks include campaigns of division-size task forces to nip the people's army in the bud from 1969 to 1972, the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos and the series of national counterrevolutionary military campaign plans launched by the successive pseudo-democratic regimes after Marcos.

In the long course of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, we were able to build the people's army that started with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms (single-shot rifles and handguns) in early 1969 and reached the national total of 5,600 automatic rifles in 1985. Since 1985, however, it had become obvious that the NPA was being debilitated by such "Left" opportunist lines as the "strategic counteroffensive" and the "Red area-white area" line.

These "Left" opportunist lines undermined the strength of the NPA and wrought havoc on the revolutionary mass base and caused the reduction of the mass base by more than 60 percent in the 1980s. They played into the hands of the enemy that carried out Oplan Lambat-Bitag (OLB) I, II and III designed to put the NPA units under strategic encirclement and "gradual constriction," and hunted them down with "special operations teams."

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized and repudiated the "Left" opportunist lines as engaging in self-constriction and separation from the masses under the guise of strengthening the NPA through unwarranted verticalization and premature formation of larger units. In areas where the "Left" opportunist lines took hold, the need for the horizontal spread of NPA units was laid aside, thus undermining and destroying our close links with the masses. The organized mass base of the revolutionary movement shrank even as the prematurely formed companies had bigger logistical demands.

Under the direction of the Party in the rectification movement, the NPA had to go back to the basics of guerrilla warfare. It was reoriented, reorganized and redeployed to carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The enemy knew about the return to small units and was emboldened to deploy its scout ranger teams against these units. But the NPA was able to preserve itself and recover the mass base precisely by adhering to its correct line during the entire period of the Ramos and Estrada regimes.

The stress on the horizontal spread of small NPA units in order to counter the harmful results of the premature verticalization and to recover the mass base was not without any negative aspect. It engendered guerrilla-ism or the roving rebel mentality and conservatism, especially where there were no conscious and resolute efforts to develop the revolutionary forces in a balanced way and the necessary correlation of the center of gravity and dispersed units in the work of the people's army. However, so long as the mass base was growing, it was much easier for the Party to rectify conservatism and guerrilla-ism.

The next big test of the NPA has been Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL) with its brutal campaign against legal social activists and forced displacement of peasants and indigenous people in the countryside. OBL far exceeded OLB in scope, duration, intensity and brutality. The US and the Arroyo regime (agitated by militarists and clerico-fascists who are US CIA assets) harped on the line that progressive social activists are NPA fighters in disguise and calculated that the military campaigns would be more effective in the countryside if such social activists were suppressed through abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings.

OBL has proven the inadequacy of the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces to cover even only 10 percent of Philippine territory at every given time. The NPA can easily move about in 90 percent of the territory. Thus, it has been able to grow in strength and defeat the objectives of OBL. With OBL, the Arroyo regime has gained notoriety throughout the world for its gross and systematic violations of human rights.

But we must learn well the lessons from the various tactics the enemy has used in OBL, such as the "shock and awe" tactics of General Palparan in Oriental Mindoro, Eastern Visayas and Central Luzon, the "convergence" approach of General Gomez in Bohol, the "center of gravity" approach of Colonel Dagoy and the "sitio" approach of Colonel Bustillos.

From a strategic view, all these are paper tigers. But at the tactical level, where they pounced upon the guerrilla fronts and the masses, they were real brutal tigers inflicting a measure of damage, generating real problematic conditions for the revolution and causing errors and weaknesses on the part of the subjective forces of the revolution.

The Party has brought together and analyzed the reports from the regions concerned and has come up with plans to overcome the problems and to further strengthen the revolutionary forces. We have learned valuable lessons in overcoming the attacks of the enemy, preserving and upgrading our forces and mass base, launching full-scale guerrilla warfare and advancing the revolutionary struggle. Our difficult experiences have tempered us and we have emerged stronger, continue to inflict more widespread and heavy blows against the enemy, and are ever determined to advance and win our people's war.

At present, the NPA stands as the largest people's army that the Filipino working people have ever been able to put up, surpassing the number of riflemen in the revolutionary army of 1896 to 1902 and the old people's army of 1942 to 1952. To claim false credit, the reactionary forces keep on repeating the lie that the NPA had 25,000 fighters in 1986 and that they have succeeded in cutting the number down to 5,000 or even less.

The NPA rifle strength in 1986 was only 6,100 (an increase of 500 over the 1985 figure of 5,600), with no accurate accounting of the consequence of the "Left" opportunist lines and anti-informer hysteria, particularly Kampilan Apos in Mindanao. From figures of the 1985 Central Committee plenum, Mindanao had accounted for about 50 percent of NPA armed strength.

The current strength of the NPA is of critical mass in terms of its thousands of fighters with high-powered firearms. With proper deployment and employment, it can rapidly grow and advance in waves and in well-defined phases (middle and advanced) of the strategic defensive and the threshold and early phase of the strategic stalemate. Wherever NPA units exist under any level of command: barrio, section, guerrilla front, interfront, provincial, subregional and regional, there must be a relatively concentrated force as center of gravity. The center of gravity must be situated on the best available terrain. As wide areas are saturated with adjoining company-strength guerrilla fronts and transformed into subregional military areas and later further on into fluid war fronts, their centers of gravity develop larger vertical forces.

At the same time, the further development of horizontal forces consisting of a full-time guerrilla platoon at the municipal level would be beefed up with the proliferation of platoon-size people's militias, barrio self-defense corps and self-defense units of mass organizations at the barrio level, and the deployment of armed city partisans in urban centers within guerrilla fronts.

The current number of guerrilla fronts is more than adequate a base for aiming to cover almost all if not all the 179 rural congressional districts of the reactionary state with the Party, mass organizations, alliances and units of the people's army within the next two or three years. The strength of the NPA must not be divided and dissipated just to cover said congressional districts in an absolutely equal and even way. The NPA must grow in strength where they are and advance wave upon wave or deploy advance or seed units in such districts on the best available terrain.

In the next five years, the NPA is bound to deliver more telling lethal blows on the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces that would belie the false claims of reactionaries, pseudo-progressives and renegades that the NPA has been undermined and weakened by the post-Marcos antinational and antidemocratic regimes and by their military campaigns. Most importantly, the Party and the NPA are determined to increase the armed strength and political power of the working people.

The probable stages of development for the people's war is from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and from the latter to the strategic offensive. After being at the strategic defensive for four decades, we have

developed the basis to aim at and reach the stage of strategic stalemate in the next five years and then strive to move onward to the final stage of strategic offensive.

We must sum up our fighting experience and current situation and develop guidelines and plans at the levels of the Central Committee, the Military Commission and NPA operational command; at the level of the regional Party committees and the regional operational commands; and at the subregional, provincial and district or guerrilla front levels for the purpose of launching tactical offensives and increasing the armed strength of the NPA to enable us to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

It is feasible for us in the next five years to have a guerrilla front in each of the 179 rural congressional districts and to deploy armed city partisans in all urban congressional districts. The coverage of a rural congressional district by a guerrilla front is facilitated by the existence and growth of guerrilla fronts in adjoining districts. The emergence and growth of guerrilla fronts will be uneven but we must always strive to realize the standard requirements and raise the general level of development. The regional Party committee and NPA operational command must make sure that centers of gravity at the regional, subregional, provincial and guerrilla front levels are located on terrain favorable for maneuver.

The guerrilla fronts would have more breadth and depth and become relatively stable as they become better coordinated under the interfront, provincial, subregional or regional levels of the Party leadership and NPA command. The enemy forces would still have the capability to concentrate forces on the entirety or a part of a particular guerrilla front. But the interconnection and coordination of several adjoining guerrilla fronts under commands higher than that of the guerrilla front and the availability of strike forces for counterattacks by regional, subregional, provincial or interfront commands will be crucial for preserving, strengthening and expanding the guerrilla fronts and launching coordinated tactical operations in the areas covered. Adjoining guerrilla fronts would be more easily coordinated than before and have an echelon of commands, such as the regional, subregional and provincial.

The enemy will always try to put our forces on strategic encirclement and launch strategic offensives. But the NPA would have increased initiative and ability in launching tactical encirclements and tactical offensives as the levels of regional, subregional and provincial commands are developed. Our increased offensives will compel the enemy forces to increase personnel for the defense of camps, police stations and vital installations and reduce the number of enemy armed personnel for offensive operations. And yet the enemy lines of patrols and supplies will remain vulnerable to NPA tactical offensives.

Wherever the enemy forces choose to encircle our forces, we engage in tactical counterencirclement and fight on exterior lines. At the same time, we can take the initiative of launching tactical offensives elsewhere. We maintain a war of fluid movement. We continue to master and apply the tactics of concentration, shifting and dispersal in order to achieve our objectives according to concrete circumstances.

Whenever necessary, we trade space for time. We do not engage in any hard-headed defense of territory and allow ourselves to be forced into battles that put at risk any main unit of the NPA in any guerrilla front, province, subregion or region. At all times, our small units that are dispersed for mass work must be vigilant against being caught by surprise and forced to fight purely defensive battles or chance encounters.

We wage only those battles of quick decision that we can win. We give priority to delivering blows on the weakest points of the enemy forces. The enemy is blind and deaf because it is hated by the people. They cannot tell when and where our forces are poised to strike. We take the full initiative in waging battles of annihilation, which would yield weapons for further strengthening the people's army and would inflict casualties that reduce the strength and weaken the morale of the enemy forces.

We have a wide array of tactics, which are more complex and more unpredictable to the enemy than a single-occasion ambush, raid and arrest operation, which may have its own complexity in the deployment of blocking, containing and close-in units. The complex tactics we refer to include the following: luring the enemy in deep and leading it to our zone of fire; ambushing or raiding one enemy force and as prelude to a bigger strike against the reinforcements; feigning to attack the east in order to attack the west; inducing an enemy force to go out of its base and destroying the base; tiring the enemy force by letting it march deep into our territory and ambushing it when it tries to return to base; and so forth.

Our principal objective is to wage and win battles of annihilation against the enemy forces. We must also wage attritive actions that serve to weaken and demoralize the forces of the enemy. These include sniping at enemy



personnel by sniper teams or sparrow units, use of explosives against enemy vehicles, burning enemy fuel and motor depots and so on. We can make the monster bleed to death from battles of annihilation and attritive actions.

The advance of our people's war in stages and phases will mean the advance of our military tactics and technique. We learn our tactics from the summing up and analysis of our positive and negative experiences. We capture weapons, communications equipment and other forms of logistics from the enemy.

Even now we have access to sophisticated electronic equipment for communications and storing and retrieval of information. We must be strict in using these properly in our communications, work and offensives. Used irresponsibly, the same equipment can facilitate the infliction of harm on us by the enemy. We must never neglect the use and development of primitive but more reliable forms of communication such as the courier system on the basis of organized mass base and alliances.

We must conduct political work to recruit medical personnel and other professionals and technicians for various departments of the people's army and to develop alliances to enable us to have access to various types of professional and technical services. We must promote production by the people's army for its own needs and by the people to support the people's army and families of our Red fighters. We must gather the contributions of the working people who have benefited or stand to benefit from the policies of the revolutionary government and movement.

The people's government has the power of taxation in order to control and regulate enterprises and assets that earn rent and profit and in order to collect the resources for the delivery of social services much needed by the masses, including the administration and support for the programs of production, education, health, defense and cultural development. When certain political groups and individuals make donations to the people's government, these are used for social purposes and are not payment for the right to campaign or win a position in reactionary elections.

Aside from combat operations to wipe out units of the military, police and paramilitary forces and private armed groups, we must carry out operations to arrest for trial and punishment the exploiters and oppressors who have incurred blood debts, violators of human rights, the plunderers, landgrabbers, destroyers of the environment and the top purveyors of prohibited drugs. We must dismantle the reactionary organs of political power and anti-people enterprises that grab land and destroy the environment.

We must remove the incorrigible oppressors and exploiters from our guerrilla fronts. We expand and consolidate Red political power by eliminating or driving them away from the guerrilla fronts. We must prepare ourselves against the further increase of US military intervention forces as we succeed in advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. We must be prepared against all-out US military aggression.

Take advantage of the crisis conditions by intensifying the people's war!

Fulfill the political requirements under the leadership of the Party!

Continue extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare!

Advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate!

Carry forward the new democratic revolution through people's war!

# ***People's War in the Philippines***

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The old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties founded the People's Army against Japan (Hukbal-ahap) in 1942. This army became the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) in 1948 in order to resist the continued US domination of the Philippines under the US-RP Treaty of General Relations and the Parity Amendment of the Philippine Constitution and the return of the landlords to Central Luzon where the people's army was based.

The backbone of the HMB was broken in the early 1950s. The semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society seemed to be perpetual and invincible. The exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords blocked every attempt to uphold national sovereignty and carry out genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. In 1957 the reactionary government enacted the Anti-Subversion Law to punish by death officers of the Communist Party or any organization acting as its successor or front.

## ***I. Revival of the national democratic revolution***

I was among those who revived the mass movement of the workers, peasants and the youth in the 1960s under the leadership of the old merger party of the Socialist and Communist Parties. The ruling system was extremely oppressive and exploitative. We conceived of the national democratic revolution to oppose the system. We were not afraid of the Anti-Subversion Law.

We engaged in mass work to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. We came under surveillance. We were blacklisted, subjected to propaganda attacks and removed from our jobs. Our mass actions were often disrupted and attacked.

Within the merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties, the question arose whether to prepare for revolutionary armed struggle or not. The old merger party took the position of carrying out the legal mass movement indefinitely until such time that conditions were supposed to ripen and allow a general uprising.

I was among those who took the position that people's war must be started on the basis of the already existing mass base in the rural and urban areas. We left the old merger party to reestablish the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968. Three months later on March 29, 1969, we founded the New People's Army to wage people's war.

## ***II. Fascist dictatorship of Marcos***

In 1969, Marcos spoke of Philippine society as a social volcano about to explode. In speaking thus, he presented himself as the strong leader to head off the eruption of the volcano. He had plans of using military force to perpetuate himself in power. He expanded the armed forces and was quick to use military force to suppress any manifestation of armed resistance in the countryside. He was responsible for the massacres in Barrios Culatingan, Sta. Lucia and Paraiso.

He launched Oplan Prophylaxis in an attempt to nip in the bud the New People's Army in 1969. But he failed. The NPA grew from only 65 members with 9 automatic rifles and 26 handguns and single shot rifles to more than 200 automatic rifles from 1969 to early 1970 in Tarlac province. Marcos put together Task Force Lawin, consisting of 5,000 troops and policemen, further augmented by so-called barrio self-defense units.

Having anticipated the concentration of enemy forces where we started to build the NPA, we sent expansion cadres to various regions in order to build armed propaganda teams from the mass organizations and deploy them in the villages. When Marcos boasted of having "decimated" the NPA in Central Luzon, the NPA had developed bigger mass bases in Isabela province in another region of the country.

At any rate, Marcos proceeded with his scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. On August 21, 1971, he suspended the writ of habeas corpus and suppressed all patriotic and progressive legal mass organizations. On September 21, 1972, he declared martial law and concentrated executive, legislative and judicial powers in his hands. In his martial law proclamation he claimed that the NPA had 10,000 rifles. In fact, it had only 300 rifles at the time. But the 14 years of fascist dictatorship generated conditions favorable to people's war. The New

People's Army was able to grow to the level of nearly 6,000 high-powered weapons by the time that Marcos fell in February 1986.

### ***III. Low intensity doctrine under Aquino regime***

Cory Aquino came to power as a consequence of the convergence of contradictory forces against the Marcos fascist regime. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) representing the Communist Party of the Philippines, the NPA and other revolutionary forces agreed to hold ceasefire talks with the Aquino regime. A ceasefire agreement was forged on November 25, 1986 to prepare for peace negotiations on substantive issues.

But the peace negotiations came to an end when peasants were massacred while rallying in front of the presidential palace on January 23, 1987. Instead of holding responsible her security guards for the carnage, Aquino blamed the peasants and the entire revolutionary movement and proclaimed the unsheathing of the sword of the state.

With General Fidel Ramos as her defense secretary, she launched a series of national campaign plans Lambat Bitag I, II and III designed to destroy the armed revolutionary movement. The campaign plans were described as the application of the low-intensity conflict doctrine. Human rights violations became rampant in both urban and rural areas. Base-denial operations and massacres were often undertaken in the countryside.

For a while, Lambat Bitag appeared to be successful as the armed movement was being weakened by an ultra-Left current which started in the early 1980s and then by a Rightist current which started to pick up strength in 1988. The ultra-Left current damaged the mass base and subsequently the Rightist current called for the liquidation of the Party and the armed revolutionary movement.

### ***IV. Rectification movement and peace negotiations***

The ultra-Left current consisted of the premature formation of companies and of unnecessary levels of command and staff which took away Party and NPA personnel from mass work. Due to this erroneous current, the mass base of the revolutionary movement decreased by 15 percent in 1988 and by 60 percent in 1991 from its peak during the struggle against the US-Marcos fascist regime. This reduced the ability of the NPA to wage tactical offensives although in the main the NPA retained its weapons.

The rectification movement was carried out to criticize and repudiate major errors. It reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the Party and NPA for mass work and for recovering and rebuilding the mass base. It also went against the attempt of the Rightists to liquidate the armed struggle and follow the reformist example of the Soviet leader Gorbachov.

At the same time, the NDFP engaged the Ramos regime in peace negotiations. The Hague Joint Declaration was agreed upon in 1992 to lay the framework for peace negotiations. And several more agreements were forged in order to advance the peace negotiations, which formally opened in 1995.

Some observers think that there was an ebb in the fighting between the NPA and the reactionary forces because of the peace negotiations. But the real cause was the decrease of the mass base and the weakening of the offensive capability of the NPA from 1988 to 1991 and the need for rectification and recovery from 1992 to 1998.

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## ***V. Revitalization and resurgence of people's war***

The rectification movement was successful. The mass base expanded. The NPA could launch tactical offensives in different parts of the Philippines from 1996 onwards. It was able to capture a series of high-ranking military officers, including a general.

The people's war was revitalized and resurgent in the last two years of the Ramos regime and in the three years of the Estrada regime. Estrada approved the military campaigns of suppression against the NPA and terminated the peace negotiations soon after he signed the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). Eventually, he became preoccupied with the campaigns against the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in Mindanao.

### ***VI. Oplan Bantay Laya***

The Arroyo regime pretended for a while to continue the peace negotiations with the NDFP in 2001. But it decided to launch Oplan Bantay Laya I and II from 2001 to the end of her rule. International human rights organizations and UN human rights agencies called attention to the gross and systematic violation of human rights and made recommendations to the Arroyo regime to improve the human rights situation in the country. The regime turned a deaf ear to all of them. Since its inception, Oplan Bantay Laya has perpetrated the abduction, torture and extrajudicial killing of more than 1,000 social activists, including trade unionists, peasant leaders, human rights advocates, religious and journalists. At the same time, the peasant masses and indigenous peoples in the countryside have been subjected to arbitrary arrests and detention, bombings and forced evictions from their land and homes. The violent attacks on urban-based social activists was calculated to demoralize and weaken the legal mass movement and cut it off from the armed revolutionary movement in the countryside. But the people's war intensified in response to the escalating campaigns of suppression.

### ***VII. Prospects under the Aquino II regime***

The present Aquino regime follows the US Counterinsurgency Guide and is continuing Oplan Bantay Laya until January 2011. However, there is already a 5-year military plan intended to defeat and destroy the NPA. By cutting the budgets for education, health and other social services, Aquino has increased the budget for the military and made way for a huge amount of debt service.

He has also increased the budget for an agency that is intended to be the civilian arm for facilitating the forced evacuation of peasants and the indigenous people who are victims of displacements due to militarization and wide-scale landgrabbing by mining and logging companies.

There are indications that the Aquino regime is not interested in peace negotiations as a way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and laying the basis for a just and lasting peace. To date, the Manila government has not reciprocated the NDFP's demand for the resumption and acceleration of formal peace negotiations and has not responded to the NDFP's proposal for a Concise Agreement to End Civil War and Achieve Immediate Just Peace. This proposal has been relayed to the GRP since August 27, 2005.

The NDFP is patiently waiting for the Aquino regime to dispatch its emissaries and to form the new negotiating panel of the GRP.

***Fight and Defeat the US-Aquino Regime  
and Fulfil the Requirements for Advance  
toward the Strategic Stalemate***

**March 29, 2011**

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***Introduction***

In celebration of the 42<sup>nd</sup> founding anniversary of the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29, 2011, we the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines salute all the Red commanders and fighters. This is a time to honor our revolutionary martyrs and heroes, take stock of our strength and achievements and renew our resolve to advance the people's war to a new and higher stage.

Together with the entire Party and the entire Filipino people, we celebrate the accumulated victories of the NPA in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We congratulate and commend the NPA for defeating Oplan Bantay Laya and for scoring significant victories in the process.

We are well prepared and highly confident to confront and defeat one more US-designed plan to suppress the revolutionary forces of the people. This is Oplan Bayanihan, which is being unleashed by the new Aquino puppet regime of big compradors and landlords. It is dressed up and heavily made up in a vain attempt to make it look different from the much discredited Oplan Bantay Laya. But it is the same brutal continuation of its immediate predecessor and earlier antecedents from the time of Marcos.

Due to the persistence and increased rapacity of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the broad masses of the Filipino people are suffering exploitation and oppression more than ever before and are ready to rise up against the Aquino regime and the entire ruling system. They are further outraged when the regime and its armed minions misrepresent revolutionary resistance as the cause of underdevelopment, poverty and other dire social conditions in the country.

***1. Protracted crisis of the world capitalist system***

There is no letup in the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. The US and other imperialist powers dogmatically stick to the bankrupt policy of neoliberal globalization. Thus, the global economic crisis is protracted and is heading towards a worse stage. The entire capitalist world is actually in a state of depression and disorder.

The imperialist and puppet states continue to attack the rights of workers, press down wages and cut back on government social spending. They do so in order to provide more opportunities to the monopoly bourgeoisie for rapid capital accumulation and profit-making through tax cuts, state supply contracts, trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets, financial speculation and manipulation, deregulation and denationalization and plunder of underdeveloped economies.

The finance oligarchy and the rest of the monopoly bourgeoisie, who are responsible for unprecedented economic plunder in the last three decades and for the current grave crisis continue to amass superprofits by gobbling up public funds and passing the burden of the crisis on to the working people and the underdeveloped countries.

The public money doled to bail out the banks and key corporations has been used by these to show book profits and not to generate production and employment in order to counter the crisis and stimulate demand. Now confronted by huge public debt and deficits, the imperialist governments have adopted austerity measures at the expense of public sector employees, social services and the people in general who are obliged to pay higher taxes and service fees.

The crisis that used to be traced to the bursting of the housing bubble due to the abuse of household debt and the far greater abuse of corporate debt and derivatives in the financial markets has dramatically become the uncontrollable crises of imperialist and puppet states in the form of public deficits and public debt.

At the base of the financial crisis is the crisis of overproduction that besets the whole world and extends from raw materials, semimanufactures and basic industrial goods to high-tech electronic goods. The overconcentration and over-centralization of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie have reached unprecedented levels

while production stagnates and the livelihood of the workers and working people and the economies of the third world are devastated.

In the imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie are intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the people. Thus, the people are incited to resist and the working class is aroused to wage class struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie. Outbursts of mass protests of the workers, the youth, women, immigrants and other people are occurring in North America, Europe, Japan and elsewhere. Anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist formations are steadily developing.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is using chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, fascism and warmongering to divide and manipulate the people and draw them away from recognizing the roots of the crisis in the iniquitous system of capitalism and imperialism. But the rising reactionary currents generated by the monopoly bourgeoisie outrage the people and drive them to wage resistance and build their organized strength.

While the imperialist countries are still united against the people and the underdeveloped countries, they are increasingly at odds with each other over grave economic, financial, trade, security and other problems. In one summit after another, the imperialist leaders have failed to solve these problems and to stabilize the world situation. The traditional imperialists have serious contradictions with such new entrants as China, Russia, India and Brazil to the circle of global players.

The sharpest contradictions between the imperialist powers and the broad masses of the people are most flagrant in the underdeveloped countries. Subjected to the worst forms of exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and their local puppets, the people have begun to rise up in entire countries and global regions. Mass movements are surging forward along an anti-imperialist and democratic line of march.

The current widespread mass uprisings and armed revolutions in South Asia, North Africa and the Middle East are harbingers of more to come. They are bound to create the conditions for the rise of proletarian revolutionary parties and anti-imperialist and democratic mass movements.

In the particular case of Libya, the social turmoil has turned into a civil war between the Gadaffi regime and the opposition raising the old monarchist flag. The imperialist powers headed by the US have launched a war of aggression against the national sovereignty of Libya and the Libyan people under the pretext of humanitarian intervention to save civilians. The US pretends to yield chieftainship to the NATO that it in fact directs and controls.

The latest of the wars of aggression instigated by the US, UK and France has laid bare the contradictions among the imperialist powers. Germany and Russia, together with China, India, Brazil and other less developed countries are critical of the war and refuse to join it. The states of the Arab League are divided over the issue, while those of the African Union oppose the war of aggression.

Maoist parties are growing in strength and advancing in India, the Philippines and other countries and are taking the lead in advocating and waging people's war. They are in alliance with other revolutionary parties and mass formations in various countries and on a global scale.

As it protracts, worsens and deepens, the crisis of the world capitalist system poses the danger of more imperialist wars of aggression. At the same time, it favors the rise of revolutionary movements throughout the world in both developed and the underdeveloped countries.

Even before the imperialist powers can stem or alleviate the crisis that dramatically occurred in 2008, well substantiated and well-reasoned estimates point to its new and worse stage occurring in 2016. Within this time frame, the Aquino regime and the entire ruling system face a dismal future as they remain servile to the policies dictated by the imperialist powers headed by the US.

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## **2. Further rotting of the domestic ruling system**

Under the weight of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and due to its backward character and chronic crisis, the Philippine ruling system of the big comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class is becoming ever more rotten and more exploitative and oppressive. It is hated by the broad masses of the people.

The Aquino regime is bound hand and foot to the US policy of neoliberal globalization. Its so-called Philippine Development Plan hews closely to this policy and serves to further violate the political and economic sovereignty of the people and auction off our natural resources and the rest of the national patrimony in order to let the foreign banks and firms and the big compradors and landlords like the Aquino and Cojuangco families rake in profits.

The Philippine economy continues to be ravaged by the neoliberal policy of denationalization, trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets and deregulation. It is being made ever more dependent on the export of cheap raw materials and cheap labor, on low value-added processing for reexport on call-center employment and rising levels of foreign and local public debt.

No cap whatsoever is effectively restraining public borrowing from abroad and from local sources. At the same time, the Aquino regime has an entire program of raising taxes and fees on social services. It has adopted a policy of austerity. It has allowed the prices of oil, food and other basic commodities to soar. The people are already fed up with the regime in such a short time because of their growing poverty and hardship, the failure of the regime to offer solutions to their basic problems and its obsession with gimmickry and triviality. They are endlessly insulted by claims that the popularity of the regime rises on the basis of manipulated poll ratings even as the prices of basic commodities are rising.

The Aquino regime is shamelessly following the US global war of terror and the US Counterinsurgency Guide in coming out with its own new internal security plan aimed at deceiving the people and destroying the revolutionary movement. The new campaign plan of military suppression is a viciously violent wolf masquerading as an amiable sheep. It is essentially a continuation of Oplan Bantay Laya as a futile antipeople attempt to defeat the armed revolutionary movement through brutal human rights violations perpetrated with impunity.

The regime makes false promises to the people to engage in good governance, deliver social services, engage in economic development and undertake security reforms. The military is assured of priority funding, despite the rampant corruption of military officers and the far more urgent need for economic development and social services.

The military is under orders to mouth demagogic slogans to dress up its antipeople, antinational and antidemocratic character and objectives as "whole of nation approach" or "people-centered" strategy and its military operations as "winning the peace", "peace and development" efforts and "respect for human rights".

But in fact, the military openly declares that it is still focused on its triad operations (synchronized combat, intelligence and civil-military operations) in order to defeat threats to the security of the reactionary state. The non-combat operations serve mainly to strengthen the intelligence network and intensify combat operations.

They are used to deceive the people, slander the revolutionary forces, mobilize the government agencies and nongovernmental organizations for the counterrevolutionary war and cosmeticize the appearance of the military in order to facilitate combat operations against the revolutionary forces and the people. As in the case of the killing of botanist Leonardo Co, the AFP endlessly dishes out disinformation and outright lies in order to cover up its fascist crimes and human rights violations.

Local officials and government agencies and NGOs aligned with the regime are also assured of US and other foreign funding and local budgetary appropriations in order to deliver doleouts and palliatives with the devious aim of inveigling the people and communities in the guerrilla fronts into turning against the NPA and force them into providing intelligence for precise strike operations by the AFP against the NPA.

Cynically, the Aquino regime believes that it can continue to rule by carrying out US-dictated policies, avoiding to offer any real solution to the basic economic, social and political problems and engaging in mere gimmickry and psywar. The regime pretends to be unaware that the people have a growing contempt for its failure to fulfil its promises to hold the Arroyo regime accountable for corruption and human rights violations and to end poverty by eliminating corruption.

The basic contradictions in Philippine society continue to sharpen and flare up. The broad toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as the middle social strata are increasingly revolted by the escalating exploitation

and oppression inflicted on them by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

As the broad masses of the people are restive, the contradictions among the reactionaries are bursting out recurrently in violent ways. The various competing political factions of the ruling classes have private armed groups and their own political and criminal cliques within the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces.

The people and the rivals of those in power increasingly see the Aquino regime as excessively servile to foreign interests, incompetent and corrupt and prone to the use of violence despite its own self-serving claims to the contrary.

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### **3. Possibilities from the crisis conditions**

The crisis conditions are favorable for advancing the people's war from the stage of strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The Party is correct in setting the line of march for the revolutionary movement in the medium term.

It is the duty of the NPA to wage the people's war and advance from stage to stage in order to realize the people's aspirations for national liberation and democracy. The armed counterrevolution must be frustrated and defeated in its plan to destroy or reduce to inconsequentiality the armed revolution and thus leave no way for the people to achieve national and social liberation.

Oplan Bayanihan is the same creature as Oplan Bantay Laya, wearing the signature lipstick of "internal peace and security plan". It advertises itself with the slogan of "winning the peace" and misrepresents its brutal military campaign of suppression as "peace and development" outreach operations in order to camouflage the escalation of the triad operations of synchronized combat, intelligence and civil-military operations. In pursuit of the US Counterinsurgency Guide 2009, the Aquino regime can pay lip service to peace and reconciliation and use peace negotiations as a mere disposable tactic or ploy.

But why resume the formal meetings of the peace negotiations between the reactionary government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines at this time? The peace negotiations are a means for the people and the revolutionary forces to proclaim the program of the new-democratic revolution and challenge those in the reactionary government to agree to address the roots of the civil war with basic social, economic and political reforms in order to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

Under pressure by the crisis of the ruling system and the growing strength of the armed revolutionary movement, the Aquino regime is being reminded of the option to come to a peace agreement with the revolutionary movement or persist in using the peace negotiations as a futile attempt to deceive and undermine the fighting will of the people and the revolutionary forces and to dream of their capitulation or destruction.

The enemy's use of the peace negotiations to deceive the people is preempted by the declaration of the revolutionary forces that the line for a just and lasting peace is no different from the line of people's revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation and democracy. The NDFP has frustrated every attempt of the reactionary government to frontload the end of hostilities in the peace negotiations or to engage the NDFP in ceasefires that obscure and lay aside the need to address the roots of the armed conflict through basic reforms.

The revolutionary movement is exerting extra efforts to accelerate the progress of the peace negotiations and has even gone so far as to offer an immediate alliance and truce on the basis of a concise declaration to assert national independence, expand democracy, develop the economy through land reform and national industrialization and undertake international relations for the purpose of peace and development.

The Aquino regime cannot take comfort from the notion that the revolutionary movement cannot yet overthrow the ruling system in the next five years or from any scheme for the counterrevolutionary armed forces to destroy the revolutionary movement, render it inconsequential or make it capitulate.

The revolutionary mass movement is capable of removing the Aquino ruling clique from power in the same manner that the Marcos and Estrada ruling cliques were removed and the Arroyo ruling clique was almost removed. Some errors in the conduct of the mass movement allowed the regime to maneuver and survive through sheer brutality and terrorism. Lessons must be learned from the failure to overthrow the Arroyo ruling clique despite its extreme isolation and unpopularity. Errors must be reviewed and rectified so that the revolutionary mass movement can realize the full potential of the favorable objective situation.

The crisis conditions, the growing strength of the revolutionary movement, the rapid rate at which the Aquino regime is being exposed as antipeople, antinational, anti-democratic, corrupt and brutal are such that the revolutionary forces can build a broad united front and generate a mass movement to isolate and remove the Aquino ruling clique from power in a relatively short period of time.

The rising prices of oil, food and other basic commodities are a signal for a brewing political storm that in other countries and regions of the world is already raging. The combustible issues of corruption are bound to catch up with Aquino despite the propaganda that he is personally clean.

The people are taking him to task not only for failing to prosecute and imprison the Arroyos for corruption and gross human rights violations but more so for condoning the economic crimes of Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan and favoring them and other big donors to the Aquino electoral campaign fund in 2010. It is only a matter of

time that the backroom operations of Aquino's close kin and friends are exposed. The return of the "Kamag-anak Inc." and the rise of the so-called "Kaklase at Kaibigan Inc." are giving rise to growing cynicism over Aquino's anti-corruption slogans.

The Aquino family and its sycophants have long boasted that they were mainly or solely responsible for the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and that the revolutionary movement did not have any role in it. They are blinded by their accumulation of spoils in the persistent ruling system and fail to see that the revolutionary mass movement has played a major role in the overthrow of reactionary ruling cliques and has accumulated strength from such exercises of people's power.

It is a matter of justice long overdue that the revolutionary movement uses its growing strength to dispel once and for all the lie that the revolutionary movement had nothing to do with ending the Marcos dictatorship and that only those like the Aquino family and their hangers-on who can collect the spoils of bourgeois power are the victors in the protracted struggle between revolution and counterrevolution.

In one regime after another, renegades from the revolutionary movement have served as special agents of anti-communism and reaction and have been rewarded with positions in the reactionary government. The people and the revolutionary forces would find satisfaction if the renegades hanging on to the Aquino regime would lose their jobs and the Aquino family loses the pretense at having the right of patent over the power of the people in one more exercise of this in a magnitude and manner comparable to that which brought down Marcos and Estrada.

#### ***4. Political requirements for the advance of the people's war***

The negotiating panels of the entity that now calls itself the Government of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines have been able to resume formal meetings because the former has lifted its illegitimate "suspension" of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and has declared that the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines are not terrorist organizations.

But we should have no illusion that a peace agreement would soon be reached by the NDFP with the reactionary government despite the optimistic time frame expressed in the Oslo Joint Statement of February 21, 2011. The GRP has already made thinly veiled threats that if the NDFP refuses to capitulate before the end of the first three years of the Aquino administration, then the GRP would terminate the peace negotiations. At the same time, the GRP and its pseudo-progressive hangers-on calculate that by then, the campaign of military suppression under Oplan Bayanihan shall have succeeded and made peace negotiations unnecessary.

The public should know that the GRP during the first round of formal talks attacked The Hague Joint Declaration as a document of perpetual division and qualified its affirmation of existing agreements with a claim to sole governmental authority in the Philippines and with an implied demand for the capitulation of the NDFP to the GRP. The GRP also brazenly withdrew the agreed upon June date of the second round of formal talks when it failed to get a ceasefire from the NDFP side for the duration of these talks.

At any time, the GRP can scuttle the peace negotiations in any of several ways: simply demanding the capitulation of the NDFP, refusing to release the JASIG-protected persons and the 350 political prisoners, opposing basic social and economic reforms, blocking the necessary political and constitutional reforms and the like. In the absence of a peace agreement, the broad masses of the people and the revolutionary forces must resolutely advance the people's war for national liberation and democracy from the stage of the strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate.

The CPP is ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared and capable of leading the new-democratic revolution and advancing the people's war from the current stage to a new and higher stage. In the process, the Party, the NPA, the NDFP and all other revolutionary forces of the people will grow in strength and gain the capability to perform greater tasks and achieve greater victories.

In ideological building, the Party must ensure that all current full members briefly review the Party Constitution and Program and the content of the basic Party course and proceed quickly to accelerate the basic education of the candidate-members in connection with fulfilling the tasks for advancing the people's war in the next five years.

Prolonged studies at any level or promises of higher levels of education in the name of consolidation and further consolidation should not be used to delay the promotion of Party candidate-members to full Party members. We must avail of simplified study materials and procedures developed by our educators and propagandists, with the use of illustrations in print and other audio-visual aids. The study of entire Party courses can now be facilitated

with audiovisual aids.

We must be sensitive to the desire of candidate-members to attain full membership as a recognition and measure of their worthiness as proletarian revolutionaries. We must boldly accelerate the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists, without letting in a single undesirable.

The Party cadres at the branch level and in the Party groups within the mass organizations must make sure that the candidate-members are promoted to full membership within the period of candidature stipulated by the Party Constitution for various class categories; i.e., six months for those of worker or peasant origin and one year for those of petty bourgeois origin.

We need to increase our Party membership from the current tens of thousands to at least 250,000 in the next five years or so at the annual average of one Party member recruiting another to become a Party member. Party organs and units at all levels, from the branch to the Central Committee must assess the Party membership and plan how the current Party members within their respective scopes can be increased. We can aim to fulfil this target in the plan only if we vigorously and successfully develop the mass movement in the urban and rural areas. Only through the development of the mass movement can we have a large base for recruiting Party members for various types of revolutionary work as well as for service as Red fighters of the NPA.

We must be able to deploy more Party members from the ranks of workers and the educated youth for service in the people's army and for mass work and building Party branches, mass organizations and organs of political power in the countryside. We must systematically send urban-based Party candidate-members and mass activists to do social investigation and mass work in the countryside and become Red fighters of the people's army.

In political building, the Party must propagate the new-democratic revolution and generate the mass movement by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the toiling masses of workers and peasants and all other patriotic and progressive strata and sectors in both urban and rural areas.

The urban-based mass movement must grow in strength and advance in order to raise the burning issues affecting the lives of the people, to enlighten and militate the people and press hard against the ruling clique and the entire ruling system. There is no dearth of outstanding issues that should be addressed by the mass movement. The incessant increases in oil prices, the rising costs of living, widespread unemployment, landlessness and homelessness, rural poverty, hunger, the spread of disease and the rapid deterioration of social services all infuriate the people and rouse them to political action.

The crucial task for the mass movement is to put forward critical analysis and lay out the correct line of struggle against the ruling reactionary clique and system and mobilize its forces to reach out to the masses in their millions through effective organizing and propaganda work in order to rally the people to fight for their national and democratic aspirations.

The patriotic and progressive mass organizations must be enlarged and militated. They must transform the people's hatred of the ruling system into organized revolutionary strength and avail of, and test, the current regime's pretenses at respecting democratic rights. The mass struggles in the urban areas are still legal and defensive and the objective is to enlarge the mass actions rather than go into small and isolated provocative actions.

But there must be an increasing measure of militancy. We have an abundant wealth of experience of militating and mobilizing the masses as we did in the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and in the process of overthrowing the Marcos dictatorship in the period of 1983-86 and the Estrada regime in the period of 1999 to 2001. Should the Aquino regime resort to attacking and suppressing mass protest actions, the people would rise up on a wide scale as already seen in our history and in various countries and continents today. In our historical experience, the attacks of the Marcos regime and subsequent regimes have only served to inflame and militate the masses. We observe in protest actions abroad that whenever these are attacked by the military or police, the mass protests spread and intensify until the regime is toppled.

A strong mass movement is needed in the urban areas in order to isolate and weaken the urban-based ruling clique and prevent it from being able to deploy more military and police forces against the armed revolutionary movement of the people in the countryside.

Without a strong urban-based legal democratic mass movement, the enemy can at will deploy more military forces against the people and the revolutionary forces in the guerrilla fronts. The Arroyo regime was overconfident in deploying more military forces in the countryside because the urban-based mass movement slackened and became smaller and the anti-Arroyo movement within the military was suppressed.

In any future alliance of the legal democratic forces and the disgruntled officers and members of the reactionary armed forces and police, the rallying cry should be for the latter forces within the reactionary government to respect the democratic right of free expression and democracy and allow the growth of the mass protests before they issue the declaration of withdrawal of support from the ruling clique.

The New People's Army is the main organization of the Party for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people wherever it operates in the countryside. Its units can effectively engage in mass work and initiate the formation of organs of political power, mass organizations, militia in localities and self-defense units in mass organizations. But responsibilities for mass organizing must be continually passed on to the local Party branches and the mass organizations in order to allow the units of the people's army increasingly to have definite periods of politico-military training and combat duty.

The line for the people's army is to engage in intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base. Every NPA unit must have definite periods of combat duty, mass work and production. When on combat duty, the NPA unit must create or discover opportunities for wiping out enemy units. The NPA must relentlessly carry out tactical offensives in order to seize weapons and increase the thousands of Red fighters into many thousands more and cover all the rural congressional districts within the next five years.

The revolutionary armed struggle must be integrated with the agrarian revolution and the building of revolutionary bases. The peasant masses join and support the people's war only if their democratic demand for land is served by land reform, from the minimum to the maximum program. The people can see more clearly that they are winning in the revolution upon the establishment of democratic organs of political power from the level of the barrio organizing committee to the revolutionary barrio committee.

At every given time in the struggle, the Party, the NPA and the NDFP have a definite amount of strength. But through united front work, they can augment, amplify and maximize such strength directly or indirectly through allied forces. In developing the united front, the Party must seek common grounds for cooperation, taking into account the legitimate rights and interests of the forces in the alliance. But it must maintain independence and initiative and be vigilant against attempts of reactionaries in the alliance to hijack or lead astray the mass movement from the revolutionary road.

We must strengthen the unity of the toiling masses of workers and peasants in the basic alliance. We must link the basic alliance of the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie to build the alliance of progressive forces. Further on, we must link the progressive forces with the national bourgeoisie in order to build the patriotic alliance.

Still further, we are ever ready to form temporary and unstable alliances with sections of the reactionary classes in order to isolate and destroy the power of the most reactionary force. In this regard, we avail of the contradictions among the political and military factions of the ruling system. In forging and maintaining alliances with reactionary forces, the Party must be most conscious of the need for maintaining independence and initiative and sharpening revolutionary vigilance and prudence.

We have long respected and supported the right of the Moro people to self-determination. Their revolutionary struggle benefits ours and ours benefits theirs. We must maintain our alliance with them for our mutual benefit against US imperialism and the reactionary Manila government. The US and the local reactionaries must be frustrated in their scheme to derail or destroy either the NDFP or the MILF in order to turn the full force of the reactionary armed forces against either of them. We are confident that the NDFP-MILF alliance will hold because their common enemy cannot meet the just demands of the Filipino people and the Moro people.

### ***5. The strategy and tactics of people's war***

The New People's Army must be resolute and fierce in strengthening itself and striving to defeat Oplan Bayanihan in the same revolutionary spirit that it strengthened itself and defeated the 14year Marcos fascist dictatorship and all succeeding internal security plans of the reactionary successors of Marcos. The NPA must raise higher its revolutionary consciousness and fighting capability and intensify its tactical offensives in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate within one or two five-year plans.

The NPA must firmly and vigorously pursue the strategic line of protracted people's war. This involves encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating sufficient armed strength here over a protracted period of time until it gains the capability to launch the strategic offensive against the enemy holdouts in the cities and seize

political power on a nationwide scale.

The strategic line avails of the social and physical terrain favorable for building a people's army in stages over a long period of time. The social terrain involves the class content of the line, availing of the participation of the peasant majority of the people in the revolution and fulfilling their democratic demand for land. The physical terrain refers to the wide space for growth, deployment and maneuver of the people's army.

At the current stage of the strategic defensive for the people's army, the enemy forces are on strategic offensive because they are superior to the people's army in a proportion of ten to one in terms of number of troops, military equipment and training. But at the tactical level, the people's army can have the superiority of ten to one against the enemy forces by enjoying the support of the people and by being able to use the element of surprise against specific enemy units at a particular place and time.

The NPA must carry out a war of fluid movement and must avoid decisive engagements which put at risk the existence of any platoon or company. It must wage only those battles that it is sure of winning. When at risk of losing in a decisive engagement, it must always be ready to trade space for time.

It must exercise flexibility in the use of tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting. It concentrates strength superior to that of a target enemy unit for attack. It disperses to deprive the enemy of any visible target or when it conducts mass work among the people. It shifts position when it evades the attack of a superior enemy force and maneuvers to gain time or an advantageous position.

The existing 110 guerrilla fronts must continuously be developed so that all or most of them become company-size fronts and give rise to new guerrilla fronts. They must increase to at least 180 guerrilla fronts in the next five years. The Party leadership and the NPA command of a guerrilla front can take the initiative of deploying armed propaganda teams, squads or platoons to create a new guerrilla front. Adjacent guerrilla fronts must be able to help each other. A relatively stronger guerrilla front must be able to extend the support needed by a weak guerrilla front. In the same manner, relatively stronger regional commands must be able to extend the support needed by the weaker regional commands.

Guerrilla fronts adjacent to each other are clustered to form a wider war theater that enables a wider scope of command, coordination, mutual support and maneuver. This should provide more and better options for offensive and defensive purposes, further speed up the growth of guerrilla warfare and enhance the building of the complete structure of force of the NPA from the regional force down to local guerrillas and the people's militia.

The Party must direct the formation of various levels of command in order to make effective deployment of NPA units for various objectives on varied scales. Such objectives include combat, mass work, production and tax collection. Any level of command must have its own force adequate for security and combat and must have enough personnel and resources to perform its duties.

The NPA has already accumulated a critical mass for bold intensification of guerrilla warfare and advance toward a higher stage in the people's war. The people's army must relentlessly launch tactical offensives in order to seize weapons for creating new units, to increasingly change the balance of forces and to move from the stage of strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. It must aim to accumulate 25,000 rifles in order to develop into the stage of the strategic stalemate.

Every level of command and every unit of the NPA must be conscious of its current armed strength, estimate and plan or target how many more weapons can be seized within a certain period and how to carry out the tactical offensives to seize weapons. The people's army must always be alert to opportunities for tactical offensives aimed at seizing weapons.

The whole array of the structure of force of the NPA which should include regional forces, local forces, people's militia and urban partisans must continue to wage intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base in order to seize firearms and develop the capability of platoons and companies to wipe out enemy units. The main form of tactical offensives must be annihilative, the objective being to wipe out enemy units in order to seize weapons and demoralize the enemy forces.

But certain other tactical offensives must be undertaken to inflict attrition and wear down the enemy forces. These include partisan warfare in urban areas, sparrow warfare, sniping operations, land mine warfare, interdiction of the fuel and supply lines of the enemy and destruction of military vehicles, depots and other fixed installations that are being used against the people's army.

The NPA must deliver effective blows to the head and body of the enemy whenever possible. The enemy must

be made to bleed every day from as many wounds inflicted as possible on a nationwide scale. Ultimately, it can be made to weaken and collapse.

The extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare will yield additional weapons and additional fighting units, improve the tactics and technique of the people's army and raise higher command effectiveness at every level in terms of formations and territorial scope. It will produce the elements of regular mobile warfare, especially when the NPA companies begin to cohere or increasingly coordinate in carrying out tactical offensives. The new and higher level of warfare will be attained on the basis of the victories of guerrilla warfare.

Our policy is to be fierce in battle but to be lenient towards enemy personnel who surrender or lose the capacity to fight due to injuries and who become our captives. We must maintain this policy to serve the long-term objective of encouraging enemy personnel and units to take the revolutionary side of the people or at least cease fighting against the people's army.

The revolutionary armed struggle is facilitated when the reactionary armed forces, police and paramilitary forces tend to disintegrate. Special units of the Party as well as close friends and relatives who are on the revolutionary side must encourage the officers and rank-and-file personnel of the reactionary armed forces to take a patriotic and progressive position on issues and to act in the national and democratic interests of the Filipino people.

We must follow strictly the directives of the Party and the NPA on the proper use of electronic equipment for communications and storage of information. These are very efficient for our positive purposes but when not properly used or handled, these are likewise very efficient in revealing to the enemy any location, identification, status and plan of current and accumulated tactical and strategic information that the enemy can exploit against the revolutionary forces. We have incurred losses of personnel and resources due to mishandling of electronic and digital equipment. And we must continuously study and apply their proper handling and use to enhance our advantage.

The NPA must further integrate revolutionary armed struggle with agrarian revolution and building revolutionary bases. The minimum land reform program must be brought to a new and higher stage. Whenever possible, the maximum land reform program must be carried out, especially in extensive areas from where the people's army has disabled and driven away the despotic gentry and the big landgrabbers. Peasant associations can plan out and coordinate antifeudal mass campaigns and struggles from the municipal to the inter-district levels in order to mobilize tens of thousands of peasant masses.

In guerrilla fronts, certain alliances can be formed by which local reactionary government units can be used to prevent or counter the worst enemy military operations. But the guerrilla fronts can increase to such a great number that they can cover all or most of the rural congressional districts, reduce or eliminate the power of reactionary local governments, and cohere to form relatively stable base areas.

The relatively stable base areas can be developed only if the reactionary organs of political power are dismantled and replaced by the revolutionary organs of political power. In order to displace the political power of the reactionaries and build the revolutionary organs of political power, the people's army and the revolutionary mass movement must exert all efforts to drive away and punish the local despots and bad elements that oppress the people, giving the chance to reform to those who have not incurred blood debts from the people and who submit themselves to the laws of the revolutionary government.

# ***Protracted People's War and Diplomacy***

March 29, 2012

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My assignment in this anti-imperialist conference is to discuss people's war and diplomacy.

I propose to discuss first the protracted people's war in the Philippines. Then, I shall discuss diplomacy and its relation to people's war.

## ***Protracted people's war***

The protracted people's war in the Philippines cannot be discussed priorly without understanding the character of Philippine society and the character of the Philippine revolution.

Philippine society today is semicolonial because in form the political system is independent but in fact it continues to be dominated by imperialism and is run administered by the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The dominant political parties and the series of ruling regimes represent these exploiting classes and are subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism. The apparatuses of state power are dependent on and propped up by US imperialism.

Philippine society is semifeudal because its socioeconomic system is agrarian, without basic industries, and is run by the aforesaid classes to serve foreign monopoly capitalism. In the cities, the compradors reign over the import-dependent enterprises in the commercial industrial sectors in combination with the direct subsidiaries of foreign firms. In the countryside, the landlords own the vast tracts of land for the production of export crops and staple food.

In correspondence to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of society, the character of the Philippine revolution is national-democratic or in other words anti-imperialist and antifeudal. The principal objectives of this revolution are to fight for the people's national sovereignty, achieve national liberation against imperialism and its local puppets and realize as the main substance of democracy the social liberation of the peasant majority of the people through land reform.

Pursuing these tasks began with the old democratic revolution of 1896. It was frustrated by the intervention of US imperialism in 1898 and by war of aggression, starting in 1899. The current revolution in the Philippines is therefore a resumption of the old democratic revolution. But at the same time, it is a democratic revolution of the new type. The leading class is no longer that of the liberal bourgeoisie but that of the proletariat. Revolution is no longer within the context of the world bourgeois revolution but that of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

The new-democratic revolution cannot be accomplished without ending the political power of imperialism and their local puppet reactionaries. Thus, the road of armed revolution has been once more taken by the people in order to get rid of the counterrevolutionary state and free themselves from oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Upon the nationwide seizure of political power, the proletariat and the rest of the people can proceed to socialist revolution.

As the advanced detachment of the leading class in the revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines has adopted the general line of national democratic revolution through protracted people's war since the establishment of this party on 26 December 1968. This general line is based on domestic concrete conditions and the rich historical revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people and is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the advances made in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction in the 1960s.

In people's war, the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength in the countryside over a long period of time until it is possible to seize the cities is in accordance with the class line of the CPP. This class line seeks to bind the workers and peasantry in a basic alliance as the foundation of the democratic revolution as well as of the consequent socialist revolution upon the nationwide seizure of political power. In the concrete conditions of the Philippines, the worker-peasant alliance is developed through people's war.

The comprehensive revolutionary class line of the CPP is to uphold the leadership of the proletariat, rely mainly on the peasantry, win over the social strata of urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and the power of the worst reactionary puppet clique at every given time.

In the countryside, the antifeudal class line requires the proletariat to 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 landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

The people's war is a revolutionary mass undertaking. It is a politico-military process which entails three integral components. These are the armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base.

The CPP conceives of a probable course of development in people's war. It involves the strategic stages of defensive, stalemate and offensive. Up to this time, the New People's Army is in the stage of the strategic defensive in which it can launch tactical offensives. It is determined to grow from small to big and from weak to strong in the countryside where the peasantry, the majority of the people, are and where the terrain affords room for maneuver.

In the long course of people's war, it is possible for the revolutionary movement to carry out land reform in stages from the minimum program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, fair prices for farm products and the raising of production in agriculture and side occupations to the maximum program of land confiscation from the landlords and free distribution of land to the peasants.

In mass base building, the CPP arouses, organizes and mobilizes the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses. Mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural , children and others are built and carry out mass campaigns on basic socioeconomic, political, cultural, environmental and other issues. The appointive provisional organs of political power and then the elective regular organs of political power are formed. The people's democratic government attend to problems in mass organization, public order, land reform, finance, production, defense, health, culture, arbitration and so on.

### ***Diplomacy of the People's Democratic Government***

So much for the general explanation of protracted people's war. I wish to start discussing diplomacy in its proper sense. In the simplest dictionary sense, it means the conduct of relations between states directly through respective heads or through representatives.

The revolutionary forces and the people led by the CPP are building a revolutionary state even as the old reactionary state of the comprador big and landlord class is still well entrenched in the cities. The revolutionary state seeks to displace the old reactionary state in more and more areas of the countryside until it becomes possible to do so in the cities.

I have referred to the revolutionary organs of political power. These have been formed since the very beginning of the protracted people's war. These are now in thousands of villages in the Philippines. These are the base of higher levels of political power at the municipal, district, provincial, regional and national levels.

At whichever level, the appropriate leading organ of the CPP can have the sole governmental authority until the organ of political power, elective or appointive, can arise to assume administrative functions. The National Democratic Front, as the underground united front organization, helps to prepare for the emergence of organs of political power at levels higher than the village or barrio level. The CPP is at the core and leads all organs of political power.

Since 1972, the CPP has promulgated the Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. This amounts to the constitution of the local organs of political power. But so far, there is yet no public proclamation of the provisional revolutionary government at the national level. In the latter part of the 1980s, some regional and provincial governments were proclaimed prematurely and erroneously, unduly exposing regions and provinces where the forces and the masses were relatively strong.

The CPP is now avoiding the public proclamation of provisional organs of political power at levels higher than the village level. It has decided that it is better to gain further strength and broaden participation than to beat the drums, blow the trumpets and attract enemy onslaughts. It has also recognized that to form organs of political power prematurely at higher levels is to draw away attention from basic revolutionary tasks at the grassroots and towards costly bureaucratic verticalization.

For quite some time, since the 1970s, the CPP and the NDFP have related with foreign governments and offices, which take an anti-imperialist line, in addition to ruling revolutionary parties and movements abroad. But when there is a presumption that the CPP or the NDFP is representing the people's democratic government in dealing with a foreign government, there has been no open and explicit proclamation of the relations as diplomatic. So, the CPP and NDFP have preferred to call these relations protodiplomatic.

In recent years, the revolutionary forces and organs of political power led by the CPP have authorized the



NDFP to represent them in proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations with foreign governments. Insofar as there is yet no informal and formal diplomatic recognition extended by any foreign government, it may be said that the informal and discreet relations that the NDFP has with governments or offices thereof have a protodiplomatic character.

At the point that the US was about to launch its war of aggression in the Persian Gulf in 1990, the NDFP co-signed with the representative of the government of Iraq a document against the impending US war of aggression. In consonance with the prospect of peace negotiations with the Manila government, the NDFP has been in official contacts with several states and agencies and has been the subject of official references in documents of several states and in resolutions passed by the European Parliament and the parliaments of Switzerland and other European states.

The revolutionary organs of political power and the revolutionary forces authorized the NDFP to engage the Manila government in exploratory talks in the peace negotiations and in formal peace talks. In both types of talks, the NDFP faced up to the reactionary government in the Philippines on an equal footing within the purview of international law.

The NDFP has retained its revolutionary integrity and upheld the Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. So has the Manila government stuck to its counterrevolutionary character and 1987 constitution. The parties can engage in formal peace negotiations only because they have The Hague Joint Declaration of 1 September 1992 as a framework of mutually acceptable principles such as national sovereignty, democracy and social justice and of there being no precondition whatsoever that would negate the inherent character and purpose of peace negotiations.

The Hague Joint Declaration also sets forth by mutual agreement the agenda which includes such headings as the following: (1) mutual respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, (2) social and reforms, (3) political and constitutional reforms, and (4) end of hostilities and disposition of forces.

As in any peace negotiations, the two contending parties agree to engage in these talks upon the premise that they try to address the root causes of the civil war. The NDFP takes firmly the position that the revolutionary forces and organs of power that it represents can engage in the peace negotiations on the condition that such basic problems of the Filipino people as foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are addressed.

The position of the NDFP is that under international law the NDFP and the movement it represents are guided by a constitution, have the status of belligerency acquired through revolutionary hard work and struggle, have a national structure of political and military authority, and exercise effective control over a significant portion of the population and territory.

Indeed, the NDFP and GRP are co-belligerents in a civil war. The GRP is absolutely wrong whenever it claims anywhere that the revolutionary forces and organs of political power represented by the NDFP are merely insurgent forces. How can the revolutionary forces in the Philippines be considered a police problem, when their just revolutionary cause is clear, they have millions of people and the enemy deploys its regular military forces against them and has spent hundreds of billions of pesos in more than 26 years?

It has been the consistent position of the NDFP since 1990 that exploratory talks and formal peace talks with the GRP be held in a foreign neutral venue, with the cooperation and assistance of a foreign state or agency. The NDFP has learned well the lessons drawn from the talks and ceasefire agreement with the GRP in 1986 and 1987. There are serious costs and risks to the revolutionary government, if talks were to be in Manila or in any guerrilla front in the Philippines.

In connection with the question of venue for exploratory talks from 1990 1995, the NDFP and the GRP have mutually agreed several times to communicate in parallel to some governments as possible host. They mutually agreed to the Belgian government separately and in parallel to request it to host the opening of the formal peace negotiations. The Belgian government, its foreign ministry, graciously agreed to host and facilitate the opening of peace negotiations on June 26, 1995.

The GRP has suspended its peace negotiations with the NDFP since June 27, 1995 after failing to release NDFP consultant Sotero Llamas from detention in compliance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. The GRP and the NDFP have had back channel communications and are looking forward to the resumption of negotiations subsequent to the release of Llamas. The two parties are exploring the venues for meetings of

the negotiating panels and the reciprocal working committees in Oslo, Norway.

### ***Relationship of people's war and diplomacy***

Let me now discuss the relationship of the protracted people's war and diplomacy that is arising from the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. Are these contradictory with each other? Don't the peace negotiations undermine or run counter to the protracted people's war.

Of course, we recognize that the two different things are contradictory. We must know what is the principal thing and the secondary one and we must see the identity that makes the two things related and significant.

It is clear to the NDFP as a matter of principle that the protracted people's war is the principal thing and that it goes into peace negotiations as a secondary thing in order to carry forward the unwavering line of the struggle for national liberation and democracy. The peace negotiations are one more arena of struggle that has arisen between the revolutionary forces and the reactionary government in the Philippines.

The NDFP has made clear to everyone that even as it wisely and properly engages in peace negotiations through its duly authorized negotiating panel, these are secondary not only to the revolutionary armed struggle, which is now the principal form of struggle, but also to the legal mass movement of the patriotic and progressive forces. The overriding principle over all forms of struggle is to fight for national liberation and democracy. Otherwise, peace becomes a mode of capitulation.

The peace negotiations as conducted by the NDFP is one more form of legal struggle, but which is not superior to any or all of the legal mass struggles. It is only in one respect, that these negotiations allow the NDFP to face GRP as an equal under international law. There are quite a number of forms of struggle that involve operating within the GRP legal and political framework.

What is identical among both the revolutionary forces engaging in people's war and in peace negotiations is the aim of fighting for a just and lasting peace across the battlefield as well as across the table. So as not to confuse the people, the revolutionary forces make clear that the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy is the same line for a just and lasting peace. So far, the people's war has given solid results along this line whereas the negotiations have not yet begun even only to tackle the first item in substantive agenda.

The formal peace negotiations between the NDFP and the GRP signify a high level of national and international recognition for the strength already reached by the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. For a long period of time, the GRP regarded the NDFP as a containable police problem and as unworthy of being talked to in formal peace negotiations. But at this point in time, the GRP has already co-signed five solemn documents with the NDFP.

Two of these documents, The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and the Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees of 1995, are signed and approved by the Chairman of the National Council of the NDFP and the President of the GRP. The rest are derivative documents within the competence of the panels. Amidst the provisions of equality, mutuality, joint responsibility, reciprocity and the like, there is not a single term, phrase or word which detracts from the revolutionary integrity of the revolutionary government and organs of political power or which suggests capitulation on their part.

The NDFP can enter into peace negotiations without the GRP being able to impose its constitutional, legal and political presumptions on the NDFP because of the NDFP's adherence to revolutionary principles and the proven strength of the revolutionary forces and organs of political power. Through its highest political and military officials, the GRP has expressed a serious regard for the growing strength of the revolutionary forces because of their revitalization, consolidation and increased strength as a result of the rectification movement by the CPP since 1992.

In the course of peace negotiations with the GRP, it is perfectly the right and in the interest of the NDFP to assert its status of belligerency in accordance with the laws of war and to seek international or diplomatic recognition of its status of belligerency.

Whether there are peace negotiations or not or whatever is the progress these negotiations, it is also possible for foreign governments to recognize said status of belligerency or the political authority of the revolutionary forces and seek from the NDFP safe conduct and protection for citizens of said foreign governments, NGO operations and business concerns in the Philippines so long as the revolutionary forces are growing in strength and the areas under their control are expanding.

Having foresight, the NDFP is already studying how diplomatic missions and consular offices can be

established in order to relate to and cooperate with foreign governments and foreign nationals.

# ***Strengthen the People's Army and Intensify the People's War***

March 29, 2012

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On the 43rd anniversary of the New People's Army, we, the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines salute the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army for steadfastly carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

We congratulate you for all your victories in striving to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. You have further succeeded in integrating the revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and mass base building. We honor our revolutionary martyrs and heroes for their struggles and sacrifices by intensifying our tactical offensives and punishing the enemies of the people.

The crisis of the world capitalist system has worsened to the point of a prolonged global depression. It will persist for a long while, especially because the imperialist powers cling stubbornly to the neoliberal economic policy and are prone to unleashing state terrorism and wars of aggression. The people of the world are suffering greatly and are resisting. Great disorder and upheavals are shaking many countries in all continents.

The global crisis aggravates the internal rottenness and chronic crisis of the Philippine semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The Aquino regime is offering no solution to the crisis but is carrying out antinational and anti-democratic policies that aggravate the crisis. The broad masses of the people are outraged by the escalation of oppression and exploitation.

The crisis conditions in the world and in the Philippines inflict great suffering on the people and drive them to wage all forms of resistance. They are favorable for waging people's war and for realizing the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

## ***1. Global depression, great disorder and people's resistance***

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues unabated and is worsening. An economic depression is devastating the lives of billions of people. The political leaders and business magnates of the imperialist countries continue to aggravate the economic and financial crisis and have failed to revive production and employment and to raise the stagnant rates of national economic growth. The G-8, G-20, the IMF, World Bank and WTO cannot solve the crisis of global capitalism. They merely aggravate it.

They continue to pursue the neoliberal economic policy that has brought about the grave financial and economic crisis. They are blinded by the dogma of the "free market" in a system of monopoly and finance capitalism. They continue to allow the monopoly bourgeoisie to accumulate capital in their hands by every means, reduce wage levels and cut back on social services without minding the destructive consequences to the economy and the people.

The finance oligarchy and the biggest corporations have benefited from huge amounts of bailout money from the state. They continue to rake in superprofits by taking advantage of the high rate of unemployment and raising the rate of exploitation in absolute terms. The failing banks and firms are gobbled up by bigger ones. Thus, the process of capital accumulation is continued by ever bigger and fewer monopoly banks and firms.

In both imperialist and dominated countries, public deficits and public debt have grown as a result of the bailouts, the tax cuts for the corporations and the wealthy and the lower tax collection due to the economic depression. Nevertheless, bureaucratic and military expenditures continue to run high.

In reaction to the public debt crisis, the imperialist and dominated states adopt austerity measures by further reducing social services, public sector employment, workers' wages and pensions. As a result, the economic depression worsens and social discontent spreads. The people are therefore waging various forms of resistance.

The US is at the center of the crisis of monopoly capitalism. It is still the No.1 imperialist power, especially because of its high-tech military power. But it has gone into a significant economic decline, which in a big way undermines its military power. It is no longer the sole superpower as it used to be acknowledged in the decade after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

A multipolar world has arisen as signaled by the expansion of the G-8 into the G-20 as a venue for maneuvers and countermoves among the capitalist powers. The crisis is fuelling intense economic competition and political rivalries among them. They are increasingly at odds over global and regional policies and their tendency to struggle for a redivision of the world is growing. The combination of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) tends to oppose the worst of US impositions.

For a while, the imperialists regarded the full integration of Russia and China into the world capitalist system as the triumphant expansion of capitalism and the death of the socialist cause. But inevitably, the increased number of competing capitalist powers has constricted further the ground for superprofit-taking by the dominant monopoly capitalist powers. It is intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions.

The US and China have been the main economic partners under the neoliberal policy of globalization. But since the outbreak of the financial and economic crisis in 2008, contradictions between them have surfaced despite their continuing collaboration. The US fluctuates between bashing China as a cause of US problems and flattering it as a partner in so many ways.

The US outsourcing of consumer production to China undermined the manufacturing base of the US, contributing to unemployment and causing huge trade deficits. China has used a major part of its export surplus to buy US securities and has thus become the biggest creditor of the US.

The so-called antiterrorist alliance that arose after 9/11 has split. The US-NATO alliance is being countered by China and Russia through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. China and Russia have been disadvantaged by the US-instigated wars of aggression and have increasingly contradicted the position of the US over the issues of Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Iran, Syria and North Korea.

Despite the growing interimperialist contradictions resulting from the worsening crisis of global capitalism, the imperialist powers are still united in exploiting and oppressing the peoples of the world and in dealing with a wide range of issues, including the economic and financial crisis, international trade, global warming and nuclear weapons and poverty, in order to obfuscate the root cause of the problems and further take advantage of the working people.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the escalation of imperialist plunder and war are goading the proletariat and people to wage various forms of resistance. The global depression has resulted in great disorder and great upheavals. Contradictions among factions of the ruling classes in various countries are intensifying. The broad masses of the people are emboldened to fight for a fundamentally better life and bright future.

In the home ground of the No. 1 imperialist power, the Occupy movement of the 99 percent against the 1 percent has spread. More powerful mass protests can be expected to arise against the monopoly bourgeoisie for the loss of jobs and homes, the worsening racial discrimination against people of color and immigrants, the rising fascist currents and the wars of aggression.

In the Euro zone, the public debt crisis is afflicting most countries and is met with austerity measures at the expense of the working people. The working class, the youth, women and other people have responded with general strikes and protest rallies on a wide scale, especially in Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Working class parties and progressive mass organizations are resurgent.

In Japan and South Korea, the proletariat and the people are restless due to the economic stagnation and the rise of unemployment. They are dissatisfied with the policies of one government after another. In Australia and New Zealand, the people are beginning to feel the adverse effects of decreasing exports of agricultural and mineral products.

In China, mass protests among the workers and peasants are increasing in number and frequency, especially against unemployment, land dispossession and corruption. The US is encouraging separatist movements in Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang, the so-called democracy movement to demand the casting away of the communist signboard of the regime and the privatization of state-owned enterprises. At the same time, the Maoist forces are demanding a return to the socialist road.

Russia has seemed to stabilize economically and socially under the regime of the Putin-Medvedev tandem. But it is overdependent on the export of oil and other mineral resources. Once more, political instability is arising as a result of popular dissatisfaction as well as sharpening contradictions among the big bourgeois criminal syndicates.

India and the rest of South Asia are a great field of social unrest. People's war is developing in a big way in

India and in a number of territories where the people wish to build their own independent states. In Nepal, the Maoist party has the potential of seizing power at the center or it has to go back to people's war in the countryside. Maoist parties are striving to carry out people's war in several South Asian countries.

The long-running armed national liberation movements in the Philippines, Colombia, Peru, Turkey, Kurdistan, Niger Delta and elsewhere are favored by the worsening global and domestic crisis conditions. In many other countries, revolutionary parties of the proletariat are preparing to wage people's war.

The popular uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa have resulted in the overthrow of US-supported despotic regimes in such countries as Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen. But the people are frustrated that in each instance, another US-supported reactionary regime takes the place of the previous one. Thus, the trend to carry on the struggle on a revolutionary path against the ruling system is growing.

In Libya, the Gaddafi regime has been overthrown by reactionary forces supported by the US and other NATO powers. But a new national liberation movement is arising. The Western powers also wish to overthrow the Assad regime in Syria in order to pave the way for a war of aggression against Iran. But the Assad regime is resisting and Iran is preparing against aggression.

The most intense armed struggles are now being waged in such countries which have been victims of US-led wars of aggression and occupation as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Libya. The puppet regimes put up by the US and its imperialist allies are shaking due to internal contradictions as well as the growing armed movements for national liberation.

In Latin America, revolutionary armed struggles are being waged in a number of countries while some governments like Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia assert national independence, nationalize foreign enterprises and provide social benefits to win the support of the broad masses of the people. Under the circumstances, the US can still intervene heavily in such countries as Colombia but cannot impose itself on the whole region without being confronted by strong resistance from the people.

The US has declared recently that it is refocusing its forces on East Asia and will not decrease its military spending and presence in the region. It wishes to counter the so-called rising power of China, further pressure the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and reassert US hegemony over the entire region. It is using its military bases, forward stations and docking facilities in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Singapore as the frontline, supported in depth by US military forces in Hawaii, Guam and Australia.

The US is pushing the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement in order to threaten China with economic isolation and pressure it to privatize its state-owned enterprises. It has stirred up tensions in the South China Sea by instigating the Philippine reactionary government to boast of US military support for its claims over certain islands in the Spratlys and by increasing its military presence and the frequency of military exercises and other operations as well as the movement of US aircraft carrier groups in the region.

We can expect the crisis of global capitalism to persist in years to come. The US and other imperialist countries will be afflicted by further crisis. Inter-imperialist contradictions are bound to intensify as a result of the crisis and the drive of every imperialist power to look after its own national and ultranational interests and take part in the struggle for a redivision of the world.

Separately and jointly, the imperialist powers are further oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the people. In collaboration with their imperialist masters, the reactionary puppet states are escalating the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and people in the underdeveloped countries.

But the continuation and aggravation of the oppression and exploitation drive the proletariat and people of the world to fight for national liberation, democracy, social justice and all-round development. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are benefited by the rising anti-imperialist and communist movements in the world and are encouraged further to make their own contributions to these movements.

## ***II. Ruling system on a course of impending disaster***

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is on a course of impending disaster. The crisis of global capitalism violently impacts on the Philippine economy and society. Whatever is its content, the economic growth rate has fallen sharply since 2010. The crisis exposes the bankruptcy and rottenness of the ruling system in economic, social, political, cultural and moral terms.

More than ever before, the political agents of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords expose their puppet character. The Aquino regime is extremely subservient to US imperialism. It continues to follow

the US-instigated neoliberal economic policy in the most beggarly way and open the door further to US military presence and intervention.

The overdependence of the Philippine economy on raw material and semi-manufactured exports is grossly damaging to the people, especially at this time of global depression. Exports of raw materials (agricultural and mineral ores) and low value-added semimanufactures (more than 50 percent of which is partially processed electronics) are priced lower and yield lesser export income due to falling demand in the global market.

The global demand for overseas contract workers is also in decline. This is due to the worsening crisis abroad, the rising unemployment, the anti-migrant currents and uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa. The reduction of earnings remittances from overseas contract workers, combined with the mounting trade deficits and debt service, aggravate the already huge deficits in the balance of payments and of current accounts. Foreign borrowing, which now stands at US\$63 billion, is bound to increase at ever more onerous terms.

The rate of unemployment is rising. The latest Social Weather Stations survey places it at 24 percent in contrast to the grossly underestimated 7 percent of the reactionary government's Labor Force Survey. The wage income is depressed while the prices of basic goods and services are soaring. The inflation rate is also understated by the reactionary government. The cost of fuel is rising every week and is pushing up the costs of basic goods and services.

Even as the economy is depressed, the tax burden and fees for administrative and social services are being increased. Government revenues are being wasted through relentless bureaucratic corruption and military spending, while such basic social services as education and health are being cut back.

The Aquino regime offers no solution to the worsening economic and social crisis. Under the neoliberal policy, it continues to open the country to the wanton importation of all sorts of consumer goods, especially luxury goods for the exploiting classes. It favors real estate speculation, unrestricted logging, mining and all other kinds of activities that allow foreign monopoly firms and their big comprador partners to rake in superprofits. It is hostile to the people's demand for national industrialization and land reform.

The so-called Philippine Development Plan of the current regime is no different from what were in fact anti-development plans of the previous regimes. Its main thrust is to attract foreign investments in huge infrastructure-building projects under the so-called Public-Private Partnership program and to open up the entire country to unbridled plunder and environmental destruction by foreign mining companies.

The regime boasts of an anti-poverty program called the Conditional Cash Transfer, which involves doleouts to families (including those of barangay officials and rich peasants) for the purpose of buying the loyalty of certain communities for a short period. This is focused on the guerrilla fronts and is intended to support the so-called counterinsurgency plan, Oplan Bayanihan.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata are aggrieved by the widespread loss of jobs, reduction of incomes, deterioration of living and working conditions, glaring social inequity and lack of opportunities. Social unrest is widespread and intensifying.

Mass protest actions are breaking out in factories, urban poor and rural communities and schools. Workers wage strikes and other forms of resistance against capitalist exploitation and state repression. Peasants undertake land occupations, street protests, farm strikes, mass petitions and mass confrontations, as well as illegal and armed actions to fight feudal and semifeudal exploitation, landgrabbing and fascist atrocities. Gigantic mass actions are bound to be launched as the Aquino regime stubbornly refuses to heed the people's democratic demands. Within the current year or next, the clamor for a people's uprising will arise, despite efforts of the Aquino regime to divert the attention of the people with anti-Arroyo and anticommunist propaganda.

The broad masses of the people are disgusted by the failure of Aquino to deliver on his electoral promises and his propensity to use publicity and paid poll surveys to distract the people, cover up the criminal acts of the incumbent regime and prettify his image. He has failed to make Arroyo and her accomplices accountable for plunder and human rights violations. Instead, these are worsening under his regime.

The workers and urban poor suffer not only the loss of jobs and incomes but also the demolition of their shanties and communities, without any provision for alternative housing, jobs and other sources of livelihood, in order to make way for real estate and infrastructure projects. The peasant masses suffer ever worsening conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation as well as the main brunt of military campaigns of suppression in the countryside.

The hostile attitude of Aquino towards land reform is starkly manifested by the continuing use of force against the peasants and farm workers and his demand for the benefit of his family the prohibitive price of P10 billion for Hacienda Luisita. This is the corrupt ulterior motive for Aquino's drive to have Supreme Court chief justice Renato Corona impeached by the House of Representatives in reaction to the Supreme Court decision to distribute the land to farm workers.

The Philippine social volcano is once more about to explode. A revolutionary mood is widespread among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata. Under the current circumstances, the rival political factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords are increasingly embroiled in bitter and violent contradictions. A broad range of forces are open to take action against the regime.

At the national level, the contradictions between the pro-Aquino and pro-Arroyo factions are conspicuous in the arrest of former president Gloria M. Arroyo and the impeachment and Senate trial of the Supreme Court chief justice Corona. However, Aquino has so far failed to hold Arroyo and her top accomplices accountable for plunder and gross human rights violations. He is allowing them to keep their ill-gotten wealth and get away with the gravest human rights violations, while he and his own clique take their turn at amassing wealth through bureaucratic corruption and service to imperialist and feudal interests and unleashing violence against the people.

Nevertheless, the Arroyo faction is now trying to rouse up military and police officers previously favored by the Arroyo regime to denounce, discredit and possibly oust the Aquino regime. It is spreading the intrigue that Aquino is poised to appoint the CPP founding chairman to a cabinet position and has already accommodated communists into his government. At the same time, it is accusing him of incompetence and corruption.

Aquino has failed to solve the problems of unemployment, poverty and corruption and is now accountable for aggravating these. His failure to fulfil his electoral promises to the people and even to some of his political allies is bound to incite a broad range of opposition to his regime.

He has also failed to hold Arroyo and her top accomplices to account fully for acts of plunder and gross human rights violations. Despite his slogan of "matuwid na daan" (righteous path), he and his clique are now taking their turn at further enriching themselves through bureaucratic corruption and unleashing human rights violations against the people.

The Aquino regime has paralyzed the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). Its presidential adviser on the peace process and its negotiating panel have made clear to the NDFP that they have no interest but to seek the nullification of previous agreements and the capitulation of the revolutionary forces and people.

They have attacked The Hague Joint Declaration by calling it a document of perpetual division. They refuse to comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). They have neither investigated, nor made amends for, the extrajudicial killings, torture and enforced disappearance of JASIG-protected consultants. They refuse to release the imprisoned JASIG-protected consultants.

The Arroyo regime was responsible for pressing the Dutch government to arrest the NDFP chief political consultant on trumped-up charges of murder, raid the NDFP International Office and six residences of Filipino refugees, seize documents related to the peace negotiations and destroy computer disks for decrypting files of the holders of the documents of identification. But the Aquino regime now blocks the reconstruction of the documents of identification under the JASIG.

The Aquino regime released more than 400 military prisoners involved in several acts of mutiny during the Arroyo regime. But it continues to hold more than 350 political prisoners who are detained on trumped-up charges of common crimes in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL), especially the Hernandez political offense doctrine.

The current regime does not only condone the human rights violations perpetrated by the Arroyo regime but is committing the same gross violations. Instead of releasing the political prisoners, it is emboldening the military and police forces to engage in more abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings of suspected revolutionaries. The rate at which human rights violations are now being perpetrated by the Aquino regime can surpass the rate of the previous regime.

The Aquino regime is obsessed with carrying out Oplan Bayanihan in line with the US Counterinsurgency Guide to be able to get US military assistance. Oplan Bayanihan seeks to surpass Oplan Bantay Laya in cleverness and psywar by calling military operations "peace and development operations" and violations of human rights



“respect for human rights” and at getting more accurate and timely intelligence through so-called civil-military operations.

The Aquino regime is as brutal as the Arroyo regime in carrying out campaigns of military suppression. It approves the gross and systematic human rights violations under the Arroyo regime and pushes the military, police and paramilitary forces to continue with their atrocities. It is increasing the number of political prisoners on the basis of trumped-up charges of common crimes in violation of CARHRIHL.

The Aquino regime is not interested in serious peace negotiations with the NDFP. Within the framework of its Oplan Bayanihan, it considers peace negotiations only as a means to divide and weaken the revolutionary forces while it escalates brutal military campaigns of suppression to “decimate” the armed revolution and suppress the people's resistance. Unwittingly, it is inciting the people and the revolutionary forces to intensify their armed resistance and to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The Aquino regime has also failed in using peace negotiations to hoodwink the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The MILF Central Committee through its Negotiating Panel continues to steadfastly assert the Bangsamoro's right to self-determination and has opposed and frustrated schemes of the Aquino regime to nullify bilateral agreements already signed, in the same manner that it has attempted to undo its bilateral agreements with the NDFP. The military and police forces of the reactionary government have made provocations against the MILF and have been responsible for major outbreaks of violence. The alliance between the MILF and the NDFP needs to be strengthened further to maximize the benefit of mutual support against a common enemy.

The Aquino regime is extremely subservient to US imperialism. It allows the US to station military forces and build up facilities in the Philippines. It calculates that the US would give all-out support for the regime's campaigns of suppression and for so-called external defense.

The Aquino regime collaborates with the US in stirring up tensions over the Spratlys issue in order to allow the latter to entrench itself militarily in the Philippines. It engages in anti-China provocations and tries in vain to make the people believe that the US would side with the Philippines against China in case of war. It obscures the fact that the US-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty has no automatic retaliation clause and that the US has far larger interests in its relations with China than with the Philippines.

The revolutionary forces and people must be alert to the increasing US military intervention in the Philippines in connection with US support for the reactionary government in the civil war as well as in connection with the US scheme to strengthen its hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region.

The revolutionary forces and people must fight to make sure that the US and its puppets ultimately lose all ground to stand on in the Philippines.

### ***III. Status and tasks of the NPA***

Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army has scored victories and gained political, military and organizational strength since last year. On the basis of its current strength, it is firmly on the course to realize the plan of advancing the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The Party is pushing for the summing up of experience, learning positive and negative lessons and carrying out the tasks for gaining strength and for advancing against the enemy forces.

The NPA has a mass base that runs into the millions. It operates in more than 100 guerrilla fronts spread out in 70 provinces nationwide. The guerrilla fronts cover thousands of barrios and extensive areas of several hundred towns and cities. The big fronts cover 60-100 barrios while the small and medium-size fronts cover 40-59 barrios. New guerrilla fronts are now being built at a faster clip and new areas are persistently being reached and developed. Vigorous expansion of guerrilla warfare is an imperative to effectively fight and defeat the enemy's constriction tactics and bring the people's war to higher levels.

Red fighters number in the thousands and have increased as a result of continuous recruitment and training programs and intensified tactical offensives. Tactical offensives have yielded weapons for arming more Red fighters and building new combat units.

The broad masses of the people have applauded the NPA for seizing the initiative and successfully launching offensives against the escalating attacks of the reactionary armed forces. The more the enemy forces attack, the more the people's army must seize the initiative in fighting. Only by maintaining an offensive spirit and developing its initiative can a guerrilla force preserve and strengthen itself against largescale and prolonged campaigns of encirclement, constriction and suppression by fascist troops.

The enemy concentrates around two battalions against a 15-20 kilometer radius priority target area. To saturate the focus area and attack it in depth, the enemy typically employs more than 200 troops deployed into columns of squads and sections to seek engagement and when contact is made, to rapidly converge through the use of modern communications and superior mobility.

Guerrilla tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting must be used with discernment and skill in order to avoid the enemy's strong forces while actively attacking its weak ones, maintain firm leadership and guidance over the masses and revolutionary organizations in the areas under attack to actively resist and persevere in struggle, expand outside the concentration of enemy forces and arouse and mobilize ever wider sections of the masses for the revolution.

Independent operations by guerrilla units are essential to achieve flexibility but correct and firm Party and army leadership, planning and command at the regional, subregional and front levels are crucial. Correct and timely assessments of the political and military situation and correct and timely alignment of the tasks, disposition and principal and secondary directions of efforts are critical. Strengthening front and interfront planning, command and coordination are acutely needed for greater maneuverability, flexibility and initiative.

Subregional and provincial guerrilla war theaters or areas composed of three to five guerrilla fronts are being developed with a complete force structure of subregional, front and local forces down to the militia and barrio self-defense corps, as well as partisan or sparrow units for special operations in urban centers. These guerrilla theaters take into consideration and full advantage of favorable terrain in inter-provincial boundaries, combination of mountainous and flat terrain, water systems, linkages with nearby or adjoining guerrilla areas, and political centers. Geographical divisions of these war areas shift depending on the changes in the military situation in the area.

The subregional and front forces in a well-developed guerrilla theater can grow from battalion into oversized battalion strength complemented by brigade strength of militia units and barrio self-defense corps. The subregional forces serve as the rallying point for dispersed front units and enhance the offensive posture in varying capacities of front forces, militia units and barrio self-defense corps. The Oplan Bayanihan forces conducting prolonged and intensive military sweeps and attacks concentrating two or more battalions in a small area of focus are repeatedly attacked by different units of the NPA and suffer heavier casualties than they can inflict on the NPA units.

The Party directs the commands of the NPA at various levels to make timely reports in the revolutionary press on victories in tactical offensives. The people and revolutionary forces are always eager to read about the victories of the NPA in Ang Bayan and other revolutionary publications, as well as see and view images and video footage of their work distributed over the internet or in video disks.

The people welcome the nationwide attacks of the people's army on mining, logging and plantation enterprises that grab the land, ravage the environment and ruin agricultural fields and other means of livelihood of the indigenous people and the peasants. The recent successful NPA operations against three large mining companies in Surigao and against the Sumitomo plantation inspire the people and revolutionary forces nationwide.

The NPA is highly conscious of genuine land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and as the way to arouse, organize and mobilize the poor peasants and farm workers as the main force of the revolution. Together with the local Party branches and the peasant associations, NPA units are carrying out the minimum land reform program in most areas and the maximum land reform program wherever this is possible.

The minimum land reform program involves reducing land rent, eliminating usury, raising wages of farm workers, setting fair farm-gate prices and promoting agricultural and sideline production. The people's army stands in support of the peasant masses who demand such land reform and ensures that the pertinent laws of the people's democratic government are followed.

The maximum land reform program involves land confiscation or restitution, free land distribution, and providing technical, financial and other kinds of support for land reform beneficiaries. Together with the peasant masses, the people's army is the decisive force for realizing the agrarian revolution.

The NPA has expanded and consolidated the revolutionary mass base in the guerrilla fronts by building organs of political power, the mass organizations and the local branches of the Party. These revolutionary forces are responsible for civil governance and allow the NPA to move freely in order to fight the enemy and open new areas. All Red commanders and fighters strongly desire the development of the guerrilla fronts as preparation for building relatively stable base areas.

The organs of political power are supported by the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and children and are assisted by working committees on mass organizations, public education, land reform, production, health, defense, cultural affairs, arbitration and others as may be deemed necessary. Local Party branches lead the local organs of political power.

The NPA is augmented, complemented and supported in the localities by tens of thousands of people's militia personnel as local police forces and hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men and women in the mass organizations. These auxiliary forces carry out functions of internal security and basic politico-military training and therefore allow the NPA units to move freely and perform functions over a wide area.

Although the people's militia, which ranges in size from a squad to a platoon per barangay, is essentially for local police work, the NPA trains militia teams to conduct surveillance and certain offensive operations against the enemy. The organs of political power and the mass organizations are an effective network for observing and reporting the movements and activities of enemy forces. Units of the people's militia, together with defense committees and self-defense units play an important role in developing extensive local guerrilla warfare.

But to perform effectively its key role of destroying the enemy and thereby strengthening the revolutionary movement, the NPA must rely on the Party and the people and must do mass work and conduct politico-military training of its units. There is ample time in the ongoing five-year plan for the NPA to bring the people's war to the threshold of the strategic stalemate.

The Party considers the NPA as the key force for advancing the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. In our message to the people's army last year, we declared that we should strive to realize such advance within five to ten years. But big opportunities for a far more accelerated advance abound as a result of the rapidly intensifying crisis of the ruling system. To prepare the revolutionary forces and position them well to seize such opportunities, we should double our efforts in strengthening the people's army and other revolutionary forces in ideological, political, organizational, military and economic terms.

The advance depends upon how the subjective forces of the revolution expand and consolidate themselves, reach out to and mobilize an unprecedented number of people and how the enemy forces react. Amid the sharp worsening crisis of the ruling system, the people demand and seek a great advance in their revolutionary struggles. It is absolutely necessary for the revolutionary forces to put forward the call for the advance because the people demand a clear view of what is to be accomplished next on the solid basis of the current strength of the revolutionary forces.

The Party takes the lead in ensuring that the political prerequisites for the advance are realized in both urban and rural areas. The forces led by the Party must militate the people and muster their revolutionary mood. The urban-based legal mass movement must be strengthened in order to make loud and clear the people's clamor for revolutionary change and in order to discredit, weaken and isolate the enemy. The peasant mass movement must be strengthened in order to unleash widespread agrarian mass struggles across wide swaths of the countryside. The rural-based armed revolutionary movement plays the key role in destroying the enemy forces and increasing the guerrilla fronts to serve as the basis for the emergence of relatively stable base areas in the near future.

The senior cadres of the Party and the people's army who are now beyond the age of 60 years are elated that the rank and file of the Party and the people's army are continuously rejuvenated and reinvigorated by a great inflow of young men and women and that the overwhelming majority of young cadres are tempered in people's war. There should be conscious efforts to promote more and more young cadres and commanders to the second line of the Party's leading committees and the NPA's command structure. In doing so, Party and NPA leaders can develop their eventual replacements, delegate more and more tasks and devote more time to summings-up and other ideological tasks crucial to the qualitative advancement of the revolution. Ideological and organizational work must be intensified to urge and prepare large numbers of cadres and activists especially from among the youth to go the countryside and volunteer for the people's army.

The rapid growth of the people's army on the basis of a wide and deep mass base is necessary if we are to advance to the next higher strategic level within the current decade and complete the people's democratic revolution in good time afterwards. The Party must ensure that young cadres with a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism are assigned to the people's army and gain experience and competence in waging the highest form of revolutionary struggle.

The Party cadres and Red commanders must work together closely in planning political-military training and

tactical offensives. Party recruitment and education must be conducted within the people's army. Because the Red fighters are always together in the same unit, the proportion of Party members among them should be high and may even be in the majority. Even when the people's army is in a process of rapid expansion, it is possible to maintain the ratio of 50-50 between Party members and non-members.

Red fighters as well as peasants and farm workers in the mass organizations must be admitted as Party candidate members upon their acceptance of the Party constitution and program and upon the recommendation of Party full members or Party groups. The candidate members should be sworn in as full members within six months during which they undergo basic Party education and comply with their duties in the units to which they belong.

The Party within the people's army initiates and directs the formation of the organs of political power and mass organizations within their areas of responsibility and in expansion areas. We must provide the necessary training, tasking and guidance for these forces to stand and grow on their own in the spirit of trusting and relying on the masses. The local Party branch can easily arise upon the existence of the organs of political power and the mass organizations.

The NPA has various functions: political-military training, combat, mass work, production and cultural work. But the main function that distinguishes it from all other revolutionary forces is its capability to wage armed struggle. It is responsible for annihilating the enemy military forces and laying the ground for establishing Red political power.

The people's army must launch tactical offensives that it is sure of winning. For this purpose, it must apply flexible tactics and use various types and sizes of armed formations, including small teams, squads, platoons and companies. The main objective is to wipe out enemy units and seize weapons so that more units of the people's army can be formed. The people's army must seize several thousand more high-powered rifles and other weapons from the enemy.

But it is also necessary to carry out operations to damage and weaken the enemy. Small teams can be trained and employed to use AMFO (ammonium nitrate fuel oil) bombs, plastic bombs, TNT and incendiaries, including the modest cigarette lighter, to destroy target objects such as military vehicles, facilities, fortifications and other fixed structures. Land mines, sniping and grenade throwing can be employed to impede enemy troop movement or harass any encamped force and gasoline bombs to destroy fuel depots, motor pools and military planes and helicopters. Units of people's militias and self-defense forces are also encouraged to employ indigenous weaponry such as punji-spiked booby-traps, produce explosives from unexploded munitions of the enemy and make use of local tactics in combination and coordination with the full-time formations of the NPA.

It is important to demoralize and disintegrate the enemy forces in various ways. The Party and the NDFP must encourage officers and men of the enemy military and police to study and understand the line of the people's democratic revolution. Party members must be assigned to cultivate relatives and friends within the military and police to form secret patriotic groups and to support any alliance that arises against the antinational, anti-democratic and corrupt policies and practices of the ruling clique.

In this regard, the NPA maintains its policy of lenient treatment of captured enemy troops in accordance with its rules of discipline, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977. Such a policy takes into account the fact that most enemy troops come from the peasantry and working class. It lays the ground for future mass surrenders, mutinies and defections to the side of the revolution, especially when the people's army succeeds in destroying large numbers of enemy units.

The NPA has consistently released military, police and other security forces of the Government of the Philippines (GRP) humanitarian reasons. This is in stark contrast to the GRP policy and practice of torture and extrajudicial killings of captured NPA hors de combat, or treating them inhumanely under indefinite detention after charging them with trumped-up criminal offenses in violation of its own jurisprudence, the CARHRIHL and international humanitarian law.

The power of the landlord class must be destroyed in the rural areas. The prime targets are the big landlords with political power and who are hostile to the revolutionary forces and unwilling to give way even to the minimum land reform program. Efforts must be undertaken to prevent them from further exploiting the peasants, to break up their feudal property and power and to punish those with blood debts.

There may, however, be some big landlords who accept land reform, especially the minimum program and agree to participate in national industrialization. The middle and small types of landlords can be persuaded more easily to agree to land reform, especially when like the big landlords, they see the growing strength of the peasant movement and the people's army. Such strength becomes conspicuous when the NPA wipes out more enemy units and overthrows the despotic landlords.

The broad masses of the people strongly demand the arrest, trial and punishment of the landlords with blood debts, all the human rights violators, the plunderers, ringleaders of criminal syndicates in drugs, human trafficking and cattle-rustling and operators of enterprises that ruin the environment, agriculture and livelihood of the people. The just exercise of the people's power will continue to strengthen the revolutionary movement and weaken the ruling system.

Destroying the power of the landlord class and rendering its running dogs ineffective are necessary for establishing relatively stable base areas. Certain enterprises may be dismantled, such as those that grab land from the peasants and indigenous people, limit the land for land reform, destroy the environment and agriculture, export non-renewable resources, prevent industrialization or engage in extreme exploitation of the workers. These include plantations, mining and logging enterprises that produce for export.

Like its predecessor Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime is promoting and protecting these antipeople enterprises. These use the military, police, paramilitary forces and private security agencies to guard their holdings. Special attention must be given to attacking and disarming these armed personnel as often as necessary until they are eliminated, together with the enterprises that they protect.

The rural mass base of the armed revolution must be built in accordance with the policy of the antifeudal united front. The Party and the working class 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 big despotic landlords. The antifeudal united front is within the context of the national united front.

Under the national united front policy, the Party and the working class rely mainly on the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, combine the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie to form the basic forces of the revolution, win over the middle bourgeoisie in forming the alliance of patriotic forces and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries by having temporary and unreliable allies in order to isolate and destroy the power of one reactionary regime after another of the big compradors and landlords.

Because of its antinational and anti-democratic policies and actions, which aggravate the crisis of the ruling system, the Aquino regime is bound to be further discredited and isolated. The suffering people will rise up against their extreme oppression and exploitation. The rivals of the Aquino ruling clique will escalate their opposition. The Filipino people and the revolutionary forces can avail of the broad united front in order to further isolate and oust the Aquino ruling clique from power.

We must maintain and further develop our relations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and other revolutionary forces of the Moro people. We must respect the Moro people's right to self-determination. We can and must coordinate with them in destroying the strength of the enemy. We must persist in weakening the enemy forces by forcing them to fight on two distant fronts in the north and in the south.

We must be alert to increasing US military intervention. The US interventionists are engaged in interoperability with their puppet troops in psywar, intelligence gathering and combat operations. They use all sorts of sham humanitarian missions such as civic action, disaster response, relief work, road building and medical aid as a pretext for carrying out psywar and intelligence gathering operations. They also use electronic instruments, drones and other high-tech military devices and equipment in coordination with their Filipino puppet troops. We must assert and defend the sovereignty of the Filipino people and the territorial integrity of the Philippines.

We must do well our work in drawing support for the people's war from our compatriots overseas, especially the migrant workers who have been driven to leave their families and seek employment abroad because of poverty and underdevelopment in our country. They are outraged by the reactionary government's policy of extortion, neglect of their welfare and needs, ignoring their pleas for assistance, and misuse of their foreign exchange earnings.

We must also seek international solidarity and support for the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution from peoples and various forces abroad. We must welcome and support the resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement of peoples and the international movement of communist and workers' parties.

March 29, 2013

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We salute the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army on the occasion of its 44<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary. We congratulate you for winning significant victories in the previous year and for accumulating more strength. We admire the entire people's army for fighting firmly and fiercely the US-Aquino regime and defeating the objective of Oplan Bayanihan to weaken and destroy the revolutionary movement through deception and brute force.

We commend you for upholding the leadership of the Party and the glorious tradition and revolutionary principles of the people's army and for carrying forward the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. As always, we render the highest honor to our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. We are inspired by their struggle, sacrifices, and achievements.

It is our resolve to develop fully the political and military strength of the people's army in the middle and advanced phases of the strategic defensive and reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate in the few years ahead. For this purpose, we must intensify our tactical offensives to seize more weapons and create more units of the people's army. Necessarily, we must expand and consolidate the revolutionary mass base.

The objective conditions in the world and in the Philippines are favorable for our armed struggle and for realizing our objective. The imperialist powers continue to fail in overcoming the crisis of their own making. The US-Aquino regime is in dire straits because the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system aggravates the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system.

### ***1. The imperialist powers aggravate the global crisis***

The monopoly bourgeoisie and the finance oligarchy in the imperialist countries continue to stick to the neoliberal economic policy of globalization. Despite the conditions of global depression, they persist in accelerating superprofit-taking and the concentration of capital in their hands, suppressing trade union rights and other democratic rights; and maximizing the extraction of surplus value from the labor power of the working class.

They try in vain to hasten the flow of investments and trade in the real economy but succeed only in speeding up the flow of speculative capital in the financial markets. They continue to privatize public assets, and grab large contracts and subsidies from the state for civil and military projects. They continue to extract advantages from deregulation against labor, women and children, the economy, and the environment. They also extract advantages from the denationalization of economies of semicolonies and dependent countries.

The economic and financial crisis has turned into an epidemic of public debt. The imperialist powers and their multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO) react to the ever worsening crisis by further shifting the burden of crisis to the working people of the world through a series of austerity measures. These involve further reduction of wages, employment, social benefits and social services. They aggravate the crisis of overproduction and the overconcentration of capital in the hands of the big bourgeoisie.

Even the middle social strata are being impoverished. While cutting down on social services (education, health and low-income housing), the imperialist powers are deploying more financial resources in speculation, war production and wars of aggression. They misrepresent the military expenditures as helpful to economic recovery and as a way of expanding economic territory abroad (sources of cheap fuel and other natural resources, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence).

In the imperialist countries, the workers, youth, women and migrant workers are manifesting their resistance against the deterioration of wage and living conditions. They are shaking off the previous decades of trade union repression, consumerism, reformism, revisionism and all sorts of reactionary petty-bourgeois currents. Strikes and protest rallies have been most militant and widespread in such capitalist countries as Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain, that are most overburdened by debts from the dominant countries.

Resistance of the people is most evident in the depressed underdeveloped countries because they are the most exploited and oppressed in the world. Popular wars of national liberation are intensifying and expanding. These include the long running national liberation movements such as those in the Philippines, Colombia, Kurdistan, India and other South Asian countries, and those where recently the US and NATO have carried out blatant

wars of aggression as in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as thinly veiled wars of aggression as in Libya and Syria. Imperialist proxy wars are also raging in several African countries.

The imperialist powers are being opposed more than ever by countries that assert independence, such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela, Syria, Iran and others. They make provocations, engage in interferences and economic and military blockades, and launch wars of aggression. In countries where they have overthrown governments, more deep-seated people's struggles for national liberation and democracy are arising.

The imperialist powers themselves and their multilateral agencies have been unable to overcome the crisis and depression that have swept the world. Inter-imperialist contradictions over economic, financial, trade and security matters are surfacing. It is pushing for the further dismantling of state enterprises in China to allow the foreign monopoly capitalists full freedom to exploit China's working class and penetrate its vast market. At the same time, the US is exerting effort to forge new economic agreements to serve the renewed push for the further liberalization of underdeveloped countries.

The worsening economic and social crisis generates such ultra-reactionary currents as chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, sexism and fascism but at the same time propels such progressive currents of resistance as those arising from the workers, migrants, youth, women and other oppressed and exploited classes and sectors.

All major contradictions in the world are steadily heating up. They include the following: between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations; between the imperialist powers and the countries assertive of independence; among the imperialist powers; and between capital and labor in the imperialist countries. Social turmoil is growing in all types of countries dominated by imperialism. People's resistance is growing. The revolutionary trend is emerging.

The people's war in the Philippines is favored by the growing social and political turbulence all over the world. The wars of aggression and interferences that the US and NATO have carried out in the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, and Africa have far reaching effects insofar as they arouse people's resistance for an indefinitely long time and tie down and eat up the personnel and resources of the imperialist powers, especially the US.

But even while the US and NATO are still bogged down elsewhere, the US has announced its policy to refocus on the Asia-Pacific region and has made war provocations and stirred up disputes here in order to lay the ground for military intervention and aggression. It is conspicuously exerting pressures on China, making war provocations on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and stirring up troubles in both Southeast Asia and North-east Asia.

The US is now determined to entrench itself militarily in the Philippines. It has whipped up the territorial disputes of the Philippines and other countries with China over parts of the China Sea. It has no intention of defending the Philippines against China but is using the territorial dispute in order to establish forward stations and possibly bases from which to oversee and influence the direction of Chinese policy and events in its favor.

The US-Aquino regime has the illusion that increasing US military presence in the Philippines and the Asia-Pacific region would serve to protect the rotten ruling system in the Philippines. But the very military presence of the US can easily rouse the people's hatred for its military intervention and for propping up the exploitative and oppressive ruling system.

Not too long ago, the US had military bases in the Philippines and poured large amounts of economic and military assistance to the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Despite all these, the revolutionary movement grew in strength and caused the downfall of Marcos and the eventual removal of the US military bases.

The increasing US military presence in the East Asia region and in the Philippines cannot stop but can only stimulate the growth of people's war in the Philippines. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are well aware of the US imperial overstretch being further strained by the US economic crisis and the many troubles that the US has stirred up all over the world.

## ***II. Crisis continues to worsen in the Philippines***

The economic and social crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is worsening. The underdevelopment of the economy is deepening. Unemployment is running high. The workers and peasants are suffering intolerable conditions of exploitation and poverty. The middle social strata are being dragged down.

The US-Aquino regime is a fanatical follower of the neoliberal economic dogma. It has not adopted a single

policy to promote national industrialization and land reform. It is averse to manufacturing in general. It only favors agricultural programs, tourism and infrastructure projects under auspices of foreign investors and big compradors. It continues to maintain the economic policy of dependence on super-exploitative foreign investment and the export of cheap labor, raw materials and semimanufactures. To cover trade deficits and imports of food and consumer manufactures, the economy has to avail of more foreign loans at increasingly onerous terms. The foreign debt continues to accumulate.

The regime boasts of an economic growth of 6.6 percent. This is mere illusion conjured by speculative money (portfolio funds) coming on top of the remittances of overseas contract workers and by the growth of conspicuous luxury consumption rather than by any growth in industrial and agricultural production. The enterprises most favored by the regime are business call centers, construction of condominiums and office buildings, and export-oriented mining, logging and plantations.

Private construction is overdependent on foreign loans and is now overheated and on the brink of a collapse, reminiscent of 1997. Public infrastructure-building is likewise dependent on foreign loans and is afflicted by bureaucratic corruption. Projects previously approved by the Arroyo regime have been subjected to review and further extortion by the Aquino ruling clique.

It has increasingly come to light that the Aquino ruling clique is allowing presidential relatives and cronies to engage in technical smuggling that has resulted in the loss of at least PhP 58 billion in customs revenues for the government since 2010. This is now the most exposed type of corruption under the regime that boasts of being clean and honest; and of treading the righteous path. People are now reminded of the corruption under the Cory regime and wish to smash the Aquino mystique that has served as capital for the Aquinos and Cojuangcos to further benefit their political dynasty and business empire.

The US-Aquino regime has been carrying out an undeclared policy of austerity in a futile effort to reduce public deficit. It has cut back government funding for social services (education, health and low-cost housing). It has reduced public sector employment. It is bent on further privatizing public hospitals. At the same time, it has increased funding for military personnel and equipment and such programs as conditional cash transfer, PAMANA, and the like to complement Oplan Bayanihan and to serve as slush fund for bureaucratic corruption and electioneering.

The economic and social crisis fuels the political crisis of the ruling system. The broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses are in deep discontent and are indignant over the deteriorating economic and social conditions. Thus, the people's war is raging. Strikes and protest demonstrations are increasing. The rivalry of the political factions of the exploiting classes is sharpening as they compete for power and spoils.

Despite the attempts of the cousins Eduardo and Jose Cojuangco to harmonize the Aquino regime and the shadow regime of Vice President Binay, the rivalry of Mar Roxas and Binay for the presidency is escalating. As a consequence, the competition of senatorial candidates under the Team PNoy (Liberal Party-led coalition with the Nationalist People's Coalition, Nacionalista Party and Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) and the United Nationalist Alliance (UNA) of Binay has sharpened.

The latter is accusing the former of using government facilities and funds to favor itself. It has also exposed the scheme of the regime to program the automated electoral system to produce at least an 8-4 or even a 12-0 outcome in the senatorial elections in favor of the Team PNoy. The scheme is a repeat of the method which elected Aquino to the presidency through the same foreign electronic outfit, Smartmatic.

The contest for local executive positions (governors and mayors) is conspicuously becoming more corrupt and more violent. Local dynasties are preserving their fiefdoms by using money and armed thugs to beat challengers. The stakes are big enough to drive rival factions to engage in electoral fraud and terrorism. They include opportunities for acquiring more power and wealth by stealing from public funds, favoring one's own family business, influence peddling and taking bribes from investors, contractors of infrastructure projects, all types of smugglers and criminal syndicates engaged in the numbers game (jueteng) illegal logging or mining, drugs, gambling and prostitution, kidnapping, carjacking and the like.

Criminal syndicates are either run or protected by officers of the reactionary armed forces and police. They have different political patrons and engage in turf wars. The violence is well demonstrated by the Atimonan massacre in which a group of police who belong to a criminal syndicate ambushed the convoy of another criminal syndicate, which also included police officers. The criminal syndicates collaborate with the politicians in a wide



range of lucrative criminal activities.

The Aquino regime is gloating over the fact that it has obtained in principle and in ample documentation from the Moro Islamic Liberation Front its capitulation to the Manila government by giving up its previous objective of secession. While the regime keeps on blaring to the press that the final peace agreement shall be signed before 2016, it demands something that the MILF might not be able to accept, the dismantling of its army prior to any significant social and economic benefits to the Bangsamoro.

For so long as the Bangsamoro right to self-determination and ancestral domain is not respected, armed resistance will arise again and again. The US-Aquino regime cannot be too sure that it will be able to rule the Bangsamoro and plunder their resources; and that it will have more armed forces available to fight the armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people.

Quite unexpected by the Aquino regime, the Sulu sultanate made a dramatic move to assert its authority and property rights over Sabah under Philippine sovereignty. The act of the sultanate in sending a small political expedition to Sabah has been supported by the Moro National Liberation Front. Aquino has openly speculated that there is a conspiracy to upset Malaysia and the GRP-MILF peace deal that Malaysia has directly brokered.

Obsequiously, Aquino has played the role of spokesman for Malaysia and cheered on its massacre of the group of Tausugs that sailed to Sabah; and has thus exposed his utter lack of concern for the sovereignty of the Philippines over Sabah and the welfare of Filipinos (Bajaus, Suluks, Tausugs, Iranons, Ilocanos, Visayans, Tagalogs and others) who now comprise the biggest bloc of the Sabah population. It has come to light that in 1983, the late Benigno S. Aquino pledged a sell out to Malaysia of the Philippine sovereignty over Sabah and that the Cojuangcos have huge business interests in Malaysia.

The peace negotiations between the reactionary government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines have been paralyzed by Aquino and his minions. They have assailed The Hague Joint Declaration as a document of perpetual division. They have also declared the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) as inoperative. They have refused to release from prison the JASIG-protected NDFP consultants and personnel and blocked the NDFP reconstruction of its list of JASIG-protected consultants, security officers and staff.

They have avoided any discussion on the necessity of addressing the roots of the armed conflict through basic social, economic and political reforms. At every turn in every meeting of the negotiating panels and special delegations, they have demanded directly and in effect the capitulation and pacification of the people's revolutionary movement. At all times, the NDFP have rebuffed them. Aquino has practically killed the peace negotiations.

It is obvious that the Aquino regime is not interested in peace negotiations to address the roots of the armed conflict and forge agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. It is hell bent on waging war and carrying out the US-instigated Oplan Bayanihan. The Party and the NPA are therefore alerted and compelled to intensify the tactical offensives nationwide and carry out the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

### ***III. The NPA grows in strength and advances***

From Oplan Bantay Laya of the US-Arroyo regime to Oplan Bayanihan of the US-Aquino regime, the pipe dream of the reactionary state's highest civil and military officials has been to reduce to inconsequentiality or irrelevance and eventually destroy the New People's Army. They are always frustrated.

Soon after they declare that a whole province or region insurgency-free, the people's army launches a tactical offensive to debunk the false claim and embarrass the liars. Certainly, they cannot proclaim success at reducing the NPA to irrelevance this year and turn over mopping up operations to the police, contrary to the presumptuous objective of Oplan Bayanihan that 2011 to 2013 would be the period for debilitating or defeating the NPA and 2014 to 2016 would be the period for the police to mop up the remnants of the NPA.

In fact, the reactionary armed forces, the police and paramilitary units with varied names (CAFGU, CAA, CVO, IDF, etc.) have always collaborated and will continue to do so in futile campaigns and operations against the NPA. They constantly seek comfort from the lie that in the mid-1980s the NPA had 25,000 Red fighters and now has only 4,000. They deny the fact that the NPA had only 6,100 high-powered rifles in 1986.

The NPA continues to accumulate strength in terms of fighting experience and skills, armed strength and mass base. It has people's militia units with personnel in the tens of thousands and self-defense units with personnel in the hundreds of thousands. It enjoys the inexhaustible support of the people in their millions. The Second Great Rectification Movement has corrected the major errors that undermined the revolutionary movement in

the entire 1980s until the early 1990s.

The New People's Army is indestructible and enjoys ever greater support of the oppressed and exploited Filipino people. It has acquired the critical mass for accelerating the people's war to an extent that it can shake the ruling system from ground to rafters. At various levels of command, it has strike forces capable of wiping out enemy units and waging battles while other NPA units carry out mass work, production and other kinds of work for the benefit of the people.

The NPA is led by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the Philippines, which sets the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This line serves the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, and carries forward the revolutionary cause of fighting for national liberation and democracy against the exploitative and oppressive semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of big compradors and landlords that are servile to the US imperialists.

The NPA is the instrument of the people for overthrowing the reactionary ruling system and for establishing the people's democratic government. On the other hand, the reactionary armed forces, the police and the paramilitary are hated by the people because they serve the interests of exploiters and oppressors, the US and local exploiting classes.

The people see through the pretenses of Oplan Bayanihan, which tries to masquerade as a plan for so-called community organizing for peace and development. Its psywar operations are meant to obscure the basic problems of the people, vilify the revolutionary forces, disinform and sow intrigue among the people, and gather intelligence for intimidating and attacking the people.

The counterrevolutionary character of the state and its coercive forces is thoroughly exposed. The reactionary armed forces, police and paramilitary violently oppose the people's demand for national industrialization and land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution. They have a brutal antipeople character and are prone to commit a wide range of human rights violations, including murder, rape, kidnapping, illegal detention, forced evacuation, torture and grabbing what the people own.

The NPA carries out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. It integrates its revolutionary armed struggle with revolutionary land reform and mass base building. It has a clear strategy and tactics of people's war and conducts politico-military training in order to gain the necessary revolutionary knowledge and fighting skills. But most importantly, it carries out agrarian revolution in stages and builds the mass base.

Despite all their braggadocio, the enemy regime and its armed forces can concentrate on, and control only, limited parts of the Philippine territory at every given time. It is still true that at the strategic level the reactionary armed forces have several times more armed strength than the people's army but at the tactical level the NPA can launch offensives to annihilate enemy units and accumulate victories to change the balance of forces.

The NPA has more than 110 guerrilla fronts throughout the archipelago. Each of these has a center of gravity in order to secure the leadership, ensure command and organize an ever-ready strike force for attacking the enemy. At the same time, there are relatively dispersed local NPA units coordinating with the local organs of political power, the mass organizations, the people's militia and self-defense units and ensuring that mass work is being done and the mass base is being expanded and consolidated while undertaking tactical offensives within their capability. For delivering head blows to the enemy in urban areas, the NPA employs commando teams and armed city partisans.

The Party leads the operational command of the NPA at every territorial level (guerrilla front, interfront or subregional, regional and national level) and likewise of every unit formation (squad, platoon, company and so on). The Party is above as well as inside every command level and every unit of the NPA. Every squad has a Party group and every platoon has a Party branch. The unit commander and the political officer exercise co-leadership of the unit and are responsible for command and administration; and political matters, respectively.

All the NPA territorial commands are the sources of planning and initiative within their respective scope in launching offensives against the Oplan Bayanihan scheme of unleashing eight to 12 battalions against three principal target areas and six to ten battalions against secondary objectives. The enemy forces tend to stay for six months or longer in areas of concentration. But intensified NPA offensives elsewhere can force them to shift their area of concentration.

Every guerrilla front under attack can use the rough terrain and the big gaps in enemy deployment to maneuver and launch tactical offensives against the weakest points of the enemy. At the regional and interfront or subregional levels, the command can deploy units to attack the weak points of the enemy forces encircling any guerrilla front or intensify attacks on the enemy in other guerrilla fronts or areas where the enemy is weak.

When all or most guerrilla fronts of a whole region are under enemy attack, coordination and cooperation with adjacent regions become even more important for intensifying coordinated tactical offensives, better use of border and other accessible areas for maneuver and other needs of guerrilla forces, and joint efforts in propaganda and political campaigns. Direct link and regular joint assessment and planning between adjacent regional NPA commands can strengthen exchanges of information and experiences, foster mutual help in training, logistics and other needs, and speed up the development of guerrilla fronts in border areas.

To help regions under heavy enemy attack, the NPA national operational command can also direct the intensification of tactical offensives in other regions and find ways of extending more direct assistance to them. It can also take the initiative of directing nationally coordinated offensives in a concerted effort to accelerate the accumulation of more arms and the building of new NPA units, put in disarray the enemy plans, inspire the open democratic mass movement, further expose the rotten system and weaken the enemy.

The NPA forces in various regions in Mindanao, in Negros and in Samar-Leyte have come under concentrated enemy attacks. But they have become stronger as a result of fighting the enemy. They have excelled at seizing initiatives and inflicting casualties and material damage on, and seizing arms from, enemy forces. Regions such as Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Ilocos-Cordillera and other regions are now targets of escalating enemy attacks. They can learn from the regions where the NPA has not been weakened but strengthened by repelling enemy attacks and seizing every opportunity for launching offensives.

The armed struggle in a few regions has at various times declined from their peaks of revolutionary struggle at various periods in the past. But it is steadily being reinvigorated as the revolutionary forces there learn lessons and are assisted with cadres and weapons from other regions through the Party Central Committee. The regional Party cadres and NPA commanders concerned look back to their previous victories and major contributions to the people's democratic revolution. They are determined to overcome previous errors and shortcomings and are enthusiastic to develop the revolutionary forces, expand the mass base and fulfil the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

Advancing wave upon wave from existing guerrilla fronts is still the principal method for increasing the guerrilla fronts. It is wrong to fragment the existing armed strength and dissolve or weaken the center of gravity in any regional or subregional level of command. There has to be a center from which to coordinate and direct the existing forces in the region and to deploy the strike forces against the enemy. Time and again, experience has shown that dividing the NPA armed strength into small units and dispersing them to cover too many congressional districts only leads to passivity, conservatism and an even slower rate of expansion and growth.

The Party can deploy cadres and mass activists to prepare guerrilla zones in new areas through Party building and mass organizing. If the line of the Party is correct, a unit of the people's army arises where there is none either because the local Party members and mass activists are determined to form the NPA from their ranks or welcome the introduction of NPA seed elements from elsewhere in the district, province or region.

The NPA has been able to strengthen itself and weaken the enemy by launching tactical offensives of annihilation and seizing arms from the enemy. Ambuscades, raids and arrest operations have been conducted. Enemy weak points include isolated elements or small detachments of the reactionary armed forces, local police stations, paramilitary units and private security forces of private enterprises.

At the same time, attritive actions against the enemy have been undertaken to inflict casualties, destroy facilities and effect demoralization in enemy ranks. They involve sniping, land mines, grenade attacks and use of inflammables; the destruction of facilities; and the sabotage of military and military-related facilities. The capture of enemy armories, the destruction of enemy vehicles and the interdiction of supply lines and depots are prime NPA objectives.

Mining, plantation and logging enterprises owned by foreign and big comprador firms have been successfully attacked in various parts of the country, with the revolutionary forces of Mindanao undertaking the biggest actions and showing the way to other NPA commands nationwide. Such enterprises are legitimate targets because they extract and bring out superprofits, export raw materials and undermine national economic development, ruin the

environment, destroy agriculture and lessen the land available for land reform and frustrate the people's aspiration for national industrialization and land reform.

The NPA has arrested and taken criminals and local tyrants to account for their crimes before the people's court. Punishing those found guilty and stopping criminality have been an effective way for the NPA to assert people's democratic power. It is the effective way to do away with the worst counter-revolutionary elements and to strengthen Red political power in the guerrilla fronts. The worst counterrevolutionary enemy units and elements that are based in urban areas and that engage in physical assaults against the people and progressive forces are subject to punitive operations by NPA commandos and armed city partisans.

To make the NPA an effective fighting force, the NPA command at various levels develop personnel for departments or staffs in charge of planning, recruitment and politico-military training, intelligence and reconnaissance, logistics, medical services, production, cultural work and other major functions. The Party pays close attention to these functions in connection with the intensification of tactical offensives and the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The broad masses of the people cherish and support the NPA Red commanders and fighters because they do not only fight the people's enemies but they also engage in work that help the people in their daily lives and involve close relations with them. They engage in propaganda and agitation, encourage mass organizing and campaigns of various types, extend medical services, stage cultural performances, undertake production for the people's army and the families of Red fighters and martyrs and carry out relief work in times of disaster.

The organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and cultural activists constitute the solid revolutionary mass base. Under the leadership of the Party within the NPA units and in the locality, they have expanded and consolidated themselves and they have carried out campaigns for land reform and other purposes for the social benefit of the people.

They pursue the antifeudal united front in order to gain the broad support of the people in the rural areas. This involves relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened landlords and the despotic landlords in order to isolate the despotic landlords and destroy their power. The antifeudal united front is at the base of the national united front against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. It has resulted in a powerful mass movement in the rural areas and is a crucial part of the national democratic mass movement.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA has been able to inspire the formation of various types of mass organizations and to generate the rural-based mass movement along the line of the antifeudal united front. It enjoys the wide and deepgoing participation and support of the people in the process of armed revolution. It is therefore confident of winning greater victories and advancing in the people's war until the total victory of the new democratic revolution.

#### ***IV. Fighting tasks of the New People's Army***

The NPA is fighting for the just cause of national liberation and democracy, while the enemy seeks to preserve the oppressive and exploitative system. It can therefore take full advantage of the support of the people, especially the workers and peasants. It can maneuver easily in more than 90 percent of the country, while the enemy can concentrate only in limited parts of the country.

The NPA is invincible as long as it fights for the Filipino people and is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. It combines revolutionary armed struggle with agrarian revolution and building the mass base. Though the enemy is superior in the number of trained troops and military equipment at the strategic level, the NPA is superior at the tactical level by seizing the initiative and intensifying the offensives.

The New People's Army must continuously seize the initiative and intensify the tactical offensives in order to defeat Oplan Bayanihan of the US-Aquino regime and to realize the revolutionary plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The various levels of command must have strike forces for wiping out enemy units, seizing arms and inspiring the Filipino people to fight against the rotten ruling system.

##### ***1. Carry forward the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war!***

The NPA must grasp the general line and carry forward the people's democratic revolution. It must be conscious that it is waging the people's democratic revolution in order to overthrow the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to US imperialism. The only way for the NPA to overthrow the ruling system is to pursue the strategic line of protracted people's war.

This entails the NPA encircling the cities from the countryside, making the enemy bleed from many wounds and accumulating military strength until it gains the capability of seizing the cities nationwide. The countryside offers the NPA ground for maneuver and the advantages of launching offensives and developing strength in stages against a militarily superior enemy.

Within the current stage of strategic defensive, we are determined to build and strengthen several guerrilla theaters in every region in accordance with the operational art of people's war in order to raise the level of armed struggle nationwide. In building guerrilla theaters, we aim to bring together the power of three to four guerrilla fronts that can reach brigade strength with 2-3 platoons or undersize companies as centers of gravity amidst company strength local guerrillas forces per front complemented by squad to platoon size militia units in several hundred barrios. With raised level of strength, planning, coordination and maneuverability of the NPA, it can wage rapid tactical offensives to change the balance of forces and advance towards a higher stage of the people's war.

The NPA must pursue the general line by following the leadership of the Party, carrying out mass work, undertaking politico-military training and actually seizing the initiative and intensifying the tactical offensives.

### *2. Fight the US-Aquino regime and defeat Oplan Bayanihan!*

The NPA must fight the US-directed Aquino regime as the enemy. This regime is now the chief representative of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. It is a brutal defender of the ruling system and rabid running dog of US imperialism.

The NPA must defeat Oplan Bayanihan. This enemy plan involves both brutal campaigns of suppression and campaigns of deception and intelligence gathering. It concentrates forces on selected regions and guerrilla fronts in order to encircle the NPA forces by deploying combat, psywar and intelligence units in these target areas. The NPA must combat all these enemy units as armed units even when these pretend to be noncombatants but are nonetheless armed as they pursue the objectives of Oplan Bayanihan.

The way to defeat the enemy forces is for the NPA forces in guerrilla fronts and regions to avail of the wide gaps between enemy units and wipe out the enemy units that they can wipe out. At the same time, the NPA forces elsewhere can seize the initiative in launching tactical offensives upon the direction of the commands at the guerrilla front, interfront or subregional, regional and national levels of the NPA.

The US-Aquino regime and its Oplan Bayanihan must be exposed and isolated in order to weaken and ultimately defeat them. Tit-for-tat propaganda struggle must be waged at all levels to combat the regime's deception and lay bare its anti-people schemes and crimes. The economic and political struggles of the masses and progressive forces must be invigorated and expanded in direct and indirect coordination with the armed struggle.

### *3. Intensify the tactical offensives to seize more arms and create more NPA units!*

The NPA must field strike forces to intensify the tactical offensives in order to seize more arms and create more NPA units. The strike forces must carry out ambushes, raids and other disarming operations at an accelerated rate and with short rest periods. They must wage only the battles that they are capable of winning. They must target the stationary and moving weak points of the enemy.

The enemy weak points include the small army detachments, police units, paramilitary units and private security guards. Large enemy camps and fortified positions are not at all awesome because these are vulnerable to various forms of attack. Enemy units emerge from them to conduct patrols, run supply errands and perform other functions, thus exposing their vulnerability.

The NPA must exercise flexibility in using a wide range of tactics to induce or lure in enemy forces and turn them into supply and transport officers unwittingly delivering arms to the NPA. Incidents of harassment of enemy units or punishment of enemy elements can draw reinforcements and investigating units, which can be ambushed while on their way. Successful NPA offensives or feints can also draw enemy forces to one area but can allow the NPA units to ambush the enemy rescue or reaction units or to launch offensives against more vulnerable enemy points elsewhere.

While annihilation of enemy units is the main NPA tactic, attritive operations to inflict serious damage on the enemy must also be undertaken by deploying teams to lay mines on the path of enemy units, to snipe at them, assault them with grenades or mortar fire; and by attacking enemy supply lines, depots, motor pools, fuel stocks and the like. Such operations done widely and frequently seriously damage not only the material resources but also, and more importantly, the morale of enemy personnel.

Upon the intensification of the people's war, the NPA territorial commands must attend to the need for

planning, recruitment, politico-military training, intelligence and reconnaissance, combat operations, logistics, medical service, production, cultural work and other necessary services.

While combat is the main function that distinguishes the NPA from other mass formations, it must carry out functions that can make it an even more effective fighting force. The Red fighters must take turns at engaging in politico-military training, mass work, production, tax enforcement, cultural work, production, and disaster relief and rehabilitation work. Recruitment campaigns and the expansion and development of the people's militia must be constantly looked after to ensure that there are sufficient recruits for forming new units and replacing losses.

*4. Carry out agrarian revolution and dismantle enterprises that grab and ruin the land!*

The NPA must ensure that the minimum land reform program is carried out as the first step in the agrarian revolution. It involves land rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising wages of farm workers, fair prices at the farm gate and promotion of agricultural and sideline occupation through rudimentary forms of cooperation. The NPA must also engage in production to support itself and assist in providing for the needs of families of Red fighters and martyrs.

Maximum land reform, essentially the free distribution of land to the tillers, becomes practicable upon the success in widescale implementation of the minimum land reform program. It also encompasses the restitution of land previously grabbed from the peasants, the distribution of idle land, the dismantling of landlord power and control over the land and the break up of plantations owned and operated by foreign agricorporations and big comprador landlords for the production of bio-fuels and fruit and other crops for export.

The NPA must break up the aforesaid export-oriented plantations in order to make land available for land reform for the benefit of farm workers and other landless tillers. It must also break up the export-oriented logging and mining enterprises because they ruin the environment, cause soil erosion and floods, poison the rivers and streams, damage agriculture and prejudice national industrial development.

*5. Expand and consolidate the mass base by building and activating the organs of political power and mass organizations!*

The NPA mass base must always be expanded and consolidated by building and activating the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children, cultural activists and others. Mass campaigns for land reform, mass education, production, health and sanitation, cultural work and settlement of disputes must be carried out.

The revolutionary organs of political power must supplant the councils established by the reactionary government, unless it is necessary for reasons of united front tactics, security, and other considerations to keep said councils. They must be established at the level of the barangays and at higher levels where possible. The mass organizations must support the organs of political power under the direction of the Party.

Consolidation of the mass base spells the difference between the guerrilla base and guerrilla zones. It produces the competent cadres for helping the guerrilla zones elsewhere to rise to the level of guerrilla bases and to link up the guerrilla fronts in the process of building eventually the relatively stable areas.

Suppression of criminal elements and enforcement of revolutionary justice are essential to the consolidation of the mass base and the strengthening of revolutionary political power. Upon the instruction of the pertinent NPA authority or the people's authority in charge of prosecution, the NPA must arrest for trial and prosecution and judgment by the people's court persons liable for serious crimes against the people. Complaints shall be received and investigated by the people's army or people's militia for submission to the people's prosecutors.

Suspects are encouraged to surrender themselves peaceably for investigation. The NPA unit assigned to arrest a suspect is prepared to counter armed resistance, especially if the suspect is armed and dangerous, protected by bodyguards, is actively engaged in armed counterrevolution or makes any show of armed resistance.

As a law enforcement agency, the NPA is bound by the laws, rules and regulations under the criminal justice system of the people's democratic government, by the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and by the international instruments of human rights and international humanitarian law. The organs for the arrest, investigation, prosecution and trial by jury of suspects are differentiated and well defined. Suspects have the right to legal counsel, subject to security precautions.

*6. Provide politico-military training to the Red commanders and fighters and to the reserves and auxiliaries!*

The NPA must provide politico-military training for Red commanders and fighters at the level of the existing formations and in the process of building a higher formation. The political part of the course should involve Party

and mass education and the military side should involve the further development of command, communications, coordination and combat technique and tactics.

The Party and the NPA instructors must also provide basic politico-military training to the people's militia for the purpose of police or internal security work and for coordinating with NPA units in cases of joint offensive operations. The mass organizations must be instructed and provided with a simple manual for the purpose of providing politico-military training to self-defense units of the mass organizations.

The effective functioning of the people's militia and self-defense units assure the NPA of well-motivated reserves and immediate support; and allows it to have more time for combat as well as for mass work in new areas. The NPA should not be tied down by police work where the people's militia can be established and administered by the organs of political power and led by the local Party branch.

*7. Strengthen Party leadership and political work within the NPA!*

The NPA cannot fight well, expand and grow strong without correct, vigorous and militant Party leadership and political work within. The NPA must steadily be supplied with select and proven young cadres and activists from the worker, student and peasant movements so that there are enough quality commanders and cadres at the core of the NPA. Party committees, branches and groups must be established, strengthened and consolidated.

The Party within the NPA makes sure that ideological and political education among the officers and fighters is well taken care of, that tasking is correct and clear and effectively mobilizes all available personnel, and that timely check-ups and assessments and criticism and self-criticism are conducted. Vigorous political work within the NPA should raise political awareness and fighting will, strengthen unity between the people's army and the masses and between the officers and fighters, and foster democracy in the three fields.

Commandism, bureaucratism and other harmful feudal and bourgeois influences and practices must be combatted promptly and tirelessly. Passivity, complacency and lack of discipline must not be allowed to take hold and wreak havoc on the morale and fighting will of the guerrilla units.

*8. Advance wave upon wave from existing guerrilla fronts to create new guerrilla fronts!*

In the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, the NPA must advance wave upon wave from the existing guerrilla fronts. It must not fragment its armed strength just to cover all the rural congressional districts immediately. It must take into account the need for having a center of gravity, for countering enemy attacks and for avoiding the unnecessary overstretch of NPA armed strength.

The basis for establishing a new guerrilla front can be laid by the Party and the mass organizations running ahead of NPA units. The Party goes ahead in expanding the mass organizations to the rural areas and doing social investigation. Subsequently, a team of seed cadres or an initial squad unit from the NPA is deployed to the new area.

The middle and advanced phases of the strategic defensive must be developed through successful tactical offensives, the creation of more fighting units, expansion of mass work, and establishment of new guerrilla fronts. Consequently, the NPA can move closer to the threshold of the strategic stalemate.

*9. Strengthen the antifeudal united front at the base of the national united front!*

In carrying out the people's war, the NPA pursues the antifeudal united front, with the Party relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened landlords and the despotic landlords in order to isolate the despotic landlords and destroy their power. The antifeudal united front is at the base of the national united front.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines integrates the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the progressive forces and the middle bourgeoisie; and the temporary and unstable alliance with certain sections of the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords for the purpose of isolating the worst among the reactionaries, which acts as the most rabid running dog of US imperialism. The US-Aquino ruling clique is now the enemy of the people and main target of this broad united front.

*10. Further gain the solidarity and support of compatriots and friendly forces and peoples abroad!*

The NPA must further gain the solidarity and support of the more than 10 percent of the Filipino people who now work and reside abroad as a consequence of the underdevelopment and impoverishment of the country. It can do so by persevering in and advancing the general line of the people's struggle for national liberation and

democracy and developing ever closer relations with the families and communities left behind by our overseas compatriots.

The NPA must also gain further the solidarity and support of all friendly forces and peoples abroad. It can do so by availing of the international work of the Party, the NDFP and various Filipino mass organizations abroad. Such forces can and must inform the people of the world, the working class parties and the movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism about the NPA's role in the struggle for national liberation and democracy and seek international solidarity and moral and material support for the NPA and the Filipino people.

- Long live the New People's Army!
- Carry out the people's democratic revolution!
- Defeat the US-Aquino regime and its Oplan Bayanihan!
- Advance the protracted people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate!
- Long live the Filipino people!



***Peace Negotiations and "Terrorist" Listing***

**Lecture at the University of Groningen, May 16, 2013**

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First of all, I wish to thank the Studentenvereniging voor Internationale Betrekkingen (SIB), or the Dutch United Nations Student Association (DUNSA), for inviting me to lecture on the revolutionary armed struggle being carried out by the New People's Army (NPA) under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

I am honored and privileged to be invited because your association has high prestige and is well known to feature as guest lecturers high officials of the United Nations, the European Union and the Netherlands, including prime ministers, cabinet officials, members of parliaments, senior administrators, high military commanders, outstanding professors and journalists.

I propose to discuss tonight the character and status of the people's war in the Philippines, in relation to the social crisis and the policies of the Manila government, also in relation to the long running peace negotiations between the Manila government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and further in relation to the issue of including the CPP, NPA and the chief political consultant of the NDFP (myself) in the so-called terrorist list of the EU.

***Character of the people's war***

Since its founding on 26 December 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines has analyzed Philippine society and described it as semicolonial and semifeudal. The US formally ended its colonial rule over the Philippines and granted it nominal independence in 1946. However, it has retained indirect rule through the subservient local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords. These two classes have maintained the semifeudal, agrarian and underdeveloped character of the Philippine social economy.

In confronting the ruling system of big compradors and landlords under US monopoly capitalism, the CPP has put forward a Program of People's Democratic Revolution. The principal aims of this program are the following: to struggle for full national independence, to empower the working people, to realize democracy both in the sense of upholding civil and political rights and liberating the peasantry from feudal and semi-feudal captivity, to promote a national, scientific and mass culture and to foster international solidarity and world peace against imperialism.

The motive forces of the revolution are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. The leading class is the working class through the CPP as its advanced detachment. The main force is the peasantry which is the majority class. The urban petty bourgeoisie is still a revolutionary class but no longer the leading class, in the shift from the global era of bourgeois-democratic revolution to that of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. Even as it has a reactionary fear of the masses, the middle bourgeoisie is a positive patriotic force at best interested in national independence and economic development.

It is the position of the CPP that the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords, as already proven in Philippine history, will never give up their power and wealth voluntarily. With US military support, they use their state power (army, police, prisons, courts, legislature and bureaucracy) to suppress the people's national and democratic demands.

Thus, the CPP has set the line of achieving the people's democratic revolution through the politico-military strategic line of protracted people's war. This line entails developing in stages the people's army and other revolutionary forces in the countryside over a long period of time in order to accumulate armed and political strength until they gain the capability to launch a nationwide general offensive and completely seize political power from the reactionary ruling classes.

For this purpose, the CPP has deployed its cadres in the countryside since early 1969 in order to build the New People's Army (NPA) and the peasant movement, to carry out the revolutionary armed struggle and genuine land reform; and develop the mass base by organizing all possible forms of voluntary people's association (for workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists, children, and so on), building the local CPP branches and establishing organs of political power in order to replace the political instruments of the exploiting classes.

The countryside offers the wide ground and rough terrain for the NPA to maneuver against the superior armed strength of the enemy and grow in stages by adopting the policy of strategic defense while carrying out tactical offensives against the forces of the enemy that are on the strategic offensive. The enemy forces are strategically superior to the NPA, at the ratio of 10 to 1, but through tactical offensives the NPA can gain superiority over the enemy forces, at the ratio of 10 to 1. Concentrated units of the NPA can pick the specific time and place to wipe out by surprise a specific part of the enemy force.

At the present stage, the NPA is waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. It uses the strategy and tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting, as the need arises for achieving certain objectives. It concentrates a superior amount of force to wipe out an enemy unit. It wages only the battles that it can win. It disperses its units to conduct mass work and create more fighting units. It shifts its forces whenever it needs to evade a superior enemy force and gain a more advantageous position. It trades space for time and avoids battles that it cannot win. Most important of all, it enjoys the inexhaustible support of the masses and thus succeeds in keeping the enemy blind and deaf.

The CPP and the NPA envision a probability course of developing the people's war in three strategic stages. At the first stage, the NPA is on the strategic defensive as the enemy is on the strategic offensive. At the second, the two warring armies are in a state of relative equilibrium and are in the strategic stalemate. At the third, the NPA is on the strategic offensive and the enemy is on the strategic defensive. The NPA accumulates strength as it wins battles and weakens the enemy forces and achieves the shift in the strategic balance of forces; and advance from one stage to another by launching the tactical offensives by guerrilla forces and eventually by regular mobile forces.

The people's democratic revolution is basically completed upon the nationwide seizure of political power. The socialist revolution immediately starts, with the working class through its advance detachment continuing to lead the Philippine revolution, with the people's army as the main component of state power and with the commanding heights of the economy nationalized, even as transitory bourgeois democratic reforms are carried out in harmony with the main process of socializing the ownership of the industrial means of production and realizing agricultural cooperation and mechanization.

### ***Status of the people's war***

On the basis of reports published by the CPP and NPA (which you may check from [www.philippinerevolution.net](http://www.philippinerevolution.net)), we can inform ourselves on the status of the people's war or strength of the NPA in terms of armed struggle, land reform and mass base building. We can also inform ourselves about the plan of the CPP and NPA to advance from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate by fulfilling both the political and military requirements.

The NPA is now operating in more than 110 guerrilla fronts, each with a total force ranging in size from an over-sized platoon to a company and with a territory roughly equivalent to a congressional district of at least five municipalities. The guerrilla fronts cover substantial parts of 70 provinces out of the total 81 Philippine provinces. The number of full-time Red fighters with high-powered rifles is moving towards the level of 10,000. They are also augmented by tens of thousands of volunteers in the people's militia and in the hundreds of thousands of self-defense units of the mass organizations in the countryside.

The psywar experts of the reactionary government and its military are engaged in deception when they claim that the NPA had 25,000 Red fighters in the mid-1980s but now has only 4000 to 5000. The 1985 Plenum of the CC of the CPP assessed the NPA strength at 5,600 Red fighters with high-powered rifles. This rose to 6100 Red fighters in 1986. The people's militia and self-defense units were not as well organized and well-trained as now. The NPA was undermined by grave Left opportunist errors, which would become the target of the Second Great Rectification Movement launched by the CPP in 1992.

The CPP, NPA and the peasant movement have carried out on a wide scale the minimum land reform program, involving the reduction of land rent, elimination of usury or excessive interest rates, raising the wages of farm workers, improving the prices of farm products and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations through rudimentary cooperation. The maximum land reform program of confiscating and equitably distributing the land to the tillers for free is being carried out at an accelerated pace over more areas, depending on the strength and capability of the NPA and mass base.

To make more land available for land reform and to save the environment, the NPA is dismantling enterprises

owned by foreign corporations and bureaucrat comprador-landlords, especially those that have grabbed the land from the peasants and indigenous peoples. These are export-oriented enterprises, including mining, logging and plantations. The NPA also takes action against biofuel production enterprises that take away land from food production; against expansive tourist facilities and against sheer real estate speculation.

The mass base of the CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces runs into millions of people. It has been realized by building the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and children, the organs of political power from the village level to higher levels and the local Party branches. The organs of political power are led by the CPP and are assisted by working committees and by the mass organizations. Programs and mass campaigns are undertaken to promote mass organizing, mass education, land reform, production, disaster relief and rehabilitation, health care, local security and self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural activities.

The revolutionary forces and people have attained such strength that they are aiming to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and are working hard to fulfill the political and military requirements. The CPP membership is now beyond 100,000 and is expanding towards the goal of 250,000 in both urban and rural areas. The CPP is developing more Party cadres in the course of mass work and expanding Party membership. The NPA seeks to increase its Red fighters to 25,000 and its guerrilla fronts to 180. The organs of political power and the mass organizations are strengthening themselves and seek to cover more people by the millions through direct organizing and by united front work.

The ruling system in the Philippines is extremely outdated and is in chronic crisis, despite the urban gloss effected by neoliberal economic policy through conspicuous consumption, luxury imports and high rise buildings financed by foreign borrowing and remittances of overseas contract workers. The chronic crisis of the domestic ruling system is now exacerbated by the bankruptcy of the neoliberal policy regime and the ever worsening crisis of global capitalism.

The ruling system has perpetuated feudal and semifeudal exploitation and prevented genuine land reform and national industrialization. It is tied to the production of raw materials and semi-manufactures. Thus it suffers chronic trade and budgetary deficits. It is sinking in a morass of public debt due to excessive local and foreign borrowing. The remittances of overseas contract workers are used to fund consumption spending and luxury imports by the exploiting classes. They are bound to decrease as the export of cheap labor is being countered by political turmoil in the Middle East and deepening recession in the imperialist countries.

In the wake of the worsening economic and financial crisis, the Aquino regime is being assisted by US agencies and public relations firms in touting itself as the “new tiger” in East Asia. It misrepresents as healthy economic growth the inflow of “hot money” or portfolio investments in the stock market. Manufacturing and agriculture have declined. The reassembly and reexport of electronic goods have plummeted since 2008. Business call centers, private construction and mining are the favored enterprises. The regime shuns Filipino-owned industrial development.

The broad masses of the people are made to suffer an ever rising rate of unemployment, reduced incomes, soaring prices of basic goods and services and deterioration of the social infrastructure. The so-called anti-poverty programs of dole outs like the Conditional Cash Transfer and PAMANA have become devices of bureaucratic and military corruption and vote-buying in elections. Social discontent is widespread and sharpening among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even among the middle social strata.

The false statistics of economic progress and rigged poll survey results of mass satisfaction are the object of public derision and contempt for the current regime and the ruling system. The recently-held elections are a brazen process of excluding patriotic and progressive leaders of the toiling masses and favoring clans and dynasties of big compradors and landlords. The economic and social crisis is generating conditions favorable to the people's war.

The US-directed Aquino regime is aptly described by the CPP as a fanatic of neoliberalism. It has no social conscience and is anti-worker and anti-peasant. It does not offer any solution to the basic social and economic problems, now being rapidly aggravated by the crisis. It is obsessed with assuring the foreign banks and corporations and the local big compradors with the opportunities to make superprofits.

It overestimates its ability to use the bureaucracy, the military, the reactionary mass media and the imperialist-funded NGOs to obfuscate the raging social issues. It is preoccupied with seeking political monopoly by mass deception and electoral manipulation and using military force under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan to

suppress the revolutionary movement of the people. Of recent, it has announced in the mass media the end of the peace negotiations with the NDFP, without giving the latter any formal notice of termination.

### ***GRP-NDFP peace negotiations***

Despite the determination of the revolutionary forces and the people to carry out the people's democratic revolution through people's war, they are open to the possibility of resolving the armed conflict through peace negotiations. The Central Committee of the CPP and National Council of the NDFP have created and authorized the NDFP Negotiating Panel to negotiate with the panel representing Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) in the time of the Ramos regime and thereafter.

The NDFP carries forward the general line of struggle for national independence and democracy through the peace negotiations. It is the same line carried forward by the revolutionary forces and people in the course of armed revolution. It offers to the current enemy government the opportunity to change course and forge a truce and alliance with the NDFP for the purpose of confronting US imperialism and the worst of reactionaries and solving the basic problems of the people.

The GRP can only discredit itself by refusing to address the roots of the civil war and to enter into agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. By persevering in the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the revolutionary forces and the people prevent the GRP from prettifying itself, from using the peace negotiations to confuse their ranks and from obtaining their capitulation and pacification.

In engaging in peace negotiations, the NDFP is guided by the fact that the revolutionary forces and people have a democratic government of their own in the form of the local organs of political power under the leadership of the CPP as the ruling party and such a government governs a population that runs into millions. It has a disciplined people's army under an effective national command and a territory of over 100,000 square kilometers or 30 percent of total Philippine territory. In fact, the CPP cadres and NPA fighters can move freely in more than 90 percent of this national territory.

Under international law, the people's democratic government of workers and peasants and the reactionary government of the big compradors and landlords are co-belligerents in a civil war, with US military and other forms of intervention on the side of the reactionary government. To assert the existence and integrity of the revolutionary government, the NDFP promulgated on July 5, 1996 its Unilateral Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977 and deposited this on July 6, 1996 with the Swiss Federal Council.

It has manifested its determination to wage people's war under international law and to negotiate peace under the same. In fact, the GRP and NDFP have succeeded in forging the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) of 1998 under the principles and standards of the International Bill of Rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and so on) and the International Humanitarian Law (the Geneva Conventions and related conventions).

In 1986, soon after the fall of the fascist dictator Marcos, the GRP and NDFP agreed to hold ceasefire talks in Manila and to forge a 60-day ceasefire agreement which would lead to a further agreement on the substantive agenda of peace negotiations. The ceasefire agreement, which was mutually signed in November 1986, was broken by the massacre of peasant demonstrators and their urban supporters by presidential guards in front of the presidential palace on January 22, 1987. GRP President Aquino protected the officers responsible for the massacre. On March 25, 1987, she formally "unsheathed the sword of war" against the revolutionary forces and people and ordered a vicious campaign of military suppression called Lambat Bitag.

But in 1989 she became worried about the consequences of natural disasters, the social disaster of her own making and continuing coup threats. She sent Rep. Jose V. Yap as her emissary to me as CPP founding chairman in Amsterdam in order to offer peace negotiations between the GRP and NDFP. I welcomed the offer despite the earlier cancellation of my Philippine passport on September 16, 1988.

The NDFP gave to Yap an aide memoire for GRP President Aquino stressing that peace negotiations should not be held in the Philippines because of serious dangers to the NDFP, as proven in the ceasefire talks and agreement in 1986-87. The NDFP agreed to engage in peace negotiations if held abroad, with the facilitation by a host government. But then defense secretary Ramos kept on obstructing the possibility of peace negotiations until he

himself became GRP president in 1992 and sent back Yap to the NDFP officials in The Netherlands to conduct exploratory talks.

The GRP and the NDFP promulgated on September 1, 1992 The Hague Joint Declaration as the framework agreement for the peace negotiations between them, with the Dutch government as facilitator. The agreement stipulates that the aim of the peace negotiations is to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace by addressing the roots of the armed conflict and forging comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms. It also stipulates that no side shall impose on the other any precondition that negates the character and purpose of peace negotiations.

It lays down the substantive agenda for making the following four comprehensive agreements: respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, social and economic reforms, political and constitutional reforms and the end of hostilities and disposition of forces. It requires the sequential formation of Reciprocal Working Committees to draft the tentative comprehensive agreements to be finalized by the negotiating panels and to be ultimately approved by the principals of the negotiating parties.

However, further exploratory talks were interrupted by the GRP's unilateral act of forming the National Unification Commission (NUC) for GRP-managed fake localized peace negotiations. After the NUC was dissolved, the GRP and NDFP made further major agreements in 1995 to strengthen the peace process, such as the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) on for the negotiators, consultants and related personnel on both sides, the Ground Rules for Meetings of the Negotiating Panels, and the Joint Agreement on the Formation, Sequence and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees.

The GRP and the NDFP negotiating panels held the opening of formal peace negotiations in Brussels, Belgium in 1995, with the Belgian government as facilitator. The negotiations were interrupted for more than a year because of the failure of the GRP to release from prison NDFP consultant Sotero Llamas in accordance with the JASIG. The GRP and NDFP negotiating panels cooperated in persuading GRP president Ramos to override the objection of the defense secretary to the release of Llamas.

They resumed negotiations upon the release of Llamas in 1996. They succeeded in finalizing and signing the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) on March 16, 1998. The NDFP principal, the chairman of the NDFP National Council, signed and approved it promptly on April 10, 1998. But the GRP President Ramos failed to approve it before the end of his term of office in the same year. GRP President Estrada approved it on August 7, 1998. But he would unilaterally find cause to terminate the JASIG and in effect the peace negotiations in May 1999.

### ***“Terrorist” listing and other obstacles***

After the Estrada regime fell in January 2001, as a result of massive protests against corruption, the Arroyo regime agreed with the NDFP to resume the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, to reaffirm all previous agreements, to operationalize the Joint Monitoring Committee under CARHRIHL and to have the Royal Norwegian Government as facilitator of the peace negotiations. But in June 2001, it suddenly decided to paralyze the peace negotiations and pursue a brutal policy of all-out military suppression against the revolutionary movement.

It announced Oplan Bantay Laya as its counterrevolutionary military campaign plan aligned with the so-called US war on terror. When GRP President Arroyo visited the US in November 2001, she requested the US to designate the CPP, NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant as “foreign terrorists”. House Speaker De Venecia, together with other high GRP officials, came to The Netherlands towards the end of November to meet the NDFP negotiators and consultants. He told them that the US would designate the CPP, NPA and myself as “terrorists” unless the NDFP signed a “final peace accord”, which required the dismantling of the NPA and surrender of arms.

The NDFP refused to be blackmailed and insisted that the peace negotiations should proceed if the GRP showed respect for and compliance with JASIG with regard to the illegal arrest and detention of NDFP consultants. The US acted to designate the CPP and NPA “terrorists” on August 9, 2002 and myself on August 12, 2002. Within 24 hours, the Dutch government listed me as “terrorist”, froze my bank account, deprived me of all the social benefits granted to me as asylum seeker and even required me to reimburse pension payments previously made to me. I took the legal action of demanding from the Dutch government the basis for my being listed as “terrorist”.

The most that the Dutch authorities could show me was a press clipping of somebody else's article from Ang Bayan, the CPP publication, in which the US is condemned and warned as an interventionist military force in

Philippine affairs. Then the Dutch government repealed its “terrorist” listing of me only to become the prime movant in the Council of the European Union (EU) for the inclusion of my name in the “terrorist” blacklist of the European Union on October 28, 2002. Thus, I proceeded for many years to wage the legal action for the removal of my name from the EU blacklist. In the meantime, the inclusion of my name in the EU “terrorist” list served to undermine and paralyze the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, despite previous EU Parliament resolutions endorsing and supporting these.

Ultimately, the European Court of Justice made a judgment in my favor on 30 September 2009. This became final on 10 December 2009 in the absence of appeal by the losing side. It ruled conclusively that my fundamental rights had been violated by my being listed a “terrorist” and subjected to sanctions without being charged with any specific terrorist crime. The fundamental rights violated included the following: the right to be informed of the charge if any, the right to be presumed innocent, the right to legal counsel and the right to judicial relief.

Since the “terrorist” listing of the CPP, NPA and myself in 2002, the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations have been paralyzed. The NDFP took the position that the foreign governments that blacklisted the CPP, NPA and myself as “terrorists” had no right to intervene in Philippine affairs and make judgments over Philippine entities and their alleged acts within Philippine territory. The NDFP proposed to the GRP to make a joint statement simply declaring that no foreign government had such right. But the craven puppet reaction of the GRP was to assert the “sovereign right” of the US and other foreign governments to intervene in Philippine affairs.

In 2004 the GRP and NDFP Negotiating Panels met in Oslo and issued a joint communique in which the two negotiating parties and the RNG as third party facilitator committed themselves to exert joint and separate efforts to seek the removal of the names of CPP, NPA and myself from the “terrorist” blacklist. As soon as the GRP panel returned to the Philippines, the presidential adviser on the peace process issued a statement that foreign governments had the “sovereign right” to make judgments over Philippine entities and acts.

When in August 2005 the NDFP demanded GRP compliance with the JASIG and the Oslo joint communique, the GRP decided to “suspend” indefinitely the JASIG even as this agreement provides that either one or both negotiating parties have only two choices: either respect the effectivity of the JASIG or terminate the entire agreement. The practical effect of the “suspension” was the complete paralysis, if not yet complete death of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

Since 2005 the Arroyo regime had made representations to the Dutch government for my arrest on false charges of murder. In August 2007 the Dutch police arrested me and raided the information office of the NDFP and six residences of NDFP negotiating panelists, consultants and staffers. They took away papers and digital copies of documents related to the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

One after the other, the Dutch District Court of The Hague and the Appellate Court dismissed the false charge of murder against me in 2007 and eventually the Dutch National Prosecution Service dropped its investigation. The Dutch police returned most of the hard and digital copies of the documents they seized. But they did not return one disk containing the most important code and the four related disks were returned but had been corrupted or damaged. These five disks contained the codes for encrypting and decrypting the photos and information deposited in a safety box in a Dutch bank for the benefit of the NDFP consultants, security officers and staffers involved in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in accordance with JASIG.

After the current Aquino regime replaced the Arroyo regime in June 2010, the GRP and NDFP agreed to meet and resume their negotiations. The GRP recomposed its negotiating panel for the purpose in November 2010. But unfortunately it appointed as presidential adviser on the peace process the same Arroyo factotum, Teresita Deles, who had sabotaged the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations since 2004.

The NDFP negotiating panel and the newly-composed GRP negotiating panel met and issued a joint statement in Oslo in February 2011. The latter panel joined the reaffirmation of all previous agreements in the GRP-NDFP but maliciously insisted on inserting the clause that it had qualifications for signing and that the The Hague Joint Declaration was a “document of perpetual division”, thus attacking the framework agreement which had validated and made possible the peace negotiations.

Despite the negative position of the GRP negotiating panel, the NDFP chief political consultant reiterated to the GRP principal the long standing NDFP offer to the GRP since 2005 for an immediate truce and alliance on the basis of a general statement of common intent to realize full national independence, democracy, social justice and economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization.

The offer had been made to answer effectively the constant GRP demand for indefinite ceasefire to effect the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and people. The NDFP chief political consultant averred that the truce and alliance offered by NDFP could be negotiated on a special track, while the regular track would proceed in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent agreements.

The GRP boasts that it has no obligation to comply with the JASIG and insists that detained NDFP consultants can seek release only by going through the legal processes of the reactionary government, notwithstanding the falsity of the charges of common crimes which the Arroyo regime had fabricated in its so-called legal offensive of filing false charges of common crimes to tie down and persecute targeted opponents. It would be discovered later on that the Arroyo regime and the Dutch government had connived in using the Dutch prosecution and police to disable the codes for decrypting the photos and information on the JASIG-protected consultants.

The GRP used the aforesaid discovery as further pretext to refuse compliance with the JASIG on the release of detained NDFP consultants even on humanitarian grounds. It also refused to allow the reconstruction of the list of the documents that could not be retrieved due to the destroyed codes. After three years of negotiations between the Aquino regime and the NDFP, not a single NDFP consultant has been released in compliance with the JASIG. And yet the regime has maliciously spread the lie in the mass media that the NDFP negotiates with the GRP only to have the NDFP consultants released and returned to the battlefield.

In June 2012 when the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels met in Oslo again. The most that could be agreed upon was a short paragraph, stating that “meaningful discussions shall continue on the issues raised by the two sides”, without reference to the substantive agenda in the The Hague Joint Declaration and the Joint Agreement on the Formation, Sequence and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees. This short-paragraph agreement is now being interpreted by the Aquino regime as the end of the peace negotiations on the regular track.

After a series of meetings between the NDFP chief political consultant, the GRP presidential political adviser Ronald Llamas and RNG Ambassador Ture Lundh, the GRP and NDFP delegations met in February 2013 supposedly to prepare on the special track for a meeting between the GRP president and the CPP founding chairman in a historic meeting in Hanoi similar to that between the former and the MILF chairman in Tokyo in 2011. The NDFP submitted a draft communique for such meeting and an elaboration of its initial draft Declaration for National Unity and Just Peace, providing for truce and cooperation.

The GRP delegation practically killed the special track by demanding that the truce be in the form of indefinite unilateral and simultaneous ceasefires within the legal framework of the reactionary government and without any kind of substantive agreement mutually beneficial to the two sides and the people. The NDFP delegation expressed the view that such demand made the special track unnecessary and that the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations be resumed to do the work on the substantive agenda stipulated by The Hague Joint Declaration.

In the meantime, the US-Aquino regime continues to engage in state terrorism. This involves the gross and systematic violations of human rights under Oplan Bayanihan, now in the process of surpassing those under Oplan Bantay Laya during the US-Arroyo regime. It does so in contravention of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) by illegally arresting and indefinitely detaining, torturing and murdering persons associated with the NDFP and involved in the peace negotiations and refusing to investigate and in effect condoning cases of violations of the JASIG.

On a far larger scale, violations of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) include the abduction, indefinite detention, torture and murder of social activists and suspected revolutionaries on false accusations of common crimes, indiscriminate military attacks on entire communities of the urban poor, the peasants and indigenous people, forced mass evacuations and evictions from land and homes.

### ***Prospects of people's war and peace negotiations***

Through its presidential adviser on the peace process, its negotiating panel chairman and its presidential spokesman, the Aquino regime has publicly announced that it shall no longer go into any formal talks with the NDFP in both the regular and special tracks of the peace negotiations. It has also announced that it has already informed the Royal Norwegian government (RNG) that it has terminated its peace negotiations with the NDFP. But upon inquiry by the NDFP Negotiating Panel, the RNG denied ever having received any notice of termination.

At the same time, the Aquino regime has announced taking a “new approach”. This refers to the end of the

peace negotiations, the escalation of the brutal military campaigns and psychological warfare under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan. The psywar campaigns have been going on for sometime. It involves faking localized negotiations and fabricating mass surrenders and doling out a part of the graft-ridden Conditional Cash Transfer and PAMANA funds, while most funds are misappropriated and end up in the pockets of the corrupt bureaucrats and military officers.

The US-Aquino regime is hell bent on using brute military in a futile attempt to destroy the revolutionary forces and the people represented by the NDFP. In the process, it will continue to commit gross and systematic violations of human rights. The violations of civil and political rights include abductions or forced disappearances, illegal arrests and indefinite detention, false charges of common crimes against social activists, torture, extrajudicial killings, massacres and indiscriminate attacks on communities by bombings, strafing and artillery fire. The violations of economic, social and cultural rights include forced mass evacuations, destruction of employment and livelihood, grabbing of the land for the benefit of the foreign corporations and bureaucrat comprador-landlords, ethnocide against the indigenous people, wanton plunder of the natural resources and destruction of the environment.

Under the leadership of the CPP, the NPA is determined and prepared to fight the escalating counterrevolutionary violence and to carry out the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. We are going to see the intensification of the civil war between the reactionary government of the big compradors and landlords; and the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants. The worsening crisis of the ruling system, the consequent suffering of the people and the absence of peace negotiations make the ground ever more fertile for the spread and intensification of the people's war.

Because of the extreme anti-national and anti-democratic character of the US-Aquino regime, there is no indication whatsoever that it shall soon agree to resume the peace negotiations and respond positively to the clamor of the advocates of just peace and human rights for the resumption of the peace negotiations. The NDFP still expects that upon the worsening of the crisis of the ruling system and the rise of the people's revolutionary strength, the possibility will grow that the US-Aquino regime or the succeeding regime will seek the resumption of peace negotiations.



# ***Building the People's Army and Waging People's War***

March 30, 2014

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Comrades and friends: I wish to express my greetings of solidarity to all of you in this informative and cultural gathering organized by the International Office of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) to celebrate the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army (NPA) by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

I am deeply pleased and highly honored to be invited to speak on the building of the New People's Army and waging the people's war in the Philippines. I wish to share with you basic information and ideas on the following: first, the circumstances and reasons for founding the NPA, second, the growth and victories in the people's war and third, the prospects of the people's war.

With boundless joy, I recall how I presided over the founding of this revolutionary army of the Filipino people on March 29, 1969 in my capacity as Chairman of the CPP Central Committee and its Military Commission. This is a time to give the highest honors to the martyrs and heroes and to congratulate all the Red commanders and fighters for all the victories won through hard work, sacrifices and relentless struggle.

Let us give a special Red salute to Comrades Benito Tiamzon and Wilma Austria for their long service to the Filipino people and new democratic revolution. They have contributed greatly to the growth and advance of the revolutionary forces of the people. They are senior field consultants of the NDFP in the peace negotiations between the Manila government and the NDFP. We demand their immediate release in accordance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees mutually approved since 1995 by the aforesaid negotiating parties.

## ***1. Circumstances and reasons for founding the NPA***

Since the Philippine revolution of 1896, the Filipino people have fought for national and social liberation against foreign and feudal domination. But since the US defeated the Philippine republic in the Filipino-American War that started in 1899, the Filipino people have been subjected once more to foreign and feudal domination and have repeatedly sought to complete the struggle for national independence and democracy.

The formation of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon in 1942 resulted in the most serious struggles of the people to liberate themselves from the Japanese fascist occupation during World War II and from the US-dominated puppet government until the early 1950s. But serious opportunist errors of the leadership of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties led to defeat. The rectification of these errors from 1966 onwards paved the way for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 and founding of the New People's in 1969.

Since 1946, when the US granted nominal independence, the ruling system in the Philippines has become semi-colonial politically; *i.e.* ruled indirectly by the US through its Filipino political agents. It has retained its semi-feudal character economically; *i.e.* maintained directly by the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and their political agents in collaboration with the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists.

The Filipino people aspire to free themselves from oppression and exploitation. Thus, the CPP has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This program seeks to realize national independence and democracy, social justice, land reform and national industrialization, a national, scientific and mass culture, international solidarity and peace.

The working class is the leading class in the democratic and socialist stages of the revolution. The peasantry is the main force of the revolution and demands the agrarian revolution. It serves as the largest source of personnel and inexhaustible resource base for the people's army and people's war. It provides the widest physical and social terrain for the people's army to maneuver against the enemy in the expanse of the countryside.

The armed struggle is the main form of revolutionary struggle. It answers the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power. But the united front is also an important weapon of the revolution. The basic worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of such united front, which includes the urban petty bourgeoisie as one more basic revolutionary ally and further takes on board the national bourgeoisie as a positive though vacillating ally. Under given circumstances, the united front may be further broadened as to take advantage of splits among the reactionaries and thereby aggravate and hasten the isolation and destruction of the enemy.

The NPA carries out the strategic line of protracted people's war, which means encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities on a nationwide scale. This strategic line is of decisive importance. It allows the NPA and other revolutionary forces of the people to grow from small to big and from weak to strong. It avoids a war of quick decision which favors the militarily far superior enemy forces.

In a protracted people's war, the NPA has the chance to develop in stages. At first, it takes the strategic defensive against the enemy's strategic offensive but launches guerrilla warfare, waging tactical offensives that it can win until it has accumulated enough strength to put the enemy in a strategic stalemate. Through a combination of regular mobile warfare and guerrilla warfare during the strategic stalemate, it can destroy the enemy forces faster and change the balance of forces until it puts the enemy on the strategic defensive and reaches the strategic offensive.

In carrying out the people's war, the NPA integrates armed struggle with agrarian revolution and mass base building. It gains the inexhaustible support of the peasantry only by carrying out the agrarian revolution. The fulfillment of the peasant demand for land is the main content of the democratic revolution. The mass base of the revolution must also be built by forming the mass organizations, the local organs of political power and the local CPP branches. Thus, wave upon wave, the people's democratic government replaces the power of the reactionary state.

The agrarian revolution is done in two stages. The first is the minimum land reform program, which involves rent reduction, elimination of usury, fair wages to the farm workers, fair prices for products at the farm gate and raising production in agriculture and sideline occupation through rudimentary cooperation. The second is the maximum land reform program, which involves the confiscation of land from the landlords and the free and equitable distribution of the land to the landless tillers. The anti-feudal united front relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants and takes advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

The local organs of political power constitute the people's democratic government and are established at the barrio, municipal and higher possible levels. The barrio revolutionary committees are assisted by working committees concerned with mass organizing, public education, land reform, production, health care, defense, arbitration, cultural activities and so on. They are supported by the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children, cultural activists and so on in the implementation of social programs, campaigns and activities. The local CPP branch that arises from the local mass base takes the lead in mass work and governance..

## ***II. Growth and victories of the NPA***

Under the leadership of the CPP, the NPA and other revolutionary forces of the people have preserved themselves, grown in strength and won great victories since the founding of the NPA in 1969 because they have a just revolutionary cause, which is the national and social liberation of the people from the terrible scourges of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They have a clear program of people's democratic revolution, the correct strategy and tactics and a definite socialist perspective.

We started the NPA from scratch in the second district of Tarlac in 1969. We had only 9 automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms to rotate among 60 Red fighters to whom we had given politico-military training. But we were confident. We had a party that had avidly studied Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary experience of the Filipino people, the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong and the writings of Vietnamese comrades on building the people's army and waging the people's war. We benefited from the guerrilla experience and mass base of 80,000 people in Tarlac as well as from the urban-based mass movement which we had resumed and revitalized..

We anticipated that Tarlac would become the focus of enemy attacks as soon as we launched tactical offensives in the people's war. Thus, we recognized immediately the urgent need for expansion cadres to start the revolution in as many other regions and provinces as soon as possible. We gave politico-military training to a few expansion cadres for certain provinces in the Cagayan Valley, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bikol and Western Visayas. In the period of 1969-72 (before the martial law period), the most successful of the expansion efforts was in the Cagayan Valley, especially Isabela.

In 1969-71, in less than two years, we were able to increase the number of NPA rifles to 200 through tactical offensives in Tarlac and we almost captured another 200 rifles from the armory of Camp O'Donnel of the US Navy. We were very successful at the minimum land reform program and improving the housing of many people. As early as 1969, Marcos organized Task Force Lawin, with a total strength of 5000 military troops and policemen.

By 1971 the CPP Central Committee had shifted its headquarters to Isabela to direct the rapid growth of the mass base (already about 200,000 people), the land reform campaign, the accelerated politico-military training of expansion cadres for the Northern Luzon and other regions of the country and the intensification of armed struggle with a significant increase of rifles from the successful raid on the armory of the Philippine Military Academy in December 1970. The Marcos regime formed the Task Force Saranay of so many battalions in Isabela after the enemy noticed the use of the Browning automatic rifles captured from the PMA raid.

Aside from developing the revolution in a region of strategic importance, the greatest value yielded by building the guerrilla bases and zones in Isabela was the politico-military training and the experience of guerrilla war and mass work given to the trade unionists and youth activists that came from cities all over the country, thanks especially to Kabataang Makabayan and the First Quarter of 1970. By early 1972, a significant number of expansion cadres had flowed out to new areas of expansion nationwide, including the rest of Northeast Luzon, Northwest Luzon, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Visayas and Mindanao.

As early as 1970, the CPP was already forming regional Party committees to start the people's war in their respective regions, with the assistance of mass organizations. Such regional Party committees tried to do their best and became ever more successful as they accumulated experience and summed up lessons, including bitter ones, and as they were reinforced by cadres and fighters who had previous politico-military training and guerrilla experience from Tarlac and Isabela. Consequent to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and the declaration of martial law in 1972, significant numbers of trade unionists and youth activists joined the people's army.

When Marcos declared martial law, he claimed that the NPA had 10,000 fighters but in fact it had only about 350 rifles in the hands of the NPA fighters, excluding the people's militia and self-defense units of the mass organizations. A relatively big number of national cadres were released from underground administrative functions in 1974 to be integrated into the people's army and to conduct rural mass work.

By December 1975 the country was well covered by relatively stable regional committees of the CPP and regional NPA commands.

The two NPA companies that had been isolated in the Isabela forest region since 1972, because of a wrong decision by the regional Party committee, marched out towards Cagayan province in 1975. The NPA in Eastern Visayas started to carry out platoon-size guerrilla offensives and these grew more frequent from 1976 onwards. The NPA grew steadily in Northwest Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol and Western Visayas. It expanded rapidly in Mindanao. It was the first to use the term guerrilla front to define the combination of guerrilla bases and zones in a contiguous area. The CPP Central Committee adopted the use of the term and instructed the Mindanao Party Committee to divide the big region into several regions in 1976.

After the 1975 Plenum and the subsequent carrying out of guerrilla offensives nationwide, it became clear that both the CPP and the NPA were truly nationwide forces with deep roots among the masses in the regions and provinces. The point had been reached that the NPA forces could withstand concentrated enemy attacks on one guerrilla front or a whole region and could fight back not only in that guerrilla front or region but also in several regions and guerrilla fronts where the enemy forces were weaker. On a national scale, the CPP and NPA had overcome tremendous odds, become tempered in struggle and gained the strength for continuous growth.

When I was captured in November 1977, the NPA was already at the level of 1500 automatic rifles, excluding the far bigger number of men and women in the people's militia and self defense units. I was confident that the CPP and NPA would grow in strength further and become a major factor in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The NPA reached the level of 3000 rifles in 1983 and 5600 automatic rifles in 1986. Fearing the growth of the people's war, the US, the Catholic church and the big comprador-landlord oligarchs in the country decided within the period of 1984 to 1986 that Marcos had become more of a liability than an asset and had to be removed from power the way Duvalier had been deposed.

The people's army grew in strength and the people's war spread because of the Maoist leadership in both the CPP and NPA. The cadres and fighters were well-versed on the specific characteristics of the people's war in the Philippines, the revolutionary guide to land reforms and the urgent tasks in building the mass base.

Despite overall growth in the 1980s, a few members of the Central Committee spread the subjectivist notion that the Philippine was no longer semi-feudal and that by implication Marcos had greatly developed the economy with his big comprador-landlord policy dependent on foreign loans. Based on said notion, Right and "Left" opportunism arose and slowed what should have been a faster rate of growth. The opportunists deviated from the

analysis of the Philippine economy as semifeudal, the general political line of people's democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The worst of the Right opportunists wanted to do away with the working class leadership and make the bourgeois-led united front the main weapon and legal struggle the main form of struggle. The worst of the Left “opportunists” wanted to enlarge and regularize NPA combat units, without minding agrarian revolution and building the mass base. Upon failure of their line, the military adventurists raised a hysteria about deep penetration agents and engaged in witch hunts, thus eroding the strength of the revolutionary movement and the mass base in certain areas at various times from 1985 onwards.

Happily, the CPP launched the Second Great Rectification Movement in 1992. Comrades Benito Tiamzon and Wilma Tiamzon played important roles in this educational movement. Since then, the CPP and NPA have won resounding victories in reaffirming basic revolutionary principles and the strategic line of protracted people's war, regaining the mass base (60 percent of which had been lost by 1991 due to the “Left” opportunist line), revitalizing the mass movement and carrying forward the people's war. The line of the people's war has been sharpened as the waging of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. It has been resoundingly successful.

At present, the CPP is reported to have about 150,000 members, the NPA has about 10,000 fighters, the people's militia tens of thousands of personnel, and the self-defense units hundreds of thousands. The guerrilla fronts number more than 110 covering significant portions of 71 provinces. The mass organizations have members in millions; and the people's democratic government has millions of people in its territory. Despite the recent arrest of Comrades Tiamzon and Austria, the revolutionary movement of the people will continue to grow in strength and advance. There is a far bigger mass movement now than when Julie and I were captured in 1977.

The CPP, NPA and the revolutionary forces of the people have withstood and prevailed over the attempts of the 14-year fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo democratic regimes to destroy them with US-instigated national plans of military suppression and deception, like the current Oplan Bayanihan. It has been proven again and again that the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war are correct and invincible against the rotten ruling system which is in a chronic crisis that is always worsening.

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### ***Prospects of the NPA and people's war***

Like the CPP, the NDFP has declared that the general line for people's democratic revolution for the protracted people's war is the same line for the peace negotiations with the reactionary government and that the people's war is justified for so long as the demand of the people for national and social liberation is not satisfied. The revolutionary forces and the people consider the peace negotiations as a way of carrying forward and helping realize their demand for national independence and democracy .

They always resist the reactionary government's obsession of perpetuating the semicolonial and semifeudal system and seeking the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary movement. They have made clear that they are ever ready for the eventuality that their enemy terminate the peace negotiations. The reactionary government has been brazenly disrespecting and violating existing agreements, like The Hague Joint Declaration, The Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

The CPP and NPA are determined to realize the plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the near term and to overthrow the ruling system and establish the people's democratic system in the long run. They intend to bring up the number of CPP members to 250,000, NPA to 25,000, the guerrilla fronts to 200 and the scope of the agrarian revolution and the mass base to many more millions of people.

They aim to advance until they reach the strategic offensive in order to overthrow the ruling system and establish the people's democratic state system. They are confident of advancing from stage to stage in the people's war because they fight for the just revolutionary cause of the Filipino for national and social liberation, because they have the correct general line and strategy, because they accumulate strength through hard work and struggle and because conditions favorable to the revolution are provided by the unprecedentedly grave and ever worsening crisis of global capitalism and the domestic ruling system.

The broad masses of the people suffer terribly from the escalation of exploitation under the neoliberal economic policy, from state terrorism and from the imperialist wars of aggression. But they are driven to fight ever more fiercely for their national and social liberation and for a fundamentally new and better world of greater freedom, social justice, development, cultural upliftment and peace.

# ***Message of Solidarity to Radio Pakikibaka and all its Listeners***

**April 2, 2014**

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Militant revolutionary greetings to *Radio Pakikibaka* [Struggle] and to all its listeners. I am Jose Maria Sison, founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I wish to extend my utmost congratulations to all the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army on its 45th anniversary.

It was my pleasure that in the name of the Central Committee and the Military Commission, I led the founding meeting of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. Since then, this people's army has become a vibrant and sharp weapon of the people's democratic revolution.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, it grew deep roots among the masses and was able to expand to North Western Luzon, North-Eastern Luzon, Central Luzon, Bicol, Visayas, Mindanao as well as in Southern Tagalog region. It is remarkable how much area the revolutionary movement has covered through it in the past four decades.

From 60 Red fighters armed with nine automatic rifles and 26 low caliber weapons, the New People's Army has now grown to thousands throughout the country. From its inception in the second district of Tarlac, its is now established in more than one hundred guerrilla fronts in 71 provinces in the country.

In celebrating the anniversary of the New People's Army, let us all remember and look back at the forty years of heroism and steadfastness of the Red army in its efforts to advance the people's war. I am certain that the people's war will advance to the strategic stalemate in a few years.

Again, I salute all the revolutionary forces in Southern Tagalog and in the whole country.

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino people!

***Intensify the Offensives Nationwide***  
***to Advance the People's Democratic Revolution***

**March 29, 2015**

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On the happy occasion of the 46<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29, 1969, we the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines give our Red salute to all the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters of the NPA, the people's deputies of the organs of democratic political power and the leaders of the various revolutionary mass organizations and to the memory of all our revolutionary martyrs and heroes. We congratulate you for all your victories in the service to the Filipino people in their revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

By waging the people's war, which is the highest form of revolutionary struggle, the NPA has enabled the Filipino people to assert their national sovereignty, establish local organs of democratic political power on a widening scale and strengthen the mass organizations as the backbone of the mass movement to propagate revolutionary consciousness, carry out land reform, raise production, improve health conditions, overcome enemy attacks and natural disasters and promote the people's revolutionary culture.

The NPA has defeated Oplan Bayanihan in the revolutionary way it defeated previous counterrevolutionary strategic campaign plans from the time of Marcos. It has achieved a resounding victory by adhering to the Party's program for a people's democratic revolution, pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, integrating armed struggle with agrarian revolution and mass base building and carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever expanding and ever deepening mass base.

The NPA is vigorously growing in strength and advancing towards the goal of strategic stalemate. In sharp contrast, the US-directed Aquino regime is in utter disgrace for its puppetry, corruption, incompetence and brutality and is wobbling to an ignominious end. This regime is one more aggravating and passing phase in the downward course of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system that is bound to its doom by the ever growing and ever advancing armed revolution.

The global and domestic crisis conditions are favorable to the advance of the Philippine revolution. The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen, escalate exploitation and oppression and generate state terrorism and wars of aggression. The proletariat and people of the world are steadily waging all forms of resistance. The crisis of the Philippine ruling system is ever worsening and generating armed and other forms of revolutionary resistance, putting the Philippine revolution in the forefront of the world proletarian revolution and anti-imperialist struggles of the people of the world.

***1. Protracted crisis and imperialist wars engender resistance***

The US continues to impose the neoliberal economic policy on the world capitalist system. The incomes of the working class and even of the middle class have been pressed down to increase profit for the big bourgeoisie. While social services and social benefits for the working people have been eroded, the big bourgeoisie has enjoyed lower tax rates on corporate and personal incomes and all the bounty resulting from the privatization of public assets, the liberalization of investments and trade, the deregulation of social and environmental restrictions and the denationalization of the underdeveloped economies.

The crisis of overproduction has recurred more often and to a worse degree than before. The use of finance capital, particularly the rapid expansion of the money supply and credit, to override the economic crisis and the tendency of the profit rate to fall has served only to aggravate the crisis. Financial bubbles have been generated and burst one after the other, bringing about ever worse economic and financial crises. The people are in the throes of a protracted global crisis and depression, comparable in severity to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Financial bailouts have gone mainly to the financial markets, fattening the finance oligarchy and feeding the military-industrial complex in the imperialist countries. In general, production and employment have fallen or stagnated. The assets of the big bourgeoisie have inflated faster, while austerity measures are adopted at the expense of the working people in a futile attempt to slow down public spending and conserve the value of the assets

of the big bourgeoisie. In the world today, inequality is manifested by 1 percent of the population (based mainly in the imperialist countries) owning assets nearly as large as those of the 99 percent.

The world is running on debt, leaping from USD 57 trillion in 2007 to the current 199 trillion. The public debt in the imperialist countries is leading the way, with deficits running high and increasing the debt at great speed. The public debt crisis is worsening as the European Union takes its turn at quantitative easing (wanton printing of money). The public debt bubble has already become so big and is about to burst in several imperialist countries. When it bursts, the further financial crisis will surpass the previous crisis. There is yet no recovery in sight for the global crisis and depression that has protracted since the mortgage meltdown in 2008. A new bigger and worse financial and economic crisis is developing and is expected to come on top of the current crisis and depression.

In the US, the dominant view among the imperialists is that the production of high tech military weaponry and foreign sales of earlier generations of weapons contribute greatly to the stability of the economy and that the threat to use and actual use of high tech weaponry allow the US to perpetuate its economic and financial dominance and facilitate its access to cheap sources of labor and raw materials, markets and fields of investment. In this regard, the US is involving its NATO allies in making war provocations in Eastern Europe. It is also making Japan, Australia and South Korea complicit in making war provocations in East Asia.

Within the imperialist countries, the big bourgeoisie generates various kinds of reactionary currents and movements in order to deflect the growing social discontent and resistance of the proletariat and obscure the capitalist roots of the economic and social crisis. It is whipping up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, Islamophobia, terrorist-baiting and war hysteria. Foreign migrant workers, refugees, asylum-seekers and even second-generation immigrants of color are the convenient targets of scapegoat campaigns to promote the dominance of counterrevolutionary and ultrareactionary parties in the parliamentary elections. The big bourgeoisie generates reactionary currents and movements to support neoliberal, austerity and war policies.

The main instruments of coercion and deception in the imperialist countries keep on pushing the neoliberal line of exploitation, the neoconservative line of “full spectrum” global hegemony in the 21st century, state terrorism and wars of aggression under the pretext of “war on terror” and humanitarian intervention. The economic and social crises intensify the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the people and goad them to launch mass protests and strikes. The big bourgeoisie and its political agents overreact to the people’s resistance and adopt even more reactionary and harsher policies and measures. These include outright fascist laws and heavily militarized police actions against civilians under the pretext of combatting terrorism. In a few countries, such as Greece and Spain, mass movements are gaining strength and enabling some progressive parties and coalitions to arise.

The oppressed peoples and nations in the underdeveloped countries suffer the main brunt of the protracted crisis and depression of the world capitalist system. The imperialist countries keep on shifting to them the burden of crisis in order to extract superprofits and maintain relative harmony among themselves. They take advantage of the neocolonial subservience of puppet officials, the abundance of cheap labor, the low value of the raw materials and semimanufactures and the grave foreign indebtedness of the underdeveloped countries. As a result, the people’s suffering and social turmoil are becoming more widespread and acute.

In some countries, rival politicians of the exploiting classes still manage to exploit and oppress the people even as they tend to become violent against each other. In other countries, the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia are already increasingly engaged in protest movements and armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy. The most significant of the revolutionary movements are those waging people’s wars under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as in the Philippines, India and other South Asian countries.

So far, the imperialist powers headed by the US have been most threatening and aggressive against countries with governments that are anti-imperialist and have avowed socialist policies and aspirations. They are quicker at unleashing wars of aggression against such governments in countries with rich fossil fuel and other strategic raw materials like Iraq and Libya or those countries deemed obstructive to imperialist expansion such as the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Syria.

They have used Zionist Israel as an attack dog not only against the Palestinian and Arab peoples but also against other peoples in the Middle East and Africa. They have threatened, sanctioned and blockaded such countries as Iran, Syria, Cuba, Venezuela and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. However the governments of these countries have mobilized their domestic popular forces and their diplomatic relations to discourage or



prevent any war of aggression against them.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rapid and totally undisguised embrace of capitalism by the ruling revisionist cliques in the years from 1989 to 1991, the US gloated over becoming the sole superpower and over what it proclaimed as the total and final triumph of capitalism over socialism. But the entry of Russia and China into the top circle of capitalist powers has aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and the inter-imperialist contradictions. The US has significantly declined in economic power as a result of the outsourcing of consumer manufactures, increase of military expenditures and financialization of its economy. Some analysts have even made so-called purchasing power parity to place China prematurely ahead of the US in terms of GDP. But because of its large population China is still way behind in terms of per capita GDP.

Russia, China and other countries have often reminded the US that the world has become multipolar and is steadily no longer under the unipolar hegemony of the US. In fact, as a result of US unilateralism and imperial overstretch in launching prolonged wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, China and Russia have initiated the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to countervail the aggressiveness of the US singly or in combination with the NATO. They have also been active in developing the BRICS economic bloc and initiating alternative financial structures like the BRICS Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Development Bank to counteract the worst economic and financial impositions made by the US directly or through the IMF, World Bank and the WTO.

The US has reacted to the growing alliance of China and Russia. It has launched the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement to exclude China and has made its strategic pivot to East Asia, in order to pressure China and cause certain internal developments in that former socialist country, such as the further privatization of the strategic state owned enterprises and the further rise of bourgeois politics. The US has also instigated the so-called color revolutions in the former Soviet republics in order to further expand the US-NATO and the Western economic dominance in the vicinity of and within the Russian Federation.

In East Asia, the US has been stirring up the disputes of China with Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea as well as with Japan over the East Sea. It has done so in a calibrated way in order to gain advantages on both sides of the disputes. It has in fact announced a neutral position over disputes in the South China Sea and has tolerated China in occupying several islets and shoals in the West Philippine Sea and doing reclamation work to build military bases. However, more recently the US and Japan in a duet have announced their intention to build military bases in the Philippines, with the Philippine defense secretary applauding the insult to national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The US has been even more reckless in making provocations against Russia in the Ukraine by engineering the rise of fascist forces in the western part of Ukraine and using them to overthrow the duly-elected government through the so-called Maidan uprising and then to attack the ethnic Russians in the Donbas region or Novorossiia. In response, the ethnic Russians held referenda to establish people's republics to defend themselves. The people of Crimea decided to return to Russia of which Crimea had been previously a part.

The US has escalated the provocations by imposing sanctions on Russia, disrupting the economic cooperation of Russia and Germany, blaming Russia for the downing of Malaysian Airlines' MH-17 by the fascists in Ukraine, supplying the fascists with US military advice and weaponry, the US-Saudi manipulation of oil supply and prices to undermine the Russian economy, and war exercises by US military forces in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. The US imperialists have several times instigated major wars in Europe in recent times, such as those to dismantle Yugoslavia through a series of separatist wars and the civil war in Georgia and now in Ukraine. US armed intervention in the Yemen conflict between the beleaguered Abd Hadi regime and the opposition forces, under the pretext of rescuing a British-born US Journalist Luke Somers from Al Qaeda, aggravated the civil strife and sufferings of the people in Yemen.

The US singly and jointly with its imperialist allies is far ahead of any other force in the world in unleashing state terrorism and wars of aggression. It has victimized the people by causing deaths and injuries to hundreds of thousands, turning millions into refugees and destroying their economies and social infrastructure with the use of weapons of mass destruction, especially various types of bombs (white phosphorous, uranium-tipped and cluster bombs) delivered by planes, cruise missiles and drones. It provides training, war matériel, intelligence and military advice to fascist and ultra-rightist forces in order to overthrow those regimes opposed and obstructing the US regional and geopolitical interests such as in the Arab Spring Uprising it instigated in several countries of North Africa, the contra wars in Latin America and the rightist armed oppositions in Central Asia, Middle-East, South

Asia and Southwest Africa.

Unwittingly the US and its worst allies and puppets are alerting the world proletariat and the broad masses of the people to oppose imperialist war and turn it into a revolutionary civil war for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The escalating interimperialist contradictions are reminding the people and the revolutionary forces that conditions are becoming more favorable for waging armed revolution.

The rise of people's resistance and demand for socialism in the imperialist countries are of growing importance. The spread of armed revolutionary resistance in the underdeveloped countries is bound to deprive the imperialist powers of easy sources of superprofits and sap the strength of the overextended aggressors.

## ***II. The US-Aquino regime worsens crisis and inflames the people's war***

The US-dictated neoliberal economic policy has aggravated and deepened the underdeveloped agrarian and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy despite the glistening tower office and residential buildings in a few urban centers and the steady flow of imported equipment and consumer products. The illusion of economic growth in 2013 and 2014 is due to the heavy inflow of portfolio investments to the Philippine financial markets from the US and other foreign hedge funds. This kind of financial flow amounted to more than 60 percent of total inflows. The remittances of overseas contract workers and net inflows from exports amounted to a small part. The foreign exchange income of call centers and the tax evading export-oriented enterprises in semi-manufacturing, mining, logging and plantations have not significantly offset the interest payments on the accumulated foreign debt, the imported equipment and materials for public and private construction and all sorts of consumer products from abroad, including rice, corn and other food products. The total public debt of the Philippines has risen to more than Php 5.68 trillion or USD 135 billion, including the external debt of more than USD 72 billion as of end-2013. It continues to cover the ever rising government and trade deficits and keeps the Philippine economy afloat on an unsustainable basis.

In connection with the US scheme to destroy the revolutionary movement through the instrumentality of the Aquino regime, the big foreign commercial banks and hedge funds have enlarged the flow of funds to the Philippines in order to support the financial markets, to finance public and private construction and consumption, to bloat the annual growth of the gross domestic product and to increase tax revenues of the government from value-added and indirect taxes, despite the tripling of corruption in the collection of taxes on imports and exports. Thus, the US-manipulated Aquino regime has been able to conjure the illusion of prosperity and good governance for a few years. On this kind of basis, the bourgeois mass media gave the Aquino regime more than four years of honeymoon.

The increase in tax collection has been designed to enlarge the funds for all sorts of community "development" projects and for outright cash dole-outs in large areas of social unrest, and thus intended to undermine the revolutionary movement. But more than Php 1 trillion of an annual budget of more than Php 2 trillion has gone into the pockets of the bureaucrat capitalists headed by the Aquino ruling clique. The lump sums of public money have been used under the arbitrary discretion of Aquino in violation of the constitutional requirement of congressional approval and under a dizzying number of headings like Disbursement Acceleration Program (DAP), Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF), off-budget accounts (OBA) and so on. It has been stolen by the executive and legislative officials with the use of ghost beneficiaries as well as through graft-ridden construction and supply contracts with companies owned by the campaign financiers and relatives of the president.

As a matter of course, the highest bureaucrats and military officers connive in stealing from the bloated appropriations for the military, police and intelligence agencies. The Conditional Cash Transfer and PAMANA funds, which are intended to enhance the psywar and intelligence aspects of Oplan Bayanihan under the signboard of "peace and development" and to undermine the revolutionary movement, have also been stolen in large chunks by the civil bureaucrats and military officers in charge of the programs.

Fake rebel groups, like the RPA-ABB and CPLA, have been recycled for use by high bureaucrats and military officers associated with the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process in stealing public funds. Even the funds and supplies from foreign donors for the rescue, relief and rehabilitation of communities devastated by supertyphoon Haiyan and other natural disasters have been stolen by civil and military officials. In the entire Visayas, the Aquino regime is hated by the people for misappropriating the funds allocated as aid for victims of natural disasters.

The boast that the Aquino regime is responsible for making the Philippines a new economic tiger is a lie. It

does not mean achieving land reform and industrialization as in Taiwan and South Korea in the past. The types of profit-making projects put up by the US and other foreign companies in collaboration with the big compradors and landlords in the Philippines involve grabbing large areas of land, either to extract natural resources or to use in tourism and real estate speculation, and raising the level of import-dependent consumption financed by foreign debt and the earnings of the working people.

The gross domestic product is increased and yet the employment rates and income levels of the working people are ever declining, the prices of basic goods and services are ever rising, social services are ever deteriorating, and poverty is ever worsening and spreading in the urban and rural areas. The state of underdevelopment is perpetuated and exacerbated. The evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continue to afflict the Filipino people and are becoming ever more exploitative and oppressive.

The ground for the patriotic and progressive mass movement as well as for the armed revolutionary movement keeps on becoming more fertile than ever. The reaction of the Aquino regime to the mass protests and the people's war is not to heed the demands for national liberation and democracy and seek national unity, peace and reconciliation with the revolutionary forces and people but to ruthlessly unleash all the barbarities of Oplan Bayanihan in a wide scale of human rights violations, to step up subservience to US imperialism and to preserve the ruling system of big compradors and landlords.

The Aquino regime's human rights violations include the aerial bombings, artillery and mortar fire, and strafing by trigger-happy fascist troops against communities, forced evacuation and displacement of entire villages for extended periods or for the purpose of permanent landgrabbing, the extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances, the arbitrary arrest, illegal detention and torture of those who resist or are mere suspects, and the brutal demolition and burning of urban poor communities for the benefit of real estate companies.

No military or police officer has been meted just punishment by the Aquino regime for human rights violations. The accused fascist butcher General Palparan has been given tight protection and luxurious accommodation by the military. Even the Ampatuan warlord family and their ilk, who started to build their political power under the wings of the Aquino I regime and now stand accused for the massacre of 54 civilians including lawyers and 32 journalists, are treated by the Aquino II regime with kid gloves and are given leeway to kill, harass and bribe the witnesses against them.

On the other hand, the Aquino regime has retained in prison the hundreds of people illegally detained by the Arroyo regime in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and the Hernandez political offense doctrine as well as the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees in the case of NDFP consultants in the peace negotiations. It has doubled the number of these political prisoners, thus rendering extremely difficult or impossible the resumption of formal talks between the negotiating panels of the Manila government and the NDFP.

The Aquino regime knows no bounds for its puppetry to US imperialism. It has maximized the use of the Visiting Forces Agreement to host US military forces in the guise of rotation under various pretexts, including an overblown war on terror, annual joint military exercises, yearlong interoperational training, surveillance of the country, civic action, disaster relief and so on. During Aquino's term, US military intervention has increased by leaps and bounds under the pretext of protecting the Philippines from possible Chinese aggression and encroachments and in the context of the strategic US pivot to East Asia in order to contain and put China under restraint.

The regime has gone further in its craven puppetry, in brazen violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, by signing with the US government an executive agreement, the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, to allow the establishment of US military bases in as many areas as allowed by the Philippine chief executive, without need of amending the 1987 constitution and securing the ratification of the agreement by the Philippine Senate.

China claims 90 percent of the South China Sea and in effect robs the Philippines 100 percent of its extended continental shelf (ECS) and 80 percent of its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It has forcibly occupied Bajo de Masinloc (Scarborough Shoal) and is now doing reclamation work for the construction of Chinese military bases in six different reef areas inside the 200-mile EEZ of the Philippines. These bases could be operational in less than a year from now. But the US and Aquino governments have not shown any effective opposition. In fact, the US has declared in self-contradiction that it is neutral in disputes over the South China Sea. At any rate, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague is expected to promulgate its

ruling on the suit that the Philippines has filed before the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea.

In accordance with the Party's guiding principles governing foreign relations among sovereign nations, the Party and the entire revolutionary movement oppose and fight any form of infringement on the Philippines' national sovereignty and territorial integrity—be it from the US, China or any foreign power.

The US-directed Aquino regime is now isolated and wobbling as a result of its extreme puppetry to its imperialist masters and its flagrant violation of the constitutional ban on foreign military bases and troops, its gross and systematic corruption in violation of the constitutional power of the purse belonging to Congress, the intolerable economic and social suffering of the people due to increased plunder and crisis, and the rampant human rights violations by its security forces. Aquino will go down in history as having grossly and repeatedly violated the 1987 constitution to serve his own clique's counterrevolutionary and corrupt purposes.

Aquino has lately become isolated and detested by a growing number among the police and military officers corps. Upon US urging, he gave the go-signal to an operation of a police commando force to enter Mamasapano municipality in Maguindanao province, a territory of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), in order to kill a Malaysian overrated as a regional "terrorist" operating in the locality. But he relied on a trusted but suspended general as project commander, outside of the chain of command. He failed to seek the coordination of the MILF, causing the unnecessary death of 44 police commandos trapped in Mamasapano and preventing reinforcement and fire support by nearby Army forces. The congressional approval of the Bangsamoro Basic Law and the peace agreement between the Manila government and the MILF are now imperilled.

The Aquino regime is now so preoccupied with trying to shore itself up from the rising wave of indignation from the people and from its own police and military officers and is so despondent over the bungling of its cease-fire agreement with the MILF that it appears to be unable to pay attention to peace negotiations with the NDFP, despite recent progress in the informal talks between special teams of the regime and NDFP towards the resumption of formal talks in Oslo. With the Manila government stunned by its own chief executive's criminal ineptitude and unable to hold formal peace talks with the NDFP, the Party and the New People's Army have all the reason to intensify the people's war.

A broad mass movement has arisen, demanding the resignation of Aquino. It includes the patriotic and progressive forces that have long demanded the ouster of the Aquino regime and those other forces and spontaneous masses that would have otherwise allowed Aquino to finish his term in 2016. The broad masses of the people are outraged by the grave crimes of Aquino and concerned that he would still commit graver crimes if he stayed in power any longer. The big compradors and high bureaucrats that have benefited most from his regime are the most vocal in wishing to keep him in office by arguing that his vice president is also corrupt and that the 2016 elections are already close.

Aquino manages to keep the loyalty of a majority in the lower house of Congress because they have been accomplices in grand scale corruption, unconstitutionally and illegally allowing Aquino to invent categories of lump sum appropriations under his discretion for spending and sharing with more than 90 percent of the congressmen and senators. Even potential presidential candidates who can benefit from distancing themselves from Aquino are afraid to offend him because of his well-known control over the Smartmatic-TIM automated electoral system and his influence over the big compradors whom he has favored with public contracts under "public-private partnerships" scheme, and with an assortment of financial and tax privileges, and special military-police protection.

Whatever is the outcome of the broad mass movement to compel the resignation of Aquino, the patriotic and progressive forces and people will become stronger in confronting and fighting the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords and in seeking the overthrow of the entire ruling system. The strengthening of the legal mass movement against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is conducive to the advance of the people's war for national liberation and democracy.

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### ***III. The New People's Army grows and advances the people's war***

The New People's Army is invincible because it follows the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. It carries out the correct general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It combines revolutionary armed struggle with agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution and with the united front as the way to promote the armed revolution and the legal forms of struggle. In any case, the united front mobilizes the broad masses of the people in order to isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy.

The NPA integrates the armed struggle with the agrarian revolution and building the mass base. It carries out the minimum program of land reform (rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising wages of farm workers, improvement of prices at the farm gate and raising production) and the maximum land reform program (confiscation of land from the landlords and free equitable distribution of land to the poor peasants and lower middle peasants) according to the stage of development and concrete conditions. It builds the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, indigenous people, women, youth, children, cultural activists and others.

The Party within the NPA and in the localities takes the lead in all kinds of work, giving stress to the anti-feudal united front in the countryside within the context of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal national united front. The Party and NPA always take the mass line. They serve the people, especially the toiling masses. They arouse, organize and mobilize the masses to fight for their rights and interests. They trust and rely on the masses for achieving national and social liberation. Revolutionary victories in the people's war are won on the basis of mass struggles, the correct leadership of the Party and the effective command system of the NPA and fighting skills of the Red commanders and fighters.

Whenever setbacks and stagnation occur, the Party leadership at the concerned level must take responsibility, identify the errors and shortcomings and rectify them. There are errors which can be handled by periodic and special sessions of criticism and self-criticism and there are more serious errors which require more time and attention to rectify. It is important to take into account the difficulties imposed by the enemy and objective conditions but the point is to overcome them and advance the armed revolution.

Since last year, we have observed and proclaimed the resounding defeat of Oplan Bayanihan on a nationwide scale, especially in Mindanao. The reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the Philippine National Police (PNP), the paramilitary forces, and private security agencies involved in counter-revolution continue to suffer defeats in the hands of the NPA. The NPA confiscated close to 500 high-powered firearms and inflicted more than a thousand casualties to the enemy. The NPA in three Mindanao regions—the NEMR, NCMR and SMR—has been most outstanding in fulfilling the requisites of people's war and in launching successful offensives. Thus, the enemy is concentrating its forces on these regions under Oplan Bayanihan and is boasting that he can defeat the NPA nationwide by defeating it in East Mindanao.

The special attention being given by the enemy to the NPA in East Mindanao is an unwitting recognition of the brilliant victories achieved by the Party, the NPA and the National Democratic Front. The victories have been emphatically brilliant in view of the ceasefire agreements made by the Moro National Liberation Front in 1996 and subsequently by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Our revolutionary comrades in NEMR, NCMR and SMR have provided us the victories that should inspire all other regions to intensify their offensives and advance the people's war in the face of escalating enemy attacks.

More than 35 combat battalions of the AFP have been deployed against the numerous guerilla fronts of the NPA in Mindanao. It is also estimated that 50 to 60 percent of total AFP combat strength is now concentrated here. These include battalions shifted from Luzon and the Visayas as well as from the areas of the MILF in view of the prolonged GRP-MILF ceasefire and previous expectations that the GRP-MILF peace negotiations would come to a successful end. But now the enemy is confused by the consequences of the Mamasapano fiasco and is trying to make shows of force in the areas of the Moro people. Aside from the combat forces of the Philippine Army, Navy and Air Force, the Manila government fields PNP combat forces like the nationally directed Special Action Force (SAF) and the regional and provincial public security battalions, and CAFGU/SCAA formations and various paramilitary forces under the control of the army, the police, local government officials, or even big private firms. Most of these forces are deployed against the NPA. Various forms of violence and human rights violations are being used against the people: aerial bombings, artillery and mortar attacks and machine gun fire, massacres,

forced evacuations, hamletting, torture, abductions, intimidation, mass arrests, fake mass surrenders, destruction of crops, looting of homes, theft of work animals, and occupation of schools, places of worship, barangay halls, rural health clinics, and homes.

The enemy has less combat forces in the Visayas and Luzon than in Mindanao. There are on the average only six to eight battalions for each region. At any rate, as in Mindanao, the enemy applies the strategic approach of win-hold-win, clear-hold-consolidate-develop, the triad concept of intelligence, psywar and combat, and the deployment of “territorial battalions” that undertakes “peace and development” operations in order to control the villages in the guerrilla front or province, in combination with mobile battalions (subdivided from time to time into companies and platoons) in order to pursue the guerrilla forces. AFP territorial commands, such as CENTCOM in the Visayas and NOLCOM in Northern Luzon, are brazenly touting the “civil society” concept of Bayanihan or counterinsurgency mobilization of so-called stakeholders of Oplan Bayanihan, in conjunction with military operations.

In 46 years of waging protracted people’s war, the NPA has fought and frustrated many strategic “counterinsurgency” campaigns carried out by one puppet regime after another under the direction and with logistical support of US imperialism. It has preserved and increased its strength in many areas even as at times it has suffered serious damage in certain areas due to enemy offensives and serious errors of political leadership and command. Since the rectification of the major errors of premature regularization, insurrectionism and adventurism, the NPA has adhered to the strategic line of strategic defense of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base and advancing of agrarian revolution. We have learned to frustrate every military campaign and operation of the enemy every year. We have consolidated our victories and expanded our ranks.

Guerilla fronts have been established in new areas and we have further raised the level of consolidation of our guerilla fronts by developing more guerilla bases as the most consolidated part of the guerilla fronts. These guerilla bases each averaging 7-10 barrios now cover wider areas of the countryside. Revolutionary organs of political power and mass organizations at the grassroots are continuously built and consolidated and those at the municipal level are increasingly arising. Conditions for establishing district and provincial level formations are being developed. Several millions of our peasant mass base in all our regions in the country (outside NCR) are now benefiting from successful campaigns in the minimum and maximum land reform program of the revolution. These generated greater number of recruits for the NPA, enthused the people to carry out combat tasks in the localities and other support functions like intelligence, communication (“pasa bilis”), delivering food and first aid to the NPA during tactical offensives or defensive operations, assisting NPA units in doing expansion work in new areas, and many others.

A considerable number of guerrilla fronts have made advances and developed opportunities for expansion to populous barrios, main lines of transportation and communication, adjacent town centers and even to barrios where the presence of counterrevolutionary private armies, paramilitary and military forces are strong. The guerilla fronts are able to maintain more or less 40-60 number of barrios as scope of operation.

We have learned to recover temporarily abandoned areas and reinvigorate the weakened parts of the armed revolutionary movement. We have strengthened the cooperation of big and strong guerrilla fronts, subregions and regions and enabled them to help the smaller and weak ones by shifting some cadres and arms. All our forces have helped each other to overcome the attacks of the enemy and advance to a higher level. We have achieved such significant victories that we are aiming to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate in the few years ahead.

Since last year, we have ordered all regional commands of the NPA to accelerate and intensify the tactical offensives for the following objectives: 1) to advance the people’s war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate; 2) to manifest the outrage of the people over the extreme puppetry, exploitation, corruption and brutality of the US-Aquino regime and support the mass struggles to oust the regime; 3) to nail down and defeat the enemy forces wherever they are in order to prevent or discourage them from being redeployed to Mindanao.

From May to December 2014, all regional commands, including their regional guerrilla units and other formations of the center of gravity (platoons), armed propaganda units, city partisan units at the regional and subregional/provincial levels and guerrilla fronts, were ordered to launch offensives at the minimum of one every two months in ordinary times and more often when enemy forces are on the move and intrude our guerrilla zones and

bases. The orders were carried out with varying degrees of success. Units of the people's militia assisted many of the operations of the full-time units and initiated their own operations according to their capabilities.

In the current year 2015, we are determined to raise the rate of tactical offensives in our campaign of coordinated offensives nationwide on the basis of performance in the previous year as well as on the basis of achieving the ideological, political, organizational and military requisites. In this period, our objective is to establish interregional coordination of tactical offensives and other efforts. Through these we heighten efforts to bring about a ripening of the situation for the ousting of the US-Aquino regime, further strengthen the revolutionary forces and accelerate our advance towards the strategic stalemate of our people's war.

#### ***IV. Urgent tasks of the New People's Army***

The urgent tasks listed hereunder seek to respond to the needs and demands in the current situation. But they are all in accordance with the current stage of people's democratic revolution and the Program of People's Democratic Revolution promulgated by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

1. We must intensify our tactical offensives on a nationwide scale in order to express most strongly the people's repudiation of the US-Aquino regime for its anti-national and anti-democratic policies and acts, to encourage the ouster of the corrupt, plunderous and brutal puppet regime, to thereby advance the people's democratic revolution, to move forward to the strategic stalemate and to frustrate the scheme of the regime to concentrate on and defeat the NPA in Eastern Mindanao.

The intensification of tactical offensives requires meticulous planning at all levels of command from the national down to the guerrilla front. Every plan entails an assessment of the enemy situation, an analysis of the nature and objectives of every military offensive in each particular scope and the determination of our strengths and weaknesses as well as those of the enemy.

We must make thorough study of the enemy's tactics and draw up our counter-tactics to defeat them. We must find ways to sabotage and interdict the enemy's supply routes and advancing columns in order to create favorable situations for tactical offensives, sabotage his communication lines and deny him the use of guides, and the like. We should define targets, ascertain opportunities and issue guidelines for undertaking different types of coordination, initiative and conduct of guerilla operations at all levels.

We must prepare well and use the element of surprise to wage only those offensives that we are sure of winning. We should in the main carry out annihilative offensives in order to seize arms for increasing our own armed strength and to inflict severe losses and serious blows to the morale of the enemy. We must carry out ambushes, raids and other disarming operations. We must disarm and punish despotic elements, violators of human rights, enemy spies, and the chieftains of drug syndicates and criminal gangs. We must disarm the guards of mining and logging firms, plantations and other enterprises that grab the land, deny people of livelihood, and destroy the environment.

Aside from annihilative offensives, we must also undertake actions that cause attrition on the personnel, logistics and morale of the enemy. We must deploy snipers, rockets, grenades and land mines against enemy convoys and supply lines, unless the better option is to conduct an ambush. We must repeatedly harass enemy outposts or detachments with the use of incendiaries, sabotage the motor pools, fuel depots, supply stocks and armories of the enemy. We must destroy certain equipment and facilities of landgrabbing and anti-environment enterprises in order to dismantle them and make more land available for land reform, and to conserve as well our mineral ores for future national industrialization.

We must put the combat units of the NPA in readiness for tactical offensives whenever the enemy encroaches on our territory and carries out intelligence, psywar and combat operations. Even when enemy units misrepresent their intelligence and psywar operations as "peace and development" activities, they are subject to combat operations by the NPA. When the enemy is on the offensive, he is ready to fight any force of the NPA in the way. But a column or a part of his combat force is subject to attacks by snipers and land mines and, if conditions are favorable, subject to ambush by a rifle unit. The NPA can also launch offensives against relatively soft targets outside of an existing or potential encirclement.

When the enemy force occupies any of our guerrilla fronts or guerrilla zones, we must be ready to seize the initiative and avail of the wide gaps between the enemy units deployed in order to counter-encircle a weak enemy unit and annihilate it. We can ambush enemy patrols and supply carriers. It is also possible to harass as many of the enemy units as possible, especially at night, in order to give them no rest. The enemy occupation can be analyzed

according to its scale, strength and duration, and dealt with by the levels of command concerned and through tactical offensives and other maneuvers of appropriate scale.

As a matter of course, all levels of command and all guerrilla fronts must intensify their offensives and increase their all-sided strength to be able to perform their other tasks. Thus, we must use all opportunities to make the enemy bleed to death. But if any guerrilla front is under concentrated attack by the enemy, all other guerrilla fronts must become even more determined to intensify their offensives. If any region is under concentrated attack, all other regions in the country must become even more determined to intensify their offensives. The thinning out of the enemy force in one area should be a signal for us to intensify the offensives because the enemy is concentrating elsewhere against our comrades.

The NPA should seek no rest in striving to be among the people who are in the people's war, in controlling strategic points of rough inland terrain and in covering all routes where the enemy is located. If the rifle formations of the NPA cannot as yet operate in certain areas, like highways, coastal strips, fortified villages, town centers and cities, it must develop the ability to deploy commando units, city partisans and sparrow units (teams of three to five Red fighters) for lightning offensives against specific targets. The operations of such types of units can be facilitated by the comrades organized in clandestine units that provide accurate real time information and other support.

2. We must continue to expand and consolidate the mass base of the NPA by integrating the revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of organs of political power and mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. We must carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and deepening mass base. At the same time, the local organs of political power and the mass organizations must launch mass campaigns on public education, land reform, production, health and sanitation, cultural work, sports, defense, and settlement of disputes among the people.

We must implement the minimum land reform program until it becomes possible to implement the maximum land reform program against the despotic big landlords, at first in the consolidated areas and then on a wider scale. We must dismantle the foreign and big comprador-owned plantations, large-scale mining and logging operations, and other enterprises that grab the land and destroy the people's livelihood and the environment. The Party must rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, befriend and engage the rich peasants, take advantage of contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter. We must pay special attention to the participation of the national minorities because they are extremely oppressed and exploited and they occupy many areas favorable to the people's war.

3. Expanding the existing guerrilla fronts and building new ones is a continuing important task of the NPA. In building guerrilla fronts, we must keep in mind the plan of building guerrilla theaters covering three to five contiguous guerrilla fronts. We must avoid a situation nor prolong one wherein lone guerilla fronts are built or situated too far apart or are evenly dispersed without company-strong guerilla fronts serving as centers of gravity. Such situations give rise to vulnerabilities favoring the enemy's design of concentrating attacks on our weak points for an extended period. As conditions permit, guerilla fronts should be developed in close proximity and hasten their link-up to cover wider areas for maneuver and fluidity of guerilla operations of NPA units. Guerilla fronts must be expanded to populated barrios along transportation lines, periphery of town centers and coastal areas. We can draw lessons from our rich experiences and take advantage of favorable opportunities for expansion work.

Building company-sized guerilla fronts remain a priority task that must be pursued in order to attain the comprehensive interplay of our full-time forces attending to the tasks of consolidating the mass base, intensifying tactical offensives, advancing agrarian revolution, raising production for the army, and expanding to new areas.

4. We must build the Party within the NPA and in the localities. The recruitment of Party members within the basic units of the NPA (squads and platoons) can be fast because the Red fighters are waging the highest form of struggle, are always together and carry out revolutionary studies during rest periods. We can continue to base the Party branch in the platoon.

Party committees must be built in the localities with sufficient strength and capacity to pursue revolutionary work even under conditions of intense enemy attacks. We should establish Party section and subsection committees whose cores are based in or are closely linked to the local army units of the NPA. The local Party committees shall assist the NPA in carrying out the tasks and program put forth by the leading Party committee in the guerilla



front. To avoid enemy detection, they must maintain sufficient cover and learn to work clandestinely to effectively perform their tasks in the most difficult times and conditions. Once their safety become precarious, they should not hesitate to join nearby units of the NPA and leave behind an ample force to carry on the work in the area.

We can build the local Party branches among the Party groups and activists of the local mass organizations, of the organs of political power and the people's militia units at the barrio level.

5. We should be good at learning. We draw lessons promptly from our positive and negative experiences, as well as lessons from the enemy. We use these lessons to deepen our grasp and understanding of the principles of people's war, formulate necessary policies and guidelines, improve planning and upgrade our skills in waging guerilla warfare.

Periodic and special work and study meetings must be held promptly. They must be well-prepared with reports and study materials studied well in advance in order to keep meetings short but substantive, logistics are not overstrained, security is ensured and do not call the enemy's attention even with a big number of participants or volume of supplies are brought to the venue. These must be supplemented as needed by short preparatory or post-meeting consultations to prevent the accumulation of issues and to allow more time for work among the masses. We must not hold meetings which last more than a few days, especially when the enemy is within striking distance.

6. We must carry out politico-military training courses for fresh recruits to the NPA and for upgrading the knowledge, technical level and skills of commanders and units of the NPA. These must be done in a regular and frequent fashion. The basic training of fresh recruits can be done by the recruiting unit as well as in training courses called by higher-level commands to ensure the needed discipline and skills of the Red fighters. Higher commands up to the level of the National Operational Command can undertake courses for commanders and units for upgrading knowledge and skills.

All Red commanders and fighters must be given basic knowledge on military theory, principles of people's war, guerilla warfare, the people's democratic revolution and the rules and regulations of the New People's Army.

7. We must improve the entire system of command at every level under the National Operational Command (NOC). Under the direction of the Party, the NOC must issue guidelines for raising the level of people's war on a national scale, coordinate the regional operational commands (ROCs) and cause the further strengthening of the ROCs, with the stronger ROCs helping the weaker ones with the transfer of cadres and equipment. The ROCs must guide the strengthening and coordination of the subregional (interfront or provincial) commands and the guerrilla front commands. We must continue to build and strengthen the New People's Army at all levels.

There must be proper balance between the vertical guerilla forces acting as centers of gravity at the regional, subregional or provincial levels ranging from platoon up to company strength, on one hand, and the far more numerous and horizontally spread territorial forces comprising of center of gravity and armed propaganda platoons and even semi-legal units at the guerrilla front level, on the other hand.

The NPA machinery for personnel and training, intelligence, operations, finance and logistics, ordnance, medical and communications staff work must be developed further to provide the requisites needed for various tasks in the NPA. We must give further attention in building and training people's militia units.

8. We must always be alert and never be complacent. We have declared the defeat of Oplan Bayanihan but we must guard against all its aspects of psywar, intelligence and combat. After every successful tactical offensive, we must become even more alert because that is the time when the enemy is eager to seek revenge and wants to catch us off guard while celebrating our victory. We must use and master the new technology for education, communications and storing of information. And we must know and overcome the pitfalls in using this new technology. There is a never a tool or weapon that does not have contradictory aspects and possibilities. The point is to master the use of a tool or weapon for the benefit of the revolution and the people by applying dialectics.

Incidents of enemy infiltration in several regions have been uncovered and thwarted. Surrenderers and unreliable elements in the localities are the most likely source of recruits of the AFP and PNP for conversion as enemy spies and deep penetration agents tasked to carry out assassinations of leading cadres of the Party and the NPA to perpetuate the enemy's "decapitation campaign" or for channelling real time intelligence on the movements and activities of the Party and NPA leadership for pinpoint strike operations. We must remain bold and daring in carrying out our political, organizational and military tasks, be vigilant and prevent any undesirable element in.

9. Undertake political disintegration of the military, police and paramilitary forces of the enemy at any level.

Encourage the formation of patriotic and pro-people groups within their ranks especially during these times of brazen puppetry of the Aquino regime to US imperialism. Encourage the families of rank-and-file military, police and paramilitary forces living in the countryside, especially the non-diehard ones, to join anti-feudal struggles and give them their just share of the benefits. Implement the standing policy of the Party and the NPA on the humane treatment of prisoners-of-war (POW) and wounded enemy combatants who are incapacitated to fight (hors d' combat). We must do propaganda work among them, raise their political consciousness and encourage them to leave the reactionary military service, provide information, give military materials, stop harming the people and violating their human rights, treat political prisoners well, and do other tasks within their capacity for the benefit of the people and the revolution.

On the other hand due attention must be given to avert and counter the enemy's so-called 'social pressure' campaign enticing Red fighters to abandon or weaken their revolutionary resolve and ward off youths from joining the armed revolution by subjecting their families with threats, bribes and other forms of deception.

10. US imperialism is already active in military intervention in the Philippines. US military and police officers are guiding, teaching and training officers and enlisted personnel of the AFP and PNP, collecting and providing to them intelligence, giving them equipment and issuing mission orders through no less than the chief puppet Aquino as commander in chief and lower puppet officers. The ground has been laid by the Visiting Forces Agreement for the landing of US military forces and by the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement for their long-term basing in the Philippines. The broad masses of the Filipino people and all revolutionary forces must become well prepared against the increasing military intervention and possible war of aggression by the US.

March 29, 2016

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We, the Central Committee and the entirety of the Communist Party of the Philippines, salute the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army (NPA) in celebrating its 47th anniversary. We commend the NPA for serving as the principal weapon of the Party and the Filipino people in carrying out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords, now represented chiefly by the Aquino ruling clique.

The NPA stands as the most glorious, durable and advanced revolutionary armed force in the entire history of the Filipino people. It grew in strength and prevailed in fierce opposition to a 14-year fascist dictatorship. It has overcome all the military campaign plans unleashed against it by the pseudodemocratic successors of the Marcos regime. It has totalled 47 years of continuous revolutionary struggle against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

We congratulate the NPA for the victories that it has accumulated since its founding day and for those it has won in defeating Oplan Bayanihan in recent years. We honor all Red commanders and fighters for their hard work and courageous combat against the enemy. We honor most highly the martyrs and heroes of the revolution. We must sum up and analyze our experiences well in order to learn positive and negative lessons, plan how we can advance on the basis of our current strength and set forth the tasks and methods for unifying our fighting will and capabilities to achieve greater victories.

We are confident of winning greater victories in the forthcoming years. The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system are worsening at an accelerated pace. The NPA has attained nationwide strength and has been so tempered in struggle that it can make bigger strides in the direction of the strategic stalemate.

### ***Crisis of global capitalism worsens and plunges to a new level***

The global economic and financial crisis that burst out in 2008 continues to generate global depression comparable to the Great Depression of the 1930s. It has persisted because of the relentless drive of the neoliberal policy regime to raise profits through wage cuts, mass layoffs, cutbacks on social benefits and services, trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets, deregulation of social and environmental restrictions and denationalization of underdeveloped economies.

The industrial capitalist countries have used the expansion of money supply and credit, and the austerity measures at the expense of the people to counter the crisis. But these have in fact further pushed down consumer demand and production, aggravated the crisis and have brought about a new sharp plunge. They have not promoted production and employment in the US and other imperialist countries. They have stimulated only the financial markets sporadically and stepped up war production by the military-industrial complex.

The China bubble of seemingly endless expansion of money supply and credit, especially for private and public construction, has begun to burst upon the exposure of mountains of unrepayable local government and corporate debts. The global economic growth rate is thus adversely affected. The public debt crisis of the European Union is worsening and cannot be assuaged by the expansion of money supply and credit. The US attempt to raise the value of the dollar by raising interest rates is enlarging the dollar-denominated debts of underdeveloped countries.

The worsening crisis of global capitalism has led to the stepping up of war production, state terrorism and militarization of the police, the increased deployment of US troops overseas and wars of aggression. Syria is now the center of tangled warfare between the US on the side of forces against the Assad government and Russia on the side of the Assad government.

The US is hellbent on devastating Syria as a way of bringing down the Assad government in the way that the Milosevic, Saddam and Qaddafi governments had been brought down in their respective countries. The conditional ceasefire worked out by the US and Russia will be used by the former to strengthen the so-called Free Syrian Army under the dubious pretext of combating Al Nushra and the Daesh (the so-called Islamic State or IS). At the same time, Turkey persists in attacking the Syrian Kurds and collaborating with Daesh against the Kurdish people.

No end is in sight to the chain of wars that the US imperialists, Israeli Zionists and the NATO have brought about in the Middle East. They are determined to bring down the governments of Syria and Iran and allow Zionist Israel to suppress the Palestinian people. At the same time, sectarian and communal wars continue to flare up in Iraq, Libya, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Sudan and Mali.

Because of the series of wars of aggression and proxy wars unleashed by the US and NATO, especially in the Middle East and Africa, millions of refugees are flooding into Western Europe and other imperialist countries. Neofascists, chauvinists, racists and religious bigots are acting in the service of the big bourgeoisie to treat the refugees brutally and to scapegoat them as the cause of the worsening crisis of capitalism.

In the entire world, the US and other imperialist powers perpetrate the most severe forms of social and environmental plunder. The neoliberal economic policy and global warming are ruining the lives of billions of people and causing social conflicts, dislocation and migrations on a wide scale.

The US and the rest of the G7 countries continue to pressure Russia through economic sanctions and the NATO expansion to the borders of Russia and through neighboring anti-Russian regimes, especially Ukraine. The US is trying to foul up the relationship of Russia and energy-hungry Germany and the development of a Eurasian economic bloc. But the provocative acts of the US have only pushed Russia and China to strengthen their relations.

As if it had not already created enough troubles in so many regions and countries, the US continues to pursue the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) and the strategic pivot to the Asia-Pacific region in order to contain China. The latter is practically egging on the US to increase military forces in East Asia by making the outlandish nine-dash claims over the South China Sea. At the same time, it has put up the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank to finance its ambitious Silk Road and Belt project.

Russia and China maintain the BRICS as an economic bloc and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a security bloc. They are expressly for a multipolar world order against US hegemony. They challenge the US pipe dream of unipolar hegemony in the 21st century and remind the US of its growing strategic decline despite its aggressiveness. It has become very clear that the full conversion of Russia and China to capitalism has generated more crises and troubles for the world capitalist system.

The strategic decline of the US has accelerated due to its imperialist overextension, financialization, drastic fall in manufacturing and chronic mass unemployment, the thinning out of its middle class, deteriorated social services, spread of poverty and misallocation of resources to war production, overseas military bases and wars of aggression.

The crisis of the world capitalist system will continue to worsen and further drive the imperialist powers to engage in a bitter struggle for the redivision of the world. This interimperialist struggle generates favorable conditions for the resurgence of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations.

### ***Worsening crisis of the Philippine ruling system***

By its very character as semifeudal and semicolonial, Philippine society is in chronic economic, social and political crisis. As a result of the US imposition of the neoliberal policy regime and security policy dictates, such chronic crisis has been aggravated and deepened and has made Philippine society ever more riven by sharpening contradictions among the reactionaries and ever more fertile for armed revolution.

The national sovereignty of the Filipino people has been brazenly further violated by the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) allowing the US military bases in the Philippines and requiring the puppet reactionary armed forces to serve as perimeter guards within their own premises.

The EDCA extends further the extraterritorial license of US military forces under the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) to have rotational presence on Philippine territory and preposition all kinds of armaments, including weapons of mass destruction on Philippine soil. Under EDCA, the US has taken five military bases in the Philippines, for a start. Combined with the VFA, the EDCA is an instrument for military intervention and further on for blatant aggression against the Filipino people and neighboring peoples.

Even before, the US has engaged in the most blatant form of military intervention. It has had a direct hand in designing and implementing strategic operational plans like Oplan Bayanihan based on the US Counterinsurgency Guide. The US military intervention extends to the participation of advisors, trainers and teams and the use of spy satellites and surveillance drones in operations against the NPA and various armies of the Moro people.

There is no letup of attacks on Philippine economic sovereignty and the national patrimony under unequal

economic and trade agreements and laws allowing 100 percent foreign ownership of mining, banking and trading enterprises. There is the relentless scheme to amend the 1987 GRP constitution in order to allow foreign corporations to own all other enterprises to the extent of 100 percent.

Since 2014, the reactionary government has allowed the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms (CARPER) to lapse and has not made any move to dish out another bogus land reform program. The US-imposed neoliberal policy regime discourages the puppet state from adopting any policy that detracts from the supposed right of proprietors to hold on to their land and capital assets and sell them voluntarily through commercial transactions.

The callous and brutal position of the reactionary state is to give free rein to foreign and domestic corporations in acquiring vast areas of land for mining, plantations, real estate speculation and logging under the guise of correct forest management. Thus landgrabbing operations for the purpose of mineral extraction, plantations for export production and real estate development are widespread and rampant.

The US-Aquino regime boasts that it has been responsible for raising the Philippine GDP to the level of PhP15 trillion, keeping the public debt of PhP6.4 trillion as a small proportion of said GDP and effecting on paper an average of 6.2 percent annual growth rate since 2010, supposedly surpassing all previous regimes. The regime has increased the public debt by PhP 4.16 trillion in less than six years, surpassing all previous regimes since that of Marcos in propensity for incurring excessive debt for pork barrel corruption and anti-industrial spending.

The regime claims that the Philippines has become a “newly industrializing” country and will soon reach first world status. But when we look at the content of the GDP, we see no factors for the industrial development of the economy. A preindustrial type of service sector accounts for 57 percent of the national output value; import-dependent industry for 15 percent and agriculture 32 percent.

All sectors are dependent on imported equipment and foreign debt and are consumption-oriented. In terms of spending or end use, household consumption accounts for 71.5 percent and government for around 10.2 percent. The small share of investment of 18.3 percent involves business operations like call centers, mining, construction, semimanufacturing, food and beverages, trading, financing and the like.

The portfolio type of investments has come in an unusually big way for most of the years of the Aquino regime, accounting for more than 65 percent at the peak of the money flow in 2012 to 2014. But it has started to flow out since 2014, resulting in a BOP deficit of more than USD 3.0 billion. This kind of investment does not put up manufacturing plants but goes to the financial markets. It has helped create the illusion of a growing economy. As it flows out, the dismal realities of underdevelopment, high unemployment, soaring prices of basic goods and services, gross inequality, widespread poverty, budgetary and trade deficits and mounting debt burden become more exposed.

The reactionary government claims a low unemployment rate of around 6.5 percent and 20 percent underemployed for 2015. This is a big lie. Most people considered employed are in fact unemployed, doing household chores or odd jobs for a few hours a week. The much touted high number of overseas contract workers estimated at more than 12 million is 20 percent of the total labor force of 60 million and actually exposes the inability of the Philippine economy to provide employment and accounts for a huge chunk of unemployment. Around 66 million people live in abject poverty and live on PhP125 or even less per day.

The social and economic crisis is becoming acute and is causing increasing social protests, political turmoil and armed revolutionary resistance. But in the current presidential election contest staged by the ruling system, no major presidential candidate, party or coalition (except the Makabayan coalition of progressive party list groups) offers a comprehensive political program advocating and promoting national independence, people’s democracy, economic development through land reform and national industrialization, social justice, patriotic and progressive culture, free public education and international solidarity for peace and development against imperialism and reaction.

The electoral process is controlled by foreign monopoly, big comprador and landlord interests. In the main it excludes by means of state power, finance and propaganda the representatives of the workers and peasants. Thus, the 2016 elections cannot be expected to serve as an instrument for any significant social change. The worst part of these elections is the high probability or even certainty that the results will be predetermined by the control of the Smartmatic automated electoral system, by the US-Aquino regime and the US CIA. The ruling party, the Liberal Party, is thus confident of the victory of Mar Roxas as the incoming president and the continuer of neoliberal

policy and counterrevolution.

Expectation is widespread that there will be economic, social and political turmoil in the months and years after the 2016 elections. The worsening social crisis will combine with the outrage over the fraudulent election of a president and the continuance of oppressive and exploitative policies of the discredited US-Aquino regime. The political crisis will involve not only the street protests of the broad masses of the people but also the simultaneous acts of armed resistance of the NPA and the armies of the Bangsamoro.

An extension of the US-Aquino regime through a Mar Roxas regime is not auspicious for the resumption of peace negotiations between the NDFP and the reactionary government. At any rate, the rapidly worsening crisis will press whichever is the new regime to consider the peace negotiations as a way to cope with the crisis and the upsurge of armed revolution throughout the archipelago. The worst that can happen to the ruling system is that the NPA and the armies of the Bangsamoro wage offensives simultaneously.

The NDFP has consistently stood for truce and alliance against the evil forces of foreign and feudal domination, even while comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms are still being worked out for a just and lasting peace. Without these comprehensive agreements, the Filipino people requires the NPA to stay fully armed, ever vigilant and ready to fight the hostile forces of national betrayal and counter-revolution.

### ***The people's army and its fighting tasks***

Since last year, the New People's Army has dealt heavy blows on the enemy forces in Mindanao, Visayas and Luzon. These have exposed the big lies of the regime that the NPA has dwindled to a few thousands from a false peak of 25,000 in 1985-86. In fact the NPA strength then was only 5,600. Today, the NPA has grown much bigger with better trained and armed Red fighters than ever before. It is augmented by the people's militia with members in the tens of thousands and the self-defense units of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women and youth with members in hundreds of thousands.

The NPA units operate in several scores of guerrilla fronts under regional and subregional commands covering substantial areas of more than 71 provinces in hundreds of municipalities and thousands of barangays. They enjoy the active support of millions of the people in mass organizations and under the governance of the revolutionary organs of democratic political power. They can move freely in 80 percent of Philippine territory while the enemy armed forces can occupy or control only ten percent at any given time.

The Party leads the NPA as the principal instrument of the proletariat and the people in waging the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It wields the people's army in combination with the revolutionary united front. It integrates the revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and building the mass base.

The US-Aquino regime has utterly failed to defeat or reduce the NPA to inconsequence, with the use of Oplan Bayanihan and its component programs such as PAMANA and conditional cash transfer. The prolonged ceasefire with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) has allowed the regime to deploy more troops against the NPA. However, it has not only failed to prevent the growth of the NPA but has also created even more opportunities for the NPA units to launch tactical offensives against the enemy.

The NPA has grown stronger by intensifying its tactical offensives. It has won victories by waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. From month to month and from year to year, the Red commanders and fighters are conscious of advancing towards a nationwide development of the strategic defensive towards the strategic stalemate.

With Oplan Bayanihan, the US-Aquino regime concentrated its attack forces on eastern Mindanao and a few other priority targets in Luzon and the Visayas. It held and worked on the pipedream that by destroying the NPA in these areas, it would achieve a final strategic victory over the NPA nationwide before Aquino's term ends in 2016. However, when the enemy forces concentrate on the NPA in any area, the Red commanders and fighters engage them in counter-encirclements and counter offensives. Elsewhere, other NPA units seize the initiative to take the offensive against military, police, paramilitary units and security agencies of hostile enterprises.

The NPA has learned through politico-military training and actual fighting how to render ineffective the superiority of the enemy in equipment and number of personnel. It gets accurate information on the deployment of enemy armed personnel, determines their weakest points and launches only offensives that it is sure of winning. The NPA can at will concentrate superior strength on an enemy weak point in order to annihilate it. In many areas

where the NPA operates, no enemy column can advance in a guerrilla front or zone without the prospect of command-detested land mines, sniping or a fulsome ambush by NPA units.

The NPA has gained strength by seizing weapons from the enemy forces through ambushes on enemy columns, raids on weak enemy points and armories, and arrest operations. Upon the increase of weapons in its hands the NPA creates more fighting units, gives them politico-military training and fields them in offensive operations and mass work.

The NPA's main task is to fight and defeat the enemy. But it also carries out several other important tasks, such as propaganda and agitation, mass organizing and mass campaigns for land reform, production, health promotion, cultural work, mass training for self-defense and settlement of disputes among the people.

However, to gain more time for combat with short rest periods, the NPA units as soon as possible pass on the tasks of civil administration and mass work to the organs of political power and the mass organizations. They are rotated for definite periods of full-time combat, politico-military training, mass work and production.

While on combat duty, an NPA unit has short rest periods between battles. The period when a unit is not on combat duty is for gaining mass support and collecting useful information about the enemy from the mass base and from intelligence operatives of the people's army.

Even as we have described in the foregoing our achievements and constant duties and objectives, we must be aware of errors and shortcomings that must also be encompassed by summings-up and evaluations at the national, regional, subregional and front levels of command. We must understand the reasons for and circumstances of uneven development of the people's war, including the victories, failures and stagnation, nonfulfilment of long-set objectives for advancing the people's war in the direction of the strategic stalemate.

Some Party organs and army commands at regional, subregional and front levels have failed to carry out summings up and evaluations and to conduct significant offensive against the enemy. They do not pose the problems correctly and are thus unable to solve them. Worse, they do not make timely reports and recommendations for higher organs to help. Higher organs also do not or cannot give timely directives and assistance.

Where stagnation and decline of the forces and forms of struggle occur, certain leading cadres commit such weaknesses as conservatism, complacency and self-satisfaction with the same stagnant level of knowledge and circumstances. They let things drift from year to year; or they overstate the effectiveness and consequences of enemy actions, without considering how to advance the work, strengthen the forces and launch tactical offensives for seizing arms from the enemy. The squads and half squads of the people's army are constantly dispersed without a definite center of gravity for tactical offensives and seem or try to perform functions that revolutionary organs of political power, mass organizations, people's militia and self-defense units ought to perform. In the worst cases, the squads and half squads of the people's army become roving rebel bands.

At the national, regional, subregional, provincial, district and section levels, the Party is the coordinator of all revolutionary forces and various forms of struggle. It is the Party at the appropriate level that provides the NPA and rural areas the cadres and mass activists from the ranks of urban-based workers and educated youth.

The Party is at the head and at the core of the NPA. Within the NPA, the Party branch is based in the platoon and the Party group in the squad. A Party committee leads the NPA units from the level of the company upwards. The Party at the head and core of the NPA ensures that the Red commanders and fighters become Party members in due course and get political education on a daily basis beyond the period of politico-military training in order to ensure that they have high revolutionary morale and they understand the revolutionary line concerning current events.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA must carry out the following fighting tasks:

1. Uphold the Filipino people's national sovereignty and Philippine territorial integrity. The NPA must uphold and defend Filipino people's national sovereignty and Philippine territorial integrity, which are now being violated by the US and other imperialist powers. These powers must not be allowed to divide Philippine territory among themselves in the process of collaboration and contention.

The US has long benefited from its successful aggression against the Philippine revolution since 1899, turning the Philippines into a colony and subsequently a semicolony from 1946 onward. It continues to dominate the Philippines through unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with the state of the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords.

The US controls the reactionary armed forces and engages in military intervention through the US-RP Military

Assistance Agreement, Mutual Logistical Support Agreement and the VFA, despite the lapse of the US-RP Military Bases Agreement in 1991.

Under various pretexts, especially the so-called war on terror, the US has maintained increasing military presence in the Philippines. The latest pretext of defending the Philippines from China within the context of the strategic pivot to East Asia has allowed the US to acquire military bases and forward locations using the puppet reactionary armed forces as perimeter guards and mercenaries under the EDCA.

The NPA must give special attention to these military bases and forward locations wherever these are established. It must conduct mass work to isolate them immediately and to discover the ways by which these can be disabled and destroyed.

China is unlawfully claiming more than 80 percent of the Philippine exclusive economic zone and 100 percent of extended West Philippine Sea continental shelf. It has began to encroach on areas belonging to the Philippines by conducting reclamations and other hostile actions. The NPA must pay attention to these growing transgression or threats to the people's national sovereignty and Philippine territorial integrity from capitalist China.

## 2. Disable and dismantle enterprises that violate economic sovereignty and national patrimony.

The Philippine puppet government connives with the US, China, Japan and other foreign powers in the violation of the economic sovereignty and national patrimony of the Filipino people. Operations must be conducted to disable and dismantle foreign-owned and controlled enterprises that violate economic sovereignty and national patrimony, grab the land and the forest, mineral and marine resources, prevent land reform and national industrialization, poison the soil and the water resources and damage food production for the people and the environment.

The NPA must serve the Filipino people in combating these violations. It must act as the reliable armed force on the ground for discouraging, disabling and dismantling those enterprises that violate the economic sovereignty and national patrimony.

The prime targets for NPA operations are the logging, mining and plantation operations of foreign-owned and controlled companies. These can be disabled and dismantled through actions against equipment, energy supply, company security guards and government provided armed detachments. Company officials are also subject to arrest and detention for investigation and further action.

Punitive actions taken by the NPA against the unwelcome and hostile enterprises can be a way of dividing the armed personnel of the state and forcing them to guard duty in weak positions, exposing them as mere puppets and mercenaries of foreign companies and discouraging the violations of economic sovereignty and national patrimony through amendments to the constitution of the reactionary state.

The NPA must also carry out punitive actions against the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats who engage in the wanton destruction and sell out of the country's national patrimony to foreign monopolies, cause the displacement, exploitation and deprivation of livelihood of peasants, settlers and national minorities.

## 3. Defend democracy and take actions against human rights violators. The NPA must uphold, defend and promote democracy and human rights. It must respect all basic freedoms and fundamental rights, especially the freedom of thought and belief, the freedom of expression and assembly, the right of the people to self-organization and the right to due process.

Conversely, the NPA must take action against violators of human rights and international humanitarian law, especially those who commit murder, torture, abduction and illegal detention, the forced eviction and evacuation of communities through massacres, arson and other forms of mass intimidation, and various forms of extreme oppression and exploitation of the workers, peasants, women, national minorities and social activists.

The NPA must give battle to the worst violators of human rights, who are armed and dangerous, whether they be enemy personnel in uniform or in mufti. Suspected violators of human rights and international humanitarian law who claim to be civilians and innocent of charges may surrender themselves for investigation, and may in advance assign a representative to plead their case.

Whenever possible, NPA forces and units must arrest suspected violators of human rights and international humanitarian law for investigation and if evidence warrants for prosecution, trial and judgement by the people's courts and in accordance with due process and international norms. Those proven guilty must be punished according to the measure of their culpability and those proven innocent released immediately with due courtesy and assistance.



4. Carry out land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution. The NPA must persevere in carrying out the minimum and maximum phases of the revolutionary land reform program or agrarian revolution in accordance with the given circumstances regarding the strength of the revolutionary movement and the contrary forces.

Land reform is the main content of the democratic revolution. It must liberate the peasant majority of the people economically, socially, politically and culturally. It is the way to win the firm and militant support of the peasantry for the people's democratic revolution through protracted war. It is to the advantage of the revolution that the reactionaries in power are so intoxicated and obsessed with the neoliberal economic policy that they no longer take any pretense at land reform and flagrantly render the landless tillers incapable of fully paying the market price of the land.

The policy of the enemy is to allow the old and new types of landlords and the export-oriented enterprises in mineral extraction, agriculture and logging to grab the land. The NPA must carry out revolutionary land reform more resolutely than ever before. It must dismantle enterprises that grab lands and make these available for restitution, occupation and development by the peasant masses.

In principle, all lands belong to the Filipino nation and is subject to nationalization as the first decree upon nationwide seizure of political power. But nonfeudal use of land by legitimate holders must be respected and the free distribution of land titles to the landless tillers must be given due course in the implementation of land reform preparatory to the advance of agricultural cooperation in stages.

5. Integrate the armed struggle with agrarian revolution and persevere in guerrilla warfare The NPA must carry out the armed struggle integrally with the agrarian revolution and building the mass base. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists must flourish. They must serve as the strong foundation of the revolutionary organs of democratic power. These must be organized up to the municipal level wherever feasible.

It must persevere in waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. Mass work should not be the excuse for avoiding combat but should be a favorable factor for seizing the initiative in launching offensives against the enemy and for forestalling passivity and preventing purely defensive actions. Guerrilla warfare must bring about the maturation of the strategic defensive, the initial development of regular mobile warfare and the start of the the strategic stalemate.

The objective is to increase and expand the existing guerrilla fronts and bring them to a higher level of organization under the direction of the national, regional and subregional commands. Elements of regular mobile warfare should arise as increasing number of NPA platoons and companies arise for combat on the scale of one, two or three companies. And the total number of NPA fulltime fighters should approach 25,000.

The NPA must intensify tactical offensives in order to seize more arms from the enemy. Always in preparation for increasing NPA fighting units, the people's militia and other self-defense units of the mass organizations must be oriented towards becoming fulltime fighters for the NPA although the enlistment of young people is prioritized. Periodically and as often as necessary, politico-military training must be undertaken to prepare young people to join the ranks of the fulltime Red fighters.

There must be definite plans and clear guidelines for seizing weapons, dismantling antipeople enterprises and carrying out campaigns and operations on a wide scale and with flexibility on the basis of existing strength and capability. Well-planned offensives must be carried out to seize armories of enemy forces.

The following weak points of the enemy must be subjected to offensive operations: a) small AFP detachments that are inferior relative to NPA strength that can be concentrated for surprise attacks; b) municipal police stations and detachments of PNP mobile brigades; c) paramilitary units in localities; d) Security personnel of mining, plantation and logging enterprises; e) criminal syndicates engaged in drugs, robbery, kidnap-for-ransom and the like; f) private entities that refuse to donate, surrender or sell their weapons to the NPA.

6. Develop coordinated or synchronized offensives at the national and regional levels of command. Under the direction of the Party Central Committee, and in particular its Central Military Commission, nationally and regionally coordinated or synchronized offensives must be developed. The national guidelines for this purpose must be drawn. Periodically, plans must be adopted and implemented at the national, regional, subregional and front command levels, with full consideration of the capabilities of the NPA forces and those of the enemy in the target areas.

Guidelines and plans must define the targets and allow flexibility and maintain the initiative within the war of

fluid movement. The NPA must concentrate forces for offensives against the weakest enemy points and wage only battles that can be won. All major tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting should be availed of according to need and circumstances. At present, the platoon is the basic formation of the NPA. The basic deployment of an NPA company in a guerrilla front should be a platoon as the center of gravity at the guerrilla base and platoons principally doing mass work in relatively dispersed squads in a wider range of guerrilla zones.

On many occasions, NPA forces have demonstrated that they can take offensive action against one enemy point and are prepared to use landmines to blow up and ambush the reinforcing enemy military or police forces. This tactic can be repeatedly used to attack and lure in enemy forces to their grave. One more tactic is to attack one enemy point but to concentrate attack on another enemy weak point that has no prospect of being immediately reinforced.

When the enemy tries to take the initiative of launching concentrated attacks on any guerrilla front or region, the NPA forces in the targeted area must avail of the classic rudimentary guerrilla tactics as well as the more advanced guerrilla tactics already developed by the NPA. The NPA can engage in tactics of counter-encirclements and counteroffensives, especially after the enemy discloses its deployment, capabilities and weak points.

Every NPA command and unit under concentrated enemy attack should always maintain a high offensive spirit and take advantage of the fact that the enemy has been lured into a terrain advantageous to our guerrilla forces. Thus the enemy forces become the transport and supply officers of the NPA by delivering their bodies and equipment to the NPA.

But there is a wider equation, the NPA commands and units that are not under concentrated enemy attack or are under less enemy pressure must intensify their offensives in order to relieve the comrades under concentrated enemy attack in certain areas and take advantage of the diminished enemy strength in their areas.

The current reactionary elections in the country is a good opportunity for the NPA to launch tactical offensives to underscore the armed revolution as the only way to eliminate the evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and achieve genuine national independence and democracy.

7. Contribute to the development of a national, scientific and mass culture. The NPA commanders and fighters must be conscious of contributing to the development of a national revolutionary culture. Their revolutionary feats of combat and mass work for the Filipino nation and the people are ever treasured and cherished. The propagandists and cultural workers must continue to celebrate the Red commanders and fighters as heroes of the Philippine revolution alongside the workers and peasants.

There is no Filipino nation to speak of if it were not for the revolutionaries who rose up against Spanish colonialism and then against US imperialism. The Red commanders and fighters of the NPA belong to the tradition and raise the level of this tradition to fighting for a new democratic revolution in preparation for the socialist revolution.

The guerrilla bases in the vast countryside under the organs of political power serve as revolutionary cultural bastions for developing a national, scientific and mass culture. The NPA under the leadership of the Party must arduously combat the bourgeois neoliberal cultural onslaughts while discarding the backward feudal culture in the countryside.

Under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the class leadership of the proletariat, the NPA is bound by the scientific spirit to muster the necessary strength to win the revolution and to build a society that avails of science and technology to defend the country, further empower the Filipino people, develop the economy and foster solidarity of the people with other peoples of the world.

8. Defend the right of national minorities to self-determination, ancestral domain and cultural identity. The NPA must defend the right of national minorities to self-determination, ancestral domain and cultural identity. The national minorities have welcomed and joined the revolutionary forces, especially the NPA, to be able to fight ever more effectively for their right to self-determination and ancestral domain against various schemes to take away their land and means of livelihood, extract nonrenewable mineral ores, cut the forests and make plantations for export crops.

The source of the strength of the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement is deep-rooted because of the active participation and support of the national minorities. The national minorities have a long history of struggle against foreign invaders. Their warriors who have joined the NPA are among the best Red commanders and fighters.

The Moro people have several armies against the oppressive Manila-based government. The MILF has a formal and working alliance with the NDFP. The MNLF also has a long-running objective and informal alliance with the NDFP. The BIFF is a welcome ally against the common enemy. Any oppressive regime in Manila can shake and fall if the armies of the Filipino people and the Bangsamoro agree to coordinate or synchronize their offensives.

9. Gain the support of overseas Filipinos for the NPA and the people's war. By waging a protracted people's war to achieve national liberation and democracy, the NPA gains the support of the Filipino people, including compatriots who have gone abroad to obtain work. But definite efforts must be exerted to gain the support of overseas Filipinos for the people's army and the people's war. It is relatively easy to obtain this support because overseas Filipinos come from various parts of the country where the armed revolutionary movement is growing.

10. Support the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world and seek their support for the Philippine revolution. The Filipino people and the NPA wage the people's war as an internationalist duty in support of the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and reaction. They are today in the forefront of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. They are waging just revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. A number of revolutionary organizations and similarly oppressed and exploited peoples from other countries have endeavored to learn from the NPA's experience and practice, especially in its resilience and self-reliance in waging people's war. For this reason, the people of the world are willing to extend support to the Filipino people and the New People's Army.

***Greetings of Solidarity***  
***with the Melito Glor Command on the***  
***48th Anniversary of the New People's Army***

**March 29, 2017**

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Dear Comrades and friends, ardent revolutionary greetings to you all on the 48th anniversary of the New People's Army! Red salute to you all! This is an occasion to celebrate the efforts, sacrifices and victories of the entire army and in particular the Melito Glor Command.

We thank all the cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Red commanders and fighters for maintaining and advancing the New People's Army (NPA).

Highest is our recognition of gratitude to the revolutionary martyrs who sacrificed their lives in order to achieve our victories. Let us offer one minute of silence to remember and give them the highest honors.

Despite all the suppression campaigns and operations of the enemy, the NPA remains and advances because it follows the leadership of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat with the correct ideological, political and organizational line. It responds to the needs and aspirations of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses, the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war with its strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside.

According to our general line, we are determined to fight and defeat the semicolonial and semi-feudal ruling system of the compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism. We uphold the national sovereignty and independence and we have a broad national united front. But in carrying out people's war we rely on the most numerous class in the rural areas of our country, the peasantry. Integral to our armed struggle is the agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base and the organs of political power.

We have proven in almost half a century of struggle that the enemy cannot suppress the revolutionary movement. The NPA has been effectively carrying out mobile intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on widening and deepening mass base. The revolutionary movement prevails, expands and grows in strength amidst the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system in the Philippines. The ground is fertile for advancing the people's war from the stage of strategic defensive towards that of the strategic stalemate until complete victory in the strategic offensive.

Due to the grave crisis, those in power are forced to engage the NDFP in peace talks. It is the firm position of the NDFP to have a just and lasting peace when the basic social, economic and political reforms are in place to solve the roots of the problems that caused the armed revolution. Without these reforms, any prolonged ceasefire would amount to capitulation and pacification.

We accede to peace negotiations to achieve what can be achieved for the people. But we are vigilant and are always ready to fight. Should our desire to achieve the reforms needed by the people, the forces of the revolution are present to pursue the tasks necessary and are prepared to intensify the people's war as the answer to the deception and cruelty of the class enemy. The Party exercises flexibility in policy but firmly holds its revolutionary principles.

Long live the Melito Glor Command!

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the National Democratic Front!

Long live the Filipino people!

# *On the People's War in the Philippines*

August 19, 2017

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*Fight Back! interviewed Jose Maria Sison, the founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, on August 19, 2017, in Utrecht, the Netherlands. The interview was conducted by Fight Back! editor Mick Kelly, who is also responsible for the international work of Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO). This is the first part of the interview.*

*Fight Back!: In the Philippines, there is a people's war taking place, for basic social change. Why?*

Jose Maria Sison: The Philippines is a semicolonial and semifeudal country. Corresponding to that is the bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type. That is to say, it's of the new type because it's under working-class leadership – no longer under the bourgeois leadership, as in the old democratic revolution. One other way of phrasing what I call the 'bourgeois democratic revolution, the new type'; they seem to call it 'the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.' And you know, the kind of character, as a new type of democratic revolution is determined by its class leadership – the working class – and the working class is the force that carries over the revolution from the democratic stage to the socialist stage of the revolution.

People's war can be carried out in the Philippines any time, because Philippine society, which is semicolonial and semifeudal, is in chronic crisis. It's a country that is agrarian and underdeveloped and most people are in the countryside. They are peasants. So, you have a wide countryside, as the physical terrain for building the New People's Army and carrying out people's war through stages, from small and weak, to bigger and to stronger.

We have three probable stages in the development of the people's war. The first stage is the strategic defensive, in which we change the balance of forces by launching tactical offensives. You get the weapons from the enemy side and then you can go to the strategic stalemate, where there is a parity. In other words, in so many areas, there will be a tug of war, over, let's say, town centers and even some small cities.

The enemy cannot hold on to any areas firmly and the NPA must maintain its mobility. When the enemy advances in bigger force, then the NPA retreats. It takes a more advantageous position, and then hits back. Anyway, the final stage is when the force that was on the offensive, on the strategic offensive, is placed on the defensive, and so the force that was previously on the strategic defensive is now the one that goes on the strategic counter-offensive.

In terms of the growth of the army, when guerilla warfare is predominant in the strategic defensive, elements of regular mobile warfare will arise, upon completion of that stage. And most of the fighting in the strategic offensive – most of the crucial fighting – will be done by the regular, by the mobile forces, so there will be bigger units, but with characteristics of mobility: the use of the tactics of concentration, dispersion, and shifting of forces, depending on the circumstances – whatever is advantageous to the revolutionary army.

Now, in the strategic counter-offensive, there will be instances where in crucial battles there will be some positional warfare, especially to destroy the strongholds. And then of course, where certain cities can be taken over, by fighting, then the army that wins, the people's army that wins, can leave the place: turn over the city to other types of forces – turn over the cities to the self-defense units – so that it can go to beat the enemy.

So, you never throw away the mobility. But in the strategic counteroffensive you'll see much use of positional warfare and the regular mobile warfare, depending on the situation. You don't tie down your force, because, you know, you have already the momentum of winning. So you don't just keep territory, because you can transfer the matter of governance, peace and order, to the local revolutionary forces.

So that's how we envision its probable course. And additional scheduling of each stage, the stages will appear, as the people's war develops. There can be even some zigzags – yes, it can happen – but the general course is from victory to victory.

Now, it is crucial that the working class is the lead factor that is taking up the democratic revolution from the bourgeois. Completely, surely, that with the working class in the leadership of the revolution, that puts the democratic revolution, even if it's reliant on both peasants and workers, surely on the path, towards socialism. The one that is placed in the role of realizing the socialist cause is the working class. The working class leads the main component of proletarian dictatorship, the people's army. It smashes the military and bureaucratic machinery of the reactionary state. Then it will take over the enterprises that are in the commanding heights of the economy, the

sources of raw materials, the main lines of communications. Those will be taken over by the proletarian state.

Democratic reform, land reform, will be carried out. You see, it's when you seize power, all over the country, when you can really carry out, when you can complete land reform – it's no longer here and there, as at present in the strategic defensive. But when you have power, when the proletariat has already seized power, then the democratic reform – land reform – affecting the majority of the people can be carried out within a relatively short period of time.

But at the same time, there are stages in the development of agricultural cooperation. In the first stage, [it] can be based on certain villages, townships and districts. The third and highest level would be the communes. So, you combine social organization and the building of whatever amount of mechanization you can have.

Of course, whatever old ways of tilling, storing and processing the agricultural products will have to be pursued, pending deliveries from the industrial sector of the economy. And the working class is directly in charge of that part of the economy. Building the industries, also those industries will eventually recruit the peasants whose surplus population will be absorbed, given jobs by socialist industry.

*Fight Back!: Very good...*

JMS: Then we may also give concessions in the transitional processes. The small and medium entrepreneurs may be given an opportunity to participate in the national recovery, if, let us say, in the process of the revolutionary war, and because of let's say, imperialist blockade, you have difficulties getting all the means necessary for building socialist industry. Well in Russia, you have the New Economic Policy, even then the proletariat will be in command, the proletariat will be in charge of economic planning.

And also, rather than frighten the people possessing professional and technical skills, you can buy them off in a sort of way, you can give higher wages so they don't flee [laughs] from the country.

Filipino people can also avail of the Filipinos in different countries – Filipinos who work abroad as professionals in technologies and as skilled workers – they can come back, to help in the socialist construction.

*Fight Back!: How do you see or characterize the government of Philippine President Duterte?*

JMS: Duterte has been well recommended by the regional leadership of the Communist Party in charge of southern Mindanao region that covers Davao City. So Duterte had been cooperating with the comrades there for nearly three decades. But then he has his own way of doing things. Even before, it was already said that Duterte's capable of saying and doing anything, from the left way, the middle way, or the rightist way. Depending on what serves him from moment to moment [laughs]. He behaves that way as a bureaucrat capitalist.

But you know, he has a style of not showing of whatever acquisitions he has made. He's a lawyer, he must know how to stash away what he has to hide. He has a big mansion, he donates that, no? And so he's also capable of the grand gesture; he donates his own house for little children, for the use of children with special needs.

But being mayor of Davao can be different from being president, because the president will have to take into account more factors. Among those factors are far, far more powerful than even the supposedly all-powerful president. You have the US and other players on a global scale. And also you have a society that is in chronic crisis, and it is stricken by further crisis – more and more, no?

Because this is a country that drowning in foreign debt. So, if Marcos used to borrow money at the rate of 1.4 billion pesos a year, the succeeding regimes would be borrowing at the annual rate of \$2.8 billion dollars. Marcos ended his term with 27 billion debt from a level of 500 million. Now you have 77 billion. And Duterte expects to be able to borrow from China – one of the most fantastic figures is 167 billion – I don't think China can provide that. But in the October visit of Duterte to China he got 9 billion in pledges, and further talks, I think led to an additional pile of like 6 billion, so they are talking about 15 billion in loans but mainly for infrastructure.

The problem is, that Filipino people have to be alert to, is that, you know, Duterte's open joint undertaking with the Chinese in the exploring and developing the undersea energy resources in the western Philippine sea. The Philippines won the case before the UN Arbitral Tribunal in accordance with the UN convention on the law of the sea, so the exclusive economic zone, the extended continental shelf, sovereign rights over them are completely, clearly belong to the Philippines. But there are certain features in which the Chinese made reclamation.

If you have a wise president, you can take advantage of the multipolar world. You can utilize China and Russia in order to neutralize the long-running US power. But if you are not wise enough, competent enough, because you see, these countries competing with the US have capitalist operations – if you let them take advantage, well they don't like to pay credit on their side, no? Whoever represents China or Chinese corporations in deals... [laughs].

So, the Philippines must also take care of its interests so there is mutuality of benefit, and you don't get taken advantage of.

The problem is we might lose control over those trillions of dollars' worth of energy resources because we cannot pay for excessive loans for infrastructure. So under the World Bank infrastructure projects are a way of drawing away resources from industrial development. That's an old trick of US imperialism, and it should not be repeated – with whichever country or bank we deal with. We have now a testing ground for Duterte – the peace negotiations.

*Fight Back!: Let's hear more about the peace negotiations. Why are they taking place and where are they going?*

JMS: The peace negotiations are a testing ground for Duterte. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines demands that the Duterte government complies with the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect For Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, by releasing the political prisoners, either by one of two methods.

One is by general amnesty, the other is by withdrawal of the charges. Those charges are garbage. According to the CARHRIHL, the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, those prisoners have been arrested and detained should not have been arrested and detained in the first place, because the charges are trumped up. And many of these political prisoners are not even fighters of the NPA [New People's Army]. After an incident, the military just picked up people from the nearby villages. So the GRP [Government of the Republic of the Philippines] and their obligation to release the political prisoners, there is even more demand for compensation – for apology and compensation.

Duterte so far has not passed the test. A year has passed, and his promise to comply with CARHRIHL has not been done. There are supposed to be six grades, which he must pass. He hasn't passed grade one.

It is obvious in the peace negotiations, there is so much delay. Even if there are already four successful – we call them successful – because there are some advances, but we notice that at a certain point, there may be no success whatsoever, because the GRP or the Duterte government insists that there must be a protracted and indefinite joint or bilateral ceasefire ahead of everything. And you know if the NDFP agrees to that, that would be very bad. People will say, "What about the social and economic reforms?" At least those must be taken up in advance of this ceasefire. In fact, properly, the permanent truce is a subject matter of the end – it's the fourth item under the rubric of "end of hostilities and the disposition of forces." So, this is a problem.

Now, Duterte, I think, he's quite unstable or stupid, no? He had this Marawi problem. First, he underestimated it then he overestimated – well he, for a while, probably for a day or so he was underestimating the problem but when the fighting started, he had just arrived in Russia, then went back to the Philippines, and he proclaimed martial law.

The martial law does not cover only the area where the Bangsamoro is, of where the Marawi and Abu Sayyaf groups exist. He made the martial law Mindanao-wide. That means to say, the NPA is 'the enemy!'

Duterte speaks with a forked tongue. "Oh, we are not targeting the NPA." But why Mindanao, nationwide, and why at the level of the national defense department and the level of the armed forces chief of staff, why do the issue the directives against the NPA? And then they repeat threats that martial rule will be extended to the entire country.

So, what enemy will they face? The NPA, and then of course revolutionary forces and the legal democratic forces, especially those concerned about human rights – from the beginning they were critical of these extrajudicial killings in the so-called 'war on drugs.'

There are too many innocents getting killed and the police are emboldened to kill because they are assured of impunity and they are paid 50 thousand pesos per head. It's a scandal!

Well, this is the problem for the revolutionary movement. This may be something like pointed out very early by Ka Oris, the spokesperson of the CPP and the New People's Army.

This campaign popularizing the extrajudicial killings at first posed against this illegal drug trade can be shifted, can be used a method, against the revolutionary movement. And this could be something like 'Plan Colombia.' At first the paramilitaries units were formed supposedly against the illegal drugs, then then they could be shifted against the FARC and ELN, no?

So, the Communist Party and the rest of the revolutionary movement have been alerted, and so right now, even Duterte is making some offensives justifying the disengagement that the NDFP has to undertake.

But Duterte has declared the termination, the end, of the peace negotiations three times. Not once has NDF

complained and terminated the peace negotiations. So we are on the just and reasonable side on this issue.

*Fight Back!: What do you have to say about the role of the US in the Philippines?*

JMS: The US has been alerted. The US has certain laws. You don't give aid to governments that violate human rights. Congress people were threatening to reduce aid – as a matter of fact, Duterte's been complaining about not getting the supplies that he wants, appropriate to, you know, supposedly fighting terrorists and so on.

Obama was under advice by congressional leaders and other people to advise Duterte not to kill too many [laughs], because the extrajudicial killings were already being done by the thousands, from month to month.

It's another question whether the US is real defender of human rights [chuckles]. There is something hypocritical about US imperialism.

The US is responsible for massive human rights violations, massive destruction of lives and property, infrastructure – social infrastructure – in so many countries. The US can be described as the 'number one' violator of human rights – responsible for the death of millions, 10, 20 million since the end of World War II. And then course, in the offensives made by the US since the 1990s, it wasted the lives of American soldiers and trillions of dollars to carry out those offensives.

However, the US uses the human rights issue in order to justify its domination over countries, to exercise control. It's not so much of the love of human rights, but it is for the love of controlling [laughs] the puppets.

Even if Duterte says he wishes to maintain an independent foreign policy, the system he has inherited from his predecessors very much is a system that belongs to the US and he has used personnel loyal to the US Lorenzana [Major General Lorenzana, AFP (Ret.), Secretary of National Defense] is a longtime resident of Washington. He has long been connected to JUSMAG [Joint US Military Assistance Group], the military advisor group that decides what kind of weapons to sell to the Philippine armed forces. And of course, the national security advisor, as well as the chief of staff, they are products of American forces, American forces training and also products of interoperability training exercises in the yearly Balikatan exercises.

So, the US is in control. Duterte may be dramatic, he's as if trying to break off from the US control, but, when the Marawi events came, you see how he was so grateful to the US and he was so ready to accept the deliveries of the US. At two ends, Duterte has been manipulated. He has been manipulated by his close-in security advisors, and at another end is the IS creation – the Islamic State creation of the CIA, and the Mossad [laughs].

The CPP editorial, the CPP statement, described Duterte as having exposed himself as a tool of aggression, because he's the one who looks insane, and who has admitted using fentanyl, no? Sending him to the skies, having him seated on cloud nine.

Duterte echoes the US propaganda that Kim Jong Un is crazy. I thought that he knew well the geopolitics in which the US operates. He doesn't know that the DPRK could be hit like Iraq of Saddam or Libya of Gaddafi, if it does not have its nuclear weapons for self-defense.

So that's Duterte. I have already mentioned the reasons that Duterte cannot be trusted to comply with what the people demand in terms of social, economic, political and constitutional reforms, to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

It's difficult to say whether the negotiations will be able to proceed under Duterte, because Duterte himself cannot guarantee his political survival. He can be thrown out by pro-US elements in the military, or, a broad united front by democratic forces could overthrow him.

For instance, these extrajudicial killings, with impunity, they are becoming sort of a bomb exploding in the face of Duterte, whereas before, it seemed like it was the main factor for gaining his popularity. He was presenting himself as a strongman, using the mean face, and then he was going to do the quick fix. But, he as not solved the problem. Because in the first place, he's just killing poor drug users and addicts. The highest level he went up to was killing three mayors.

But what about the governors and generals? What about his son, who's now reputed to be the lord of the drug lords? The son now is accused of using ports, the ports of Davao and Manilla and possibly other ports, in smuggling drugs. So how can he stop the drug problem, if his own son, and if he himself cannot be aware or is aware in cahoots with the son?

*Fight Back!: What do you have to say to our readers, to the American people, the people of the US?*

JMS: The Filipino people are trying hard to continue and advance the revolution. The people take pride in being able to develop the revolutionary forces, despite what may be called even a strategic retreat of the



anti-imperialist and socialist cause since 1991.

The Filipino people are doing everything possible. The Filipino people become aware of their duty to wage the revolution no matter how long it takes. It took us 300 years to liberate ourselves from Spanish colonialism, and for a while we were a standout, before the US imperialists intervened. We were the first to liberate ourselves from a Western colonial power, and that's a big prize. As we sort of performed the role of being this torch-bearer in our part of the world, at least in Southeast Asia, that's an inspiring thing to think of.

So, we are doing our best to be able to contribute to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle. In turn, as we have the spirit of helping the proletariat and the people of the world to advance the revolution, possibly in all countries and continents. We expect that their struggles contribute to our own strengthening. So, there's interaction between the proletariat and people in various countries, be these countries that are the advanced industrialist capitalist countries, and be they underdeveloped countries – which are still in the majority. The time will come that more direct exchanges, more direct forms of cooperation will be possible and the stronger ones will help the weaker ones, in terms of moral and material support. The most important thing this is that we help each other by true solidarity, by fighting a common enemy.

We have always thought of the American people as having contributed a decisive help to the victory of the Vietnamese people, who were the first to score definite big victory against US imperialism. The US was defeated, and then of course, the rest of Indochina would follow, but the key point is this one country where the US in the Korean War, the US set a kind of stalemate, ending in the armistice agreement. But of course, in another sense, the US was effectively frustrated in trying to dominate the north, or the DPRK. So a whole country, Vietnam and the Vietnamese people succeeded in defeating and driving away US imperialism—a tremendous achievement.

And the American people contributed to that victory, because, inside the US, they demonstrated the unjustness of the war of aggression. The people showed the costliness and futility of all those bombs being thrown at the Vietnamese people. And so, the US was compelled to retreat, to withdraw from Vietnam – mainly through the struggle of the Vietnamese people, but, you must also take into account what the American people did, in order to discourage the US from going further in the war.

But anyway, they could not really go further in any justifiable way. Even in the boardrooms of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the US comforted itself, 'Well, it's better to act like good businessmen. We just don't throw our metals and chemicals at Vietnam, we better sell our weapons to the oil-producing countries.' That's how they shifted, they justified the withdrawal from Vietnam.

But we have always regarded the support of the American people to the Vietnamese struggle as a model for us, and we take advantage of the fact that there has been this colonial and neocolonial relationship, and there are quite a number of Filipinos – as early as the early 70s – they acknowledged we were 4 million Filipinos – you certainly have that figure if you also count in the Filipino-Americans, the second generation that has no more plans of going back to the Philippines. So, we have billions. The Vietnamese had less.

The Filipinos in the US, being able to cooperate with their solidarity friends of various nationalities within the US, we can do better in fighting against a common enemy right in the belly of the beast.

# ***The Truth about Fake NPA Surrenders***

**March 5, 2018**

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First, Duterte and the military claimed that they were getting surrenderers from the New People's Army by the hundreds. These were being presented to Duterte in batches for the purpose of propaganda.

But the fact became too well known that AFP soldiers and some civilians were being misrepresented as NPA surrenderers. The joke circulated fast that the Duterte regime will soon finish off the NPA in a matter of days through the sheer imagination and fabrication of NPA surrenderers by his military psywar experts.

Now, there is a shift in counterrevolutionary propaganda. Duterte and his military minions claim that they are getting surrenderers not only from the NPA but also from the people's militia, the underground mass organizations, the self-defense units and the organs of political power.

They continue to make the absurd claim that thousands of NPA fighters and their supporters are poised to surrender and disappear soon because they are bored with or tired of fighting oppression and exploitation and are eager to enjoy the new paradise that Duterte has brought about in the Philippines.

The Duterte regime looks ridiculous and even funny by staging the fake surrenders of NPA fighters and their supporters. But serious violations of civil and political rights are perpetrated by Duterte and the military in their intensified drive to produce fake surrenders.

Barangay officials are being persuaded or coerced to call people to meetings. Those attending are made to sign attendance sheets, at the back of which is the text of surrender. They are photographed and videographed and misrepresented as taking the oath of surrender and renewing their allegiance to the neocolonial republic.

The luckiest of the fake surrenderers are selected to have a junket in Manila and have an audience with Duterte. In his palace, Duterte even promises to bring the fake surrenderers to Hongkong and China. But there is a deadly and tragic side to these fake surrenders. As in Oplan Tokhang, so is it in Oplan Kapayapaan.

In Oplan Tokhang, people are either coerced or persuaded by barangay officials to surrender as drug addicts for rehabilitation. But the list of surrenderers serves as the basis for Duterte's death squads in the police to fulfil their quotas of killing drug suspects, collecting cash rewards of 10,000 to 20,000 pesos per victim, earning merits for promotion in rank and getting commissions from funeral parlors.

In Oplan Kapayapaan, people are also being coerced or persuaded by barangay officials to surrender themselves as NPA fighters or members of the people's militia, mass organizations, self-defense units and the local organs of political power. They are even promised cash rewards, jobs, housing and other benefits. But the list of surrenderers serves as the basis for the military to fulfil their quota of killing revolutionary suspects at the variable rates of 25,000 to 100,000 pesos per head, depending on the rank ascribable to the victim.

The CPP Information Bureau has already issued exposes of the increasing number of fake surrenders and murders of revolutionary suspects in various regions. And the revolutionary forces and people are strengthening their ranks and sharpening their methods for frustrating and defeating their enemy in his dastardly scheme to commit mass murders.

They draw lessons from a long and rich history of revolutionary resistance. All previous campaign plans of the reactionary government have tried to terrorize the people with the abduction, torture and murder of revolutionary suspects and social activists. Oplan Kapayapaan is worse than its predecessor campaign plans because of Duterte's evil scheme to wipe out the revolutionary movement completely by any criminal means. But the revolutionary movement of the people will become stronger precisely because of the escalation of state terrorism and plunder.

At the moment, all the revolutionary forces and the people are being challenged to intensify their efforts to engage in public education, mass organizing, land reform, raising production, delivering health services, promoting culture and sports and demanding a just peace. At the same time. The NPA, the people's militia and the self-defense units of mass organizations are expected to deliver lethal blows to their terrorist enemy. The Communist Party of the Philippines is effectively leading the NPA.

The broad masses of the people expect that the NPA intensify their offensives against the AFP, PNP and their auxiliary forces in order to defeat them and make further advances in the revolutionary movement. They estimate

that if everyone of the scores of guerrilla fronts launches a successful offensive every day, the fake surrenders and fake encounters being claimed by the Duterte regime and the military will become inutile even as military psywar for the extremely gullible.

# ***CPP Central Committee Based in the Philippines Leads and Commands the New People's Army***

**December 30, 2018**

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The Communist Party of the Philippines is well-known for centralized ideological and political leadership and decentralized operations, especially in the field of revolutionary armed struggle. The operational commands of the NPA at various levels have adequate leeway for flexible tactics in carrying out tactical offensives.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party (CPP), which is based in the Philippines, is the collective political leader and commander of the New People's Army. It decides the strategy and issues national operational guidelines through its Military Commission to the National Operational Command of the New People's Army (NPA).

While I was in the Philippines before my arrest in 1977, I had my modest share of collective decision-making, issuing directives and writing essays on the strategy and tactics and specific characteristics of people's war in the Philippines.

But Defense Secretary Lorenzana is preposterous and wrong for trying to taunt me as an "armchair general" solely directing the people's war in the Philippines while I am far away. The CPP Central Committee, its Military Commission and operational commands at various levels are in the Philippines and competent within the scope of their responsibilities.

Just to prevent the resumption of peace negotiations between the authorized panels of the GRP and NDFP, Lorenzana also engages in self-contradiction by claiming at the same time that I am disconnected from the NPA and that I should not at all be involved in peace negotiations even as I am authorized by the NDFP as chief political consultant.

But there is one more kind of self-contradiction within his own department. In claiming that 8000 members of the NPA and people's militia have surrendered, Lorenzana is contradicted by an active general who claims that 11,000 of the same have surrendered.

The two reactionary officials belong to the same department but are clearly disconnected from each other and are contradicting each other. They are only connected by a common effort at fakery. They make contradictory claims of fake surrenders, a notorious racket among AFP officers.

# ***Duterte Is the NPA's Best Recruiter and Best Transport and Supply Officer***

March 23, 2019

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The Filipino people and the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) have a lot to thank Duterte for. Though unwittingly, like the tyrant Marcos in his own time, Duterte has become the best recruiter and the best transport and supply officer of the New People's Army (NPA).

As the best recruiter of the NPA, Duterte has driven so many people to join the NPA by running a tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, plundering and inflation-generating regime. The people have no choice but to fight such an evil regime.

By terminating the peace negotiations, he compels the armed revolutionary movement to concentrate on intensifying the people's war and cast away any illusion that this regime of terror and greed can negotiate social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict in order to achieve a just and lasting peace.

The more direct kind of assistance that Duterte gives to the armed revolution is splitting up his military and police forces into two parts, one part for psywar and mass intimidation and the other part for blind and deaf armed offensives against the people.

The part for psywar and mass intimidation is for engaging in fake peace-and-development activities, rounding up people for fake localized peace negotiations, fake surrenders, occupation of civilian offices, too many checkpoints, guarding pro-Duterte politicians and business enterprises, over-enlarged surveillance and intelligence operations, widespread red tagging, urban arrests and death-squad operations.

The part for combat is weakened with less personnel for field deployment. In any case, whatever is the number of combat personnel of the reactionary armed forces, they are rendered blind and deaf by the lack of popular support wherever they dare to move against the guerrilla fronts.

Duterte is the best transport and supply officer when he sends his troops and police to attack the guerrilla fronts. When they advance in superior force, the NPA retreats and gives the enemy an illusion of winning. But when they camp and take over rough terrain, their strength is thinned out and they leave gaps between units and make small detachments and patrol teams, which are easy targets for the counteroffensives of the NPA.

Duterte's scheme to destroy the NPA in Mindanao and then in Luzon and the Visayas has utterly failed. The predictions of Año and Duterte that they could destroy the NPA before the end of 2018 have proven to be false. Duterte's prediction that the NPA would be destroyed before the middle of 2019 have been debunked by DND secretary Lorenzana himself who begged for more time until 2022.

The NPA has become stronger in Mindanao, with more enemy units being annihilated and disarmed. At the same time, the people's war in Luzon and the Visayas has successfully intensified. Thus, Duterte is compelled to redeploy some of his forces from Mindanao to the Visayas and Luzon. The 75 percent of his military forces concentrated in Mindanao since 2017 are now down to 64 percent, according to inside AFP sources.

The diehard reactionaries like Duterte and his armed minions always fail to appreciate the strategic line of protracted people's war in pursuit of the people's democratic revolution. This strategic line gives the wide space and time for the NPA to grow from small and weak to big and strong and to lure in the enemy forces to spread out thinly in the countryside and to so many islands for NPA tactical offensives to become more effective.

It is impossible for the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces to defeat the NPA through sheer military operations and puerile psywar. The NPA already has nationwide strength and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It occupies almost all the strategic areas favorable for guerrilla warfare in the stage of strategic defensive and for the prospective regular mobile warfare in the strategic stalemate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has wisely changed the NPA force structure, with 40 percent of its units relatively concentrated for tactical offensives and 60 percent relatively dispersed units for mass work in each of the 110 guerrilla fronts. By seizing more arms from the enemy forces, the NPA is increasing its ability to hit the weak points of the enemy at will all over the archipelago.

At this time, the termination of the peace negotiations seems to benefit Duterte's scheme of fascist

dictatorship but in fact, it drives the broad masses of the people and the organized revolutionary forces to wage all forms of resistance to isolate and intensify them in order to isolate and defeat the tyrannical US-Duterte regime.

As an observer of the current civil war in the Philippines, I have learned from CPP revolutionary publications that the best way to frustrate Duterte's scheme of fascist dictatorship, to puncture its arrogance and debunk the fake surrenders and fake encounters staged by the regime and its armed running dogs is for the NPA to deliver more lethal blows on weak points of the enemy forces in the countryside and deliver head blows to the regime's most brutal, corrupt and drug-trading officials in the urban areas.

# ***Why and How the New People's Army Has Preserved Itself and Grown in Strength***

**March 29, 2019**

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Academic researchers and journalists often ask me why and how the New People's Army (NPA) has preserved itself and grown in strength in the last 50 years. I share with you my answers to their questions.

The NPA has a just revolutionary cause, which makes it invincible. It is fighting for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people, mainly the toiling masses of workers and peasants, against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The revolutionary struggle becomes even more just when it confronts a brazenly treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt regime like that of Marcos or Duterte.

The NPA is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. This revolutionary party of the working class has defined the general line of people's democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people's war, which allows the NPA to avail of the wide countryside and the support of the peasant masses to grow from small and weak to big and strong.

The reactionary armed forces, police, and paramilitary auxiliaries are on the losing side because they are instruments for oppressing the people and preserving the daily violence of exploitation under the rule of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt government officials in the service of US imperialism.

The broad masses of the people understand that they have no way to change the oppressive and exploitative ruling system but to wage people's war because elections controlled by the exploiting classes always result mainly in the rotation of their political agents.

The underdevelopment of the economy, high rate of unemployment and widespread poverty will remain and grow worse so long as the exploiting classes and their imperialist masters take superprofits and press down the subsistence level of the toiling masses.

The strategic line of protracted people's war has been successful in the last 50 years in allowing the NPA to occupy strategic areas all over the countryside in the archipelago; and to use these for guerrilla warfare in the stage of strategic defensive. The NPA is now developing the advanced phase of this stage, in which the tactical offensives of NPA platoons and companies can become more frequent and successful against weak points of the enemy forces.

The time will soon come that the stage of strategic stalemate will be reached when NPA companies and then battalions will be able to wage regular mobile warfare and launch tactical offensives that can wipe out larger enemy formations piece by piece and liberate entire towns and provinces. The strategic stalemate shall be far shorter than the stage of strategic defensive.

By the time that conditions are ripe for the stage of the strategic offensive, it shall be the turn of the enemy to be on the strategic defensive. The NPA shall have acquired the capability to mobilize battalions and regiments for knocking out the final strongholds of the enemy and for seizing the cities.

So much for outlining the probable stages of the people's war. At present in the strategic defensive, what are the weak points of the enemy that the NPA can at will target in tactical offensives? What else can the NPA do?

1. When the enemy forces concentrate to launch an offensive in superior strength, the NPA can retreat or shift position and observe what weak points appear in the deployment and operations of the enemy side. As sure as the sun rises and sets, the NPA and the people are able to see the wide gaps between enemy points and the lines of supply and patrols, and can proceed to wipe out the enemy forces part by part.

2. Even when the overall armed strength of the enemy is far larger than that of the NPA, the enemy forces are limited and cannot cover more than 10 percent of the Philippine population and territory at any given time. The enemy forces can concentrate anywhere but so can the NPA elsewhere to target weak points of the enemy forces, such as small army detachments, police stations, security forces of unfriendly business enterprises and plantations, and bodyguards of hostile politicians, warlords, and crime lords.

3. The reactionary armed forces and police have their own ways of reducing their personnel for combat: they

take over civilian functions and use too many patrols and too many checkpoints for the purpose of mass intimidation and extortion. In addition, the NPA can compel the enemy to defensive positions by putting them under a cloud of harassment and by destroying facilities of mining, logging, and plantation companies on the just ground that these are instruments of extreme exploitation of the working people and destruction of the environment and agriculture.

4. Whenever the NPA takes full initiative in launching a tactical offensive against a certain enemy target, it can also prepare an extra force to ambush the reinforcing or pursuing enemy force. On a larger scale, if it has sufficient forces for the purpose, the NPA can deliberately lure in the enemy for annihilation in a series of battles within a certain area. Furthermore it can create the opportunity for other NPA units to launch their tactical offensives elsewhere.

5. The CPP has announced recently that it has laid stress on further developing extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base and delivering head blows to the enemy. More than ever, the NPA has the capability to deliver head blows to enemy command posts or to the urban dens of the most despicable bosses of the regime with rural-based commando teams as well as with armed city partisans.

6. The high-tech equipment of the enemy can be countered. Air planes and helicopters are noisy. The most silent drones cannot distinguish the NPA fighters from the masses. It is not the style of the NPA to make permanent large encampments in isolated areas. It uses only temporary camps in connection with politico-military training and preparing for certain tactical offensives. As regards computers and cellphones, the NPA communications personnel have learned to use codes and delete or store away data.

There is no limit to the kinds of tactical offensives that the NPA forces can launch on its own initiative so long as they have the elements of people's support, precise intelligence, meticulous planning, training and discipline of the rank and file, and the daring of commanders.

But the NPA has simple overall rules for it to be able to preserve itself and gain further strength: always launch only tactical offensives that it is sure of winning and avoid any decisive engagement that puts at risk the very life of the NPA in any guerrilla front. Thus, the enemy has failed to destroy any guerrilla front, except in its press releases for psywar.

The propaganda of the US-Duterte regime and its armed minions is that the NPA is on the way to being destroyed. For the purpose, the regime is in a frenzy of faking surrenders and encounters, community support, development projects, and localized peace talks, while they carry out real mass arrests, massacres, artillery shelling, bombings, forced mass evacuations, and landgrabbing to gain the people's wrath. It has formed a national task force to carry out all these tactics systematically and to prepare for the imposition of fascist dictatorship on the people.

It is absolutely necessary to expose the truth about the crimes of the US-Duterte regime and its armed minions by all means of information. At the same time, the broad masses of the people are calling on the NPA to intensify their tactical offensives, broadcast their fighting victories, and demonstrate that the regime and its armed minions cannot go on committing their grave crimes with impunity. The NPA enjoys the support of the people and the people expect more brilliant victories than ever in the people's war for national liberation and democracy.



# ***The People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle***

## ***for National and Social Liberation***

### ***in the Past 50 Years***

**March 29, 2019**

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Let me make a quick review of the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation in the past 50 years. My focus is on the development of the New People's Army (NPA) under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in a brief historical narrative of five segments, including the prospects as the last segment.

#### **1. Foundational years, 1969 – 1977**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines conceived of the New People's Army as the main instrument for overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system through protracted people's war in accordance with the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The New People's Army was founded by the CPP in Barrio Sta. Rita, Capas, Tarlac on March 29, 1969. It started with only nine rifles and 26 inferior firearms for 60 Red fighters consisting of those from the old people's army and the new recruits from Manila and Isabela who were previously given politico-military training.

The recruits from Manila were CPP and Kabataang Makabayan members who came from various regions and were intended to form the NPA in their respective regions after serving in Tarlac. The recruits from Isabela were given priority for dispatch to their province for the purpose of CPP and NPA expansion. They were provided with a senior cadre who had long experience in armed struggle and mass work in Central Luzon.

The years from 1969 to 1977 may be considered as the foundational years of the NPA. They were years of ideological study for those CPP cadres assigned to the NPA, political-military training for the Red commanders and fighters, and deployment of expansion teams to various regions under the direction of the CPP Central Committee.

The NPA National Operational Command was formed under the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. The following departments were slated to be formed: political education, planning, personnel and training, intelligence, military operations, production, logistics, ordnance, and medical.

The Regional Operational Commands were also to be formed under the leadership of the Regional Party Committees. Provincial and district operational commands were also slated to be formed by the leading Party territorial committees concerned.

The NPA became trained and experienced in waging guerrilla warfare and doing mass work, which included mass education, mass organizing, land reform and production, health and sanitation, cultural work, people's self-defense, arbitration and justice, disaster relief, and protection of the environment.

From 1969 to 1971, the revolutionary armed struggle developed in Tarlac, combining guerrilla tactical offensives and mass work and bringing about the level of NPA armed strength to more than 200 automatic rifles that were seized from the enemy forces through ambushes and raids.

When the CPP central leadership shifted to Isabela from late 1970 to 1972, the NPA started with only 20 automatic rifles and these increased to more than 300 by 1974. Hundreds of CPP cadres were given politico-military training for expansion to new areas in various regions. These cadres were subsequently dispatched to provinces in Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Montañosa-Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

More expansion cadres became available after the 1971 suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and then the 1972 proclamation of martial law because the urban-based mass activists who were in danger of being arrested joined the NPA. Still a great number of underground cadres under the CPP General Secretariat were dispatched to various regions in 1974. The nationwide expansion of the CPP and NPA was facilitated by Kabataang Makabayan, trade unions and peasant associations.

As early as 1972, CPP regional committees and NPA regional operational commands were already established in Cagayan Valley, IMP, Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Eastern Visayas, Central Visayas, Western Visayas and

Mindanao. In subsequent years, NPA regional operational commands arose in Cagayan Valley, Cordillera and Ilocos, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Central Visayas and Eastern Visayas. And in 1976, the Mindanao Regional Party Committee began to form several NPA regional operational commands.

In the foundational years from 1969 to 1977, the focus of the most frequent and most successful tactical offensives shifted from one region to another, depending on the successful mass work and the daring of the Red commanders and fighters. From 1969 to 1971, the focus was Tarlac; from 1972 to 1975, it was Isabela, Ifugao, Quirino, Aurora, Pampanga, Bataan, Quezon, Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Negros, and Panay provinces; and from 1975 to 1977, it was Samar, and several provinces in Mindanao.

The NPA armed strength had reached the level of 1,500 automatic rifles as of 1977. However the NPA in Isabela stagnated and weakened because of the error of staying too long in the unpopulated forest region from 1974 to 1976, despite the order of the central leadership to the regional Party committee in 1974 for shifting the NPA companies to Cagayan province. But the containment of the NPA in Isabela was countervailed by its growth elsewhere in Cagayan Valley, Northern Luzon and in the entire country.

## **2. Further growth and major errors, 1978-1991**

The strong foundation laid in the years 1969-77 and the preponderance of CPP and NPA rank and file who adhered to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general line of people's democratic revolution and the organizational discipline of democratic centralism corresponded to the worsening socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system and made possible the further growth of the NPA to 3,000 automatic rifles in 1981 and then to 5,600 automatic rifles in 1985.

The CPP central leadership ensured that whenever certain weaker regions needed support and assistance in terms of cadres and arms, they would get such from the stronger regions. After the NPA forces in Eastern Visayas grew strong from 1976 to 1979, the Party redeployed many of its cadres, fighters and arms to Negros and Mindanao in 1979. But the NPA in every region was always urged to practice self-reliance and grow through struggle.

The most outstanding regions in the frequency and success of tactical offensives from 1981 onward were Eastern Visayas, Mindanao, Negros, Northern Luzon, Bicol, and Central Luzon. The most effective formations in combat were companies or platoons augmented by armed propaganda teams and led by commanders who were excellent at planning, and were daring.

The NPA forces in the regions of Eastern Visayas, Bicol, Southern Tagalog, and Cagayan Valley had a good balance of relatively concentrated force (vertical) and relatively dispersed forces (horizontal). This also meant a good balance between offensive capability and mass base. The Party, the mass organizations and the organs of political power assumed much of the work load of the NPA units to enable these to gain more time and opportunities for launching tactical offensives.

From 1981 to 1985, the NPA in Mindanao scored the most and biggest victories in tactical offensives as it increased the number of companies to five. But rapid further formation of ten more companies and the premature verticalization of forces were done at the expense of paying attention to mass work and strengthening the mass base. The "Left" opportunist error resulted in adverse consequences.

The CC Plenum in 1985 noted that the nationwide NPA armed strength reached the level of 5,600 automatic rifles in 1985 and further increased to 6,100 automatic rifles in 1986 and still further increased by some hundreds in 1987. NPA nationwide armed strength increased because of the correct line, competence, courage and high sense of self-sacrifice and service to the people of the CPP cadres and members and the Red fighters and commanders and by the accelerated deterioration of social conditions and the rising tide of the people's struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The victories were achieved despite the emergence of wrong ideas and major errors in the CPP central leadership and in certain regional Party committees. In 1979 there arose the notion in the CC of the CPP that the people's war was already in the advanced phase. This led to the further notion that the "stage of strategic counter-offensive" was in the offing. This notion had no basis in reality and was not realized but encouraged various "Left" opportunist currents of thinking about short-cuts to final victory.

As early as 1981, the subjective notion circulated among certain CC members that the Marcos fascist dictatorship had succeeded in making the Philippines an industrial capitalist country. It gave rise to the Right opportunist and "Left" opportunist currents.

The Right opportunist current wanted to take out the leadership of the CPP and the working class from the

National Democratic Front and make the legal form of struggle principal to the armed struggle in obedience to the anti-Marcos reactionaries. The “Left” opportunist current was initially based on the wrong notion that the NPA had reached the “advanced stage” of the strategic defensive and could carry out next the strategic counteroffensive.

But the most disastrous line was that of the “Left” opportunist Red Area-White Area (RAWA) line in Mindanao, which called for people’s strikes in urban areas, intensification of armed city partisan warfare and the premature regularization of the NPA and reduction to being a purely military force.

When the line resulted in setbacks, the “Left” opportunists generated panic, blamed “deep penetration” agents for the setbacks and punished suspected cadres and mass activists without due process through *Kampanyang Ahos*. As a result of the “Left” opportunist errors, the mass base shrank drastically by more than 50 percent in Mindanao and the NPA armed strength fell by more than 1,000 automatic rifles.

Similar “Left” opportunist errors followed by anti-DPA witchhunts occurred in other regions but on a lesser scale at various times in Negros island, Manila-Rizal, Southern Tagalog, Cordillera and Cagayan Valley. Most of the time NPA foundational strength and the preponderance of good cadres and members continued to prevail over the “Left” opportunism and over the emergence of anti-DPA hysteria.

The national level “Left” opportunists subsequently pursued the line from 1986 to 1989 that total victory could be obtained only with military assistance from abroad; otherwise the revolution would stagnate and then be defeated. When the efforts to import weapons failed, they became demoralized and were joined by the Right opportunists in opposing the strategic line of protracted people’s war.

### **3. Rectification and revitalization, 1992-2001**

The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) from 1992 to 1998 saved the CPP, the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement from possible self-disintegration or destruction in the hands of the enemy. The Right and “Left” opportunists were in CPP key positions and were using these to undermine and attack Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of people’s democratic revolution.

The Right opportunists prated about “popular democracy” to attack the leading role of the proletariat and the CPP in the revolution. They blamed the line of protracted people’s war for the supposed failure to be part of the ascendance of the Aquino regime over the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They spouted Gorbachovite, Trotskyite, bourgeois-liberal and other petty-bourgeois currents of thinking.

The “Left” opportunists, especially the most vocal urban insurrectionists, also blamed the strategic line of protracted people’s war for the supposed failure of the NPA to take power or get a significant share of this before the Aquino party took complete power. The “Left” opportunists in the highest positions babbled that to avert stagnation and defeat, the NPA must benefit from the importation of weapons, even if these were to be secured by considering the Soviet Union as no longer revisionist and social-imperialist. At the same time, they obscured the disastrous results of their line in Mindanao, which included the witchhunt called *Kampanyang Ahos*.

Prior to the launch of the SGRM in 1992, the central leadership had already succeeded in acting against the “Left” opportunist errors and the anti-DPA witch hunts in one region after another. But the SGRM still had to be launched and carried out in order to criticize, repudiate and rectify the errors comprehensively and thoroughly through a movement of ideological and political education. Otherwise, errors could persist to undermine and destroy the Party.

The SGRM faced difficulties because the “Left” and Right opportunists in general combined to attack the Party and take away the Party personnel and properties that they controlled. But the loyal Party cadres and members and the Red commanders and fighters prevailed. They worked hard and succeeded in recovering most of the Party personnel and mass base which had been lost through the errors, crimes and wrecking operations of the “Left” opportunists.

From 1994 to 1998, the forces in Mindanao were able to recover most of the armed strength and mass base that had been lost during the second half of the 1980s. They were able to retain some of the NPA companies in certain guerrilla fronts by a well-balanced correlation of relatively concentrated force for effectiveness in tactical offensives and relatively dispersed force to ensure a sufficiently wide and deep mass base. By 1998, the First Bagani Company had the distinct honor of capturing a brigadier general in the field.

The recovery and revitalization of the NPA occurred in various regions previously afflicted by “Left” opportunism. The NPA level of strength in 1998 exceeded the level before 1992. There were more than 110 guerrilla fronts nationwide, mostly with platoons rather than companies as the total force per front.

In the National Capital Region, the forces of the national democratic movement grew strong to the extent of generating mass protest actions that ultimately forced Estrada to flee the presidential palace and in effect resign his position. This was a crowning victory of the SGRM.

#### **4. *Growth, conservatism and upsurge, 2002 – 2019***

This period covers the regimes of Arroyo, Aquino and Duterte which launched fierce attacks on the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement. The NPA has frustrated all the strategic operational plans aimed at destroying it. It has preserved and increased its strength despite the strategic offensives of the enemy, such as the Oplan Bantay Laya of Arroyo, Bayanihan of Aquino and Kapayapaan of Duterte.

As a result of the SGRM, NPA armed strength in high-powered rifles continued to grow and peaked in 2005 to a level surpassing the earlier 1987 peak by a few hundreds. It was a four percent growth from the 2002 level. However, from 2005, NPA strength dropped by 21.6 percent over the course of the next four years until 2009.

The NPA armed strength in automatic rifles increased again but by only a few hundreds or around 11 percent accumulated growth in the next seven years, 2009-2016, but remained below the 12.6 percent 2006 peak. The NPA strength further grew by nine percent in the second half of 2016 but remained at four percent below the 2005 peak. From end 2016 to August 2017, the NPA grew more than eight percent and surpassed the previous 2005 peak by three percent.

Despite the all-out war of the Duterte regime from its continuation of Aquino's Bayanihan to its adoption of its own US-designed Oplan Kapayapaan, the NPA is growing in strength. The NPA in Mindanao remains the most outstanding in people's war notwithstanding the prolonged imposition of martial law in the region and the wanton use of bombings and extrajudicial killings to suppress the armed revolution.

The CPP was able to hold its Second Congress successfully. It was able to identify the error of conservatism and over dispersal of small NPA units over a wide area as the principal error that has caused the stagnation and erosion of NPA and mass strength in Luzon and the Visayas. It is an error diametrically opposite the error of "Left" opportunism that had emerged in the years 1981-83 and grew in various regions until 1992.

The error starts with the good motivation of widening and deepening the mass base and developing all political prerequisites. And the erroneous tendency has been to over-disperse small units for mass work and neglect the main NPA task, which is to launch tactical offensives in order to seize weapons from the enemy and strengthen the NPA.

The force deployment with no relatively concentrated force for launching tactical offensives, and with the over-dispersal of small NPA units results in roving or floating units that are easy prey to the enemy and vulnerable to being put in purely defensive actions. When these small units are squashed by the enemy, the mass base that they have created eventually disappears, although available for recovery in the future. Conservatism amounts to abstinence from tactical offensives, which has played into the enemy campaign plans like those of Oplan Bantay Laya of the Arroyo regime, during which the NPA suffered a decrease in strength from 2005 onward.

At first, the NPA in Mindanao had difficulties of countering enemy offensives under Oplan Bantay Laya and then Bayanihan. But eventually they were able to prevail against the enemy with the effective use of the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare and master the art and science of the tactics of counter encirclement against the enemy encirclements that were bigger but had wider gaps. The Red commanders and fighters had the wisdom to avail of a combination of mass base and rough terrain and the daring to launch tactical offensives against enemy weak points.

In the same way that they benefited from the experience and revolutionary cadres and commanders that came from Eastern Visayas in the 1980s, the CPP and NPA in Mindanao have been sharing the fruits of their victories with their comrades in Luzon and the Visayas their experience and battle-tested cadres and commanders by their redeployment to the regions of Luzon and the Visayas. Since 2017, they have been able to counter and prevail over the escalation of enemy attacks under the conditions of martial law.

A strong nationwide basis for the further advance of the people's war has been established. It is now possible to launch more frequent and more daring tactical offensives on a national scale against enemy weak points. These weak points are in far more areas than the enemy can reinforce, and even where the enemy force is focused it exposes its weak points as soon as it is deployed.

Since the last quarter of 2017, there has been a significant increase of NPA tactical offensives nationwide than a long while before. After concentrating 75 percent of their strength in Mindanao, the enemy armed forces have

sent back more than 10 percent of their strength to the Visayas and Luzon because of the intensified armed resistance here.

### **5. Prospects of the NPA**

The current 5-year plan (2017-2021) of the Central Committee aims to carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement and overthrow the tyrannical US-Duterte regime, and bring the protracted people's war to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive, in order to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate.

The program calls for intensifying anti-fascist agitation, propaganda, organizational work and mobilization against the mass murders and other atrocities of state terrorism, and the scheme to establish a fascist dictatorship through charter change for a bogus kind of federalism. Building the broadest united front and mobilizing the people in their millions is the key to defeating the regime of terror and greed.

First, the program calls for resolving the imbalance of strength, spread and advance of guerrilla warfare between the relatively more advanced regions in Mindanao and those in Luzon and Visayas, and attain effective cooperation and coordination in advancing guerrilla warfare nationwide. The program seeks to develop 7-10 advanced regions, each with more or less 2,000 full-time Red fighters spread throughout Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

Secondly, it calls on the advanced regions to develop subregions with three to five interlocking company-sized guerrilla fronts, to serve as anchors and rallying points for interregional and national advance. The program estimates that we can effectively combat the sustained large-scale enemy operations in the advanced subregions with one or two full or undersized companies with nine to fifteen horizontal platoons in interlocking or adjacent guerrilla fronts, in addition to units of the people's militias spread over several hundred villages.

Thirdly, the program aims to strengthen the NPA several times over and raise its capability in annihilating enemy teams and squads, and later, platoons. Every region and subregion must have a company as vertical force following the ratio of one vertical company to every nine horizontal platoons (or 1:3). There must be recruitment campaigns to increase the NPA guerrilla units and people's militia units and campaigns to generate material and other forms of support.

The NPA must be strengthened through ideological building, strengthening absolute Party leadership, systematic politico-military training and raising its combat capability, in terms of weaponry and technique, active political work to raise the political consciousness, the will to fight and offensive spirit of the Red fighters, strengthen their iron discipline and their close links with the masses.

It calls for building the NPA operational command at the national level down to the subregional level to develop planning, coordination and leadership of the NPA work. It also calls for the recruitment of cadres from workers and the educated youth and for developing, training and promotion of military cadres. It calls for further expansion and training of units of people's militias, self-defense units of mass organizations to develop their capability in waging mass guerrilla warfare. It calls for building partisan units.

Fourthly, the program calls for intensifying guerrilla warfare nationwide and waging all-out resistance against the enemy's all-out war, gradual constriction and win-hold-win and TRIAD campaigns. It calls for carrying out annihilative basic tactical offensives to deliver solid blows against the enemy, punish the worst fascist criminals, weaken the enemy, seize his weapons, strengthen the people's army, advance the masses' antifeudal and other struggles and expand the democratic people's power.

The program calls for firmly opposing military conservatism and repudiating the wrong ideas that bring about such weaknesses such as overestimating the strength of the enemy and underestimating the strength of the people and their army; fear of sacrifices and aspiring for comforts and failure to grasp the crucial necessity of intensifying guerrilla warfare in advancing other military and political tasks, locally and in general; lack of attention of leading Party committees on military work; overconfidence, passivity, over-dispersal of forces and so on. The program calls for maximizing NPA armed strength and its deep and wide mass support it enjoys in order to deliver bigger and more frequent blows against the enemy.

The program calls for strengthening vertical forces as the NPA leading force in mounting tactical offensives. Compared to horizontal forces, vertical forces are more concentrated in order for them to move quickly, by itself or together with horizontal units, when necessary to hit at the isolated and vulnerable enemy units. However, they should also make use of every opportunity to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, help in waging mass campaigns and struggles, participate in production, and conduct training, education and political work in between

battles.

The horizontal or front guerrilla forces, on the other hand, ensure widespread and intensive guerrilla warfare by all-sidedly developing guerrilla fronts in the military, political, economic, organizational, and cultural fields. At every given time, the optimum is for 60 percent of the NPA units to engage in mass work and political work, and 40 percent to carry out tactical offensives.

The program clarifies that mass work in guerrilla fronts is armed propaganda-type, that is, military work, tactical offensives, combating enemy attacks and operations, and raising the military capability of the army and the people. Local guerrilla forces serve as centers of gravity of people's militia units and village self-defense units. There must be a principal front guerrilla unit to serve as anchor and rallying point of all combat maneuvers and resistance.

Mass work should result in building local Party branches and groups, section committees, mass organizations, and organs of political power, in addition to people's militia and self-defense forces. The capacity of local revolutionary forces must be raised to carry out their tasks on their own in order to unburden the local armed units with details of daily administrative work and allow them to concentrate on various aspects of military work.

The program calls for mounting well-planned tactical offensives with the aim of annihilating enemy units and seizing their weapons. The general guidelines and the tactics include the following: Concentrate a bigger force to mount surprise attacks against weaker, smaller and isolated enemy units. Combine numerous body blows with occasional head blows.

Develop interfront, regional, interregional and national planning and coordination of campaigns and operations to boldly intensify guerrilla warfare by taking hold of the entire strength of the people's army and carrying out direct and indirect coordination of various guerrilla forces. Raise the capacity for intelligence work at all levels. Carry out partisan operations in order to punish the enemy in the cities, and in their main lines of communication and transportation.

The NPA has already spread nationwide and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It occupies most of the terrains favorable for guerrilla warfare. It takes full advantage of the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside as well as orchestrating tactical offensives in an archipelago according to the principle of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. The NPA is now in a position to deliver lethal blows to the enemy forces anywhere in the archipelago and thereby raise the level of its armed strength.

The Filipino people and all their revolutionary forces are confident that they will make great strides towards total victory in the revolutionary war for the people's democratic revolution because they are gaining political and armed strength as the crisis of both the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and that of the world capitalist system are simultaneously worsening at an accelerated rate.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening and resulting in worse forms of exploitation and oppression, unprecedented crisis of global proportions, widespread state terrorism and wars of aggression. These are signals for the further rise and eventual victory of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines and the resurgence of the anti-imperialist movements and the world proletarian revolution.

# ***People's War: Status and Prospects***

## **Speech in Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the New People's Army, March 29, 2019**

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Thank you for inviting me to speak on the status and prospects of the people's war in the Philippines and what overseas Filipinos and their friends can do to support such noble revolutionary struggle for the national and social liberation of the people.

I shall discuss my assigned subject on the basis of my direct experience and personal knowledge about the founding of the NPA on March 29, 1969 and the development of the NPA from then to 1977. As regards the succeeding years, I rely on my continued reading and study of Philippine revolutionary publications and analysis that I can do as an observer like you from a distance.

Only three months ago, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) celebrated its 50th founding anniversary under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has been amply proven that the Party is a true and effective leader of the Philippine revolution by waging the people's war.

The Filipino people are advancing in their struggle for national and social liberation because they have such a party and the New People's Army as the weapon for overthrowing the oppressive and exploitative ruling system.

### ***Status of the people's war***

The ceaseless rant of the US-Duterte regime that it is in the process of destroying the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement only serves to stress the fact that these are growing in strength. The NPA is more determined than ever to launch tactical offensives, win resounding victories and defeat the regime's brutal attacks as well as render futile the claims of fake surrenders and fake encounters aimed at deceiving the gullible.

The Filipino people detest the US-Duterte regime because it is traitorous, tyrannical, brutal, corrupt, exploitative and mendacious. It is hellbent on imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people through martial law nationwide and charter change to a bogus kind of federalism. It is exacerbating the oppression and exploitation of the people. Thus, the broad masses of the people are rising up in resistance and the NPA is more than ever determined to deliver lethal blows to the regime.

As the Party leading the Philippine revolution, the CPP has set the general line of people's democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system under US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The CPP has also set the strategic line of protracted people's war for the New People's Army (NPA) to carry out the people's democratic revolution. This politico-military line guides the people's army to fight in the countryside, accumulate strength here until it has adequate strength to seize political power in the cities.

The NPA is entrusted with the task of carrying out the principal form of revolutionary struggle, which is armed struggle aimed at overthrowing the ruling system and installing the people's democratic state. To be able to fight effectively, the NPA has carried out integrally the armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass-base building involving the formation of mass organizations and local organs of political power.

The people's war is now in the stage of strategic defensive in opposition to the strategic offensive posture of the enemy forces that are superior in number, weapons and training. But the NPA has always been determined to launch tactical offensives in order to change the balance of forces and enable itself to reach the strategic stalemate and ultimately the strategic offensive for the total defeat of the enemy forces.

The NPA started in 1969 with only nine rifles and 26 inferior firearms for 60 fighters with a mass base of 80,000 people in the second district of Tarlac province. In 50 years of fighting and conducting mass work, the NPA has reached the force level of several thousands with high-powered rifles. It is now operating in 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 of the 81 provinces of the Philippines. The mass base is now in the millions of people, consisting mainly of poor peasants and farm workers.

The optimal size of the NPA force in a guerrilla front is 90 to 120 fighters. It is supported by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of self-defense units in mass organizations as auxiliary and reserve forces.

The NPA is now in the process of propagating the best examples of carrying out extensive and intensive

guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. In order to intensify the people's war, the NPA units devoted to tactical offensives have been increased to 40 percent and those units devoted to mass work are 60 percent at every given time. Wherever it has occurred, the errors of military conservatism and overdispersal of small NPA units are being rectified.

The NPA has gained the support of the peasant masses nationwide because it ensures the carrying out of the agrarian revolution in two stages: minimal land reform and maximum land reform. This is the main content of the democratic revolution, the satisfaction of the peasants' hunger for land.

Within the context of the national united front, the NPA has built the anti-feudal united front by relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and despotic landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords which are also called the evil gentry.

The foundation of the national united front is the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. This wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie, neutralizes the national bourgeoisie, takes advantage of the contradictions among the factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the worst reactionaries most servile to US imperialism.

The NPA has initiated the building of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, cultural activists, children and other types of people in the countryside. These mass organizations are the solid forces of the revolutionary mass movement within every barangay and are always active to expand their ranks and consolidate themselves further.

The people's democratic government has been formed at the barangay level in two stages. As soon as possible, the barangay organizing committee is formed by appointment as the provisional form of the local organ of political power. Subsequently, the barangay revolutionary committee replaces it when the mass organizations or the entire barangay people are ready to elect its members.

### ***Prospects***

The Filipino people are determined to overthrow the US-Duterte regime and in the process strengthen themselves in the long term struggle to overthrow the ruling system. It is highly probable that the victories of the people's war in the immediate future will inspire and support the urban-based mass movement to grow to such an extent as to shake the regime from ground to rafters.

The people hope that when hundreds thousands or even millions of people take to the streets in the national capital region and in the provinces, the armed subordinates of Duterte would withdraw support from him as they did in the case of Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. Thus, the Duterte scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people will come to an end.

Whatever extent or length of time that Duterte can keep himself in power, the Filipino people and the people's army will persevere in struggle and accumulate strength. The worsening crisis of the ruling system and its constant aggravation by the regime are favorable to the growth in strength and advance of the people's war.

The strength of the people's war is cumulative and its advance accelerates from period to period. But there can be twists and turns, ups and downs in the struggle due to errors and shortcomings. These are subjected to identification, criticism and rectification. The people's war advances in waves by relying on the strength of the revolutionary masses and organized forces and by overcoming errors and tremendous odds.

The Party, the NPA and all other revolutionary forces nationwide are confronted by enemy forces with limited strength, especially because of the crisis of the ruling system and the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. The enemy forces are still strong in military terms and are still on a strategic offensive but they can be defeated piece by piece through intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

The NPA can strengthen its existing guerrilla fronts and further increase their number, multiply the platoons and companies for tactical offensives and advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The tactical offensives will increase and accelerate the further strengthening of the people's army. The NPA will be able to deliver more lethal blows to the reactionary armed forces and police and weaken the reactionary government at various levels. Upon the strengthening of the NPA and other revolutionary forces, it shall also become easier to carry out the agrarian reform on a scale wider than ever before. It shall also become easier to dismantle the logging companies, plantations and mining areas that lessen the amount of land for land reform. Further, it shall be



easier to enforce the laws and regulations of the people's government and collect more tax revenues for the various social programs and other responsibilities of the people's government. The mass organizations in the villages (barangays) will be expanded and consolidated more than ever before. And the local organs of political power will become more effective in performing the functions of government related to administration, land reform, production, finance, health and sanitation, cultural work, defense, arbitration and people's court, environmental protection and disaster relief and rehabilitation. The local organs of political power will give rise to higher levels of people's democratic government from the municipal level upward. They would run parallel to and increasingly become dominant to the corresponding levels of the reactionary government. It is expected that at the stage of the strategic stalemate in the people's war, the NPA shall be able to annihilate entire companies and then battalions of the enemy and the revolutionary movement shall be able to govern effectively entire municipalities and provincial districts. The stage of strategic stalemate will be much shorter than the already 50 years of strategic defensive. The crisis of the ruling system will worsen and inflict more intolerable suffering on the people whose desire for revolution will become stronger. The contradictions among the reactionaries will sharpen. The higher levels of the reactionary government in major cities and provincial capitals would become more unstable and ripe for overthrow by the revolutionary movement. The crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening at an accelerated rate. The neoliberal and neoconservative policies of the US imperialism have inflicted grave suffering on the people of the world and are driving them to resist. The crisis and class struggle in every capitalist country are sharpening and escalating. So are the contradictions among the imperialist powers. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system ensures the continued worsening of the crisis of the ruling system in a neocolonial country like the Philippines under imperialist domination. The contradictions among the factions of the exploiting classes are becoming more violent and generating more favorable conditions for the people's war.

### ***Tasks of Filipinos abroad***

As a result of the chronic crisis and underdevelopment of the economy and the high rate of unemployment, more than 12 million of Filipinos amounting to more than 10 percent of the population and more than 25 percent of the labor force of 44.1 million are abroad in order to work in more than 120 countries.

Let me present in a summary way the tasks concerning overseas Filipinos as I have learned from publications of the CPP as well as those of the mass organizations. Overseas Filipinos must be aroused, organized and mobilized to uphold, and promote their rights and welfare and to support the revolutionary struggle of the people in the motherland.

We must conduct social investigation in order to know the conditions of our overseas Filipino compatriots and thereby learn how to connect with them and how to arouse, organize and mobilize them. We must pursue a patriotic and democratic line in order to unite them to uphold, defend and promote their rights and interests.

They must be aroused to uphold, defend and promote their rights and interests, to concern themselves with the conditions of the Filipino people and the struggle for national and social liberation in the Philippines. support the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

They must be organized as patriotic communities, migrant workers, women, youth, cultural activists, professionals, ethnology-linguistic groups, alumni of the same Philippine schools and otherwise. Each type of mass organization must form chapters at the countrywide and local levels. Campaigns must be undertaken to mobilize them to support the people's struggle in the motherland.

All the members of the mass organizations must be cherished and activated. They must be provided with political and legal education regarding their situation and rights abroad, the Philippine situation and the international situation. They must become aware of their tasks and motivated to carry these out.

They must be mobilized to realize and recognize their collective strength, express their views and demands and encourage the unorganized Filipinos to participate and get organized. For the purpose, outdoor and indoor mass rallies on burning issues, information campaigns, study meetings, conferences and seminars must be undertaken.

The CPP is determined to recruit and train the most advanced elements to become Party members and serve as the core of the mass organizations. Only with the development of proletarian revolutionaries among the masses can we be sure that the mass movement can advance in the direction of the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The NDFP is determined to propagate the grounds for national and democratic unity among the overseas

Filipinos and to promote alliances and federations among their organizations. Such grounds are laid down in the NDFP program for a people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. In this regard, the NDFP takes its own initiatives and participate in cooperative projects and common activities.

Efforts must be exerted to build friendship associations and solidarity organizations with the host and other peoples. Special attention must be given to the participation of Filipinos and their foreign spouses. Solidarity and support must be won from the various parties and organizations of the host people and other migrants through joint campaigns and activities.

Solidarity and partnership must be developed between the CPP and other parties and between the Philippine-based mass organizations and their counterpart organizations abroad. Cultural exchanges and reciprocal visits must be encouraged and arranged whenever possible.

Comrades and friends in developed and higher income countries have the capacity to visit the Philippines for study tours and interaction with Philippine organizations. They must be encouraged to visit the Philippines and become closer and more supportive of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation. They can also find ways to invite their Filipino partners and friends to visit their countries.

The NDFP is resolved to develop friendly relations with parties and foreign government agencies whenever possible. It has been demonstrated in peace negotiations with the reactionary government that the NDFP and other Filipino organizations can cooperate with governments abroad for such and other lawful purposes.

The Philippine revolutionary movement led by the CPP has been self-reliant. The strength that it has gained in 50 years comes mostly and mainly from the struggle and sacrifices of the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces. But the CPP and other revolutionary forces are highly conscious of the need for international solidarity among peoples. The Philippine revolution can support revolutionary and progressive struggles abroad as well as draw support from them.

The Filipino people and other peoples of the world are confronted with monopoly capitalism or imperialism as the common enemy. It is therefore necessary for them to unite in a common struggle to defeat the common enemy and create a new world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development, cultural progress, healthy environment and peace.

Long live the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation!

Long live all Filipino compatriots abroad!

Long live international solidarity!

***Continuity and Rupture by Uriah Marc Todoroff***

**May 25, 2019**

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*Review: Continuity and Rupture speaks in its dénouement of the possibility of a people's war in the heart of empire: a new strategy leading to new tactics of advancing class struggle. There are groups experimenting with protracted people's war in the fringes of global capital, Moufawad-Paul reminds us: whether or not it could work in the most developed nations has yet to be determined (209).*

JMS: People's war in the most developed countries may be defined as the armed revolution by the masses of the proletariat and other oppressed people. For such people's war to materialize and succeed, there must be a protracted period of preparations involving ideological, political, organizational and prudent military work in the face of the chronic crisis of imperialism.

But protracted people's war as carried out successfully by Mao in China cannot be duplicated in any developed country where the peasantry is no longer the majority class and cannot be the social terrain where the communist party of the proletariat and the people's army can grow from small and weak to big and strong in stages of developing people's war. For so long, there has been talk about people's war and protracted people's war in imperialist countries, But so far, no Maoist or any communist party whatsoever has carried out any sustained and successful armed struggle in any developed country.

Assuming that the communist party does well its ideological, political and organizational work and succeeds in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the proletarian and other masses, there are prudent military preparations that can be made legally such as systematically sending in discreet revolutionary cadres into the reactionary army (as the Bolsheviks did), acquiring and making the firearms for the formation of community self-defense against criminals and sporting gun clubs for leisurely target practice and pleasure hunting and providing the firearm-holders and the youth organizations with politico-military training.

*Review: A movement whose basis for unity cannot bridge all movements is no more than a mob of plebeians. Maoism provides a framework for incorporating the demands of the multitude into a scientific approach to revolution that no other ideology offers.*

JMS: Indeed, there ought to be unity to bridge all movements or a revolutionary core that unites all movements. Otherwise, there is a mob that is easily crushed by the enemy or dissipates eventually. Maoism provides the ideological and political framework for incorporating and integrating the demands of the toiling masses into a scientific approach to revolution that no other ideology offers.

*Review: The events of 1988 and 1993 are the points when Maoism became something more than anti-revisionist Leninism. For Moufawad-Paul, these two events are responsible for codifying Maoism as a "new theoretical terrain" (xii). First, in 1988 the PCP published a document titled On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.*

JMS: Maoism is a comprehensive development of Marxism-Leninism with such components as philosophy, class analysis, party building, rectification, mass movement, people's war, economic and cultural work, socialist revolution and construction and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the proletarian cultural revolution to combat modern revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

What constitutes the most important contribution of Maoism to the development of Marxism-Leninism is the aforesaid theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution. This is the component that completes and culminates Maoism as the third stage in the development of Marxism.

Longer than the Paris Commune of 1871 that prototyped the proletarian revolution, Maoism prevailed over revisionism and the restoration of capitalism for ten years even as the revisionists or capitalist-roaders continued to resist. Without said cultural revolution as component of Maoism, there is no explanation and hope for proletarian-socialist revolution after the complete restoration of capitalism in China, Russia and elsewhere. Mao laid down the fundamental principles of this component, unlike the other components which he further developed but for which Marxism and Leninism had earlier developed the fundamental principles.

*Review: The philosophical puzzle Clark unearths is the central problem of Continuity and Rupture; Marx alluded to it long ago when he wrote “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas.”[5] Clark writes that the proletariat internalizes bourgeois ideology; without studying revolutionary theory, they will not know what is in their best interests, much less how to go about realizing them. To learn theory, the proletariat looks to “petty-bourgeois intellectuals” and as a result, the direction of such a movement will be determined “in the final instance” by petty-bourgeois ideology (96) .*

JMS: Definitely, the communist party must wage and generate an ideological, political and cultural struggle that results in the arousal, organization and mobilization of the masses and that can discredit, isolate and defeat the ideas and state power of the ruling capitalist class. The big bourgeoisie promotes its own ideas and at the same time encourages and funds the ideas of the petty bourgeoisie in order to influence and captivate the proletarian masses. As a matter of historical sequence, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are ahead in spreading their own ideas among the workers before the communist party begins its ideological, political and cultural work.

*Review: The synthesis that he sees as having affected the aufheben of Leninism into Maoism was the organizational technique of the mass line, and the theory of Cultural Revolution behind it. The party learns the demands of the oppressed, and interprets these demands through the ideology of Marxism-Leninism: “from the masses, to the masses.” The mass-line forces the opposing poles of revolution and revisionism into contact; it is the continuous process of addressing the unavoidable presence of bourgeois ideology within the revolutionary party.*

JMS: Lenin’s teaching that “without revolutionary theory there is no mass movement” remains valid. But of course the communist party and its cadres have the obligation to apply their theory and political line in carrying out social investigation and class analysis. From the masses they get the facts of their needs, demands and problems and to the masses they must bring back the correct ideas and sharpened slogans for fighting and defeating the ruling bourgeois class, the revisionists, reformists, opportunists and all the blatant reactionaries.

*Review: The reconfiguration of post-revolutionary society must extend beyond the economic base, into its ideological superstructure. If we are to attain the telos of a “fully-automated luxury communist utopia,” the question Moufawad-Paul raises from his historical study, “how to consolidate the cultural revolution so as to win the class struggle that continues socialism” is an open question, newly encountered by history; its resolution remains open to class conflict (24).*

JMS: Socialist society is not a “post revolutionary” society. As Mao pointed out, classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society. Although the old exploiting classes have been defeated and deprived of power and wealth, their influence continues in the common notions, customs and habits that persist among the people. And a new bourgeois class can arise from the intelligentsia and bureaucrats who enjoy the petty bourgeois conditions of life and then want more in contempt of the toiling masses.

Thus, there is the need for continuing revolution under the proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution in order to combat selfishness and revisionism. Class struggle is the key to the cultural revolution as in other fields and forms of struggle in socialist society. Without the cultural revolution in socialist society, the old and new monsters of capitalism would emerge through the revisionists and resurgent reactionaries.

*Review: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism offers, for the first time, a scientific approach to the demands of identity politics: its “party of the new type,” formed by the most oppressed members of society, engages in a praxis determined by the interests of these marginalized people. At the same time, Moufawad-Paul writes, if Maoism is contiguous with the Marxist insight that “class struggle is the motor of history” (12), a party of the new type will preserve a political line determined by class “in the final instance” (149).*

JMS: Like its historical and ideological Marxist-Leninist base, Maoism is integrative of all positive demands and trends among the people within the framework of the class struggle. Class struggle is the alpha and omega. It is the motor of history in the epochal struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

*Review: The strategic “destiny” of Lenin’s party is insurrection, the middle path that walks between the revisionism of right opportunists like Bernstein and Kautsky; and ultra-leftism, what Lenin called “the infantile disorder” (206). The Maoist party is a completely different organization that will produce its own logical destiny. In their 1993 statement, RIM called protracted people’s war (PPW) the Maoist theory of strategy. Continuity and Rupture finishes by acknowledging that there is still some debate over whether PPW is universal, or whether perhaps insurrection is more suited for developed nations.*

JMS: If you start the armed struggle, whatever you call it and whether you start it in the city or the countryside

of an advanced capitalist country, that armed struggle will surely fail to grow and advance if there are no ideological, political, organizational and prudent military preparations of sufficient duration and if the ruling class can still rule in the old way, command a strong unified army and is not yet sufficiently debilitated by crisis, mass discontent, social turmoil, an external war or an inter-imperialist war like World War I and II.

As taught and won by Mao, protracted people's war is a product of the class analysis of Chinese society and the interrelationship of the working class as the leading force and the peasantry as the main force against the imperialist, big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. In such a war, the countryside and the peasantry provide the wide physical and social terrain for the development of people's war in stages over a protracted period of time.

*Review: JMoufawad-Paul proposes that the debate over the universal validity of PPW comes from "a lingering confusion between the name and concept of Maoism" (212), and that people's war is the right strategy for a mass party. "This party of the new type, by aiming to diffuse itself amongst the masses, ought to begin the process of making revolution in its diffusion," Moufawad-Paul writes. "Such an organization spreads its tentacles into every struggle, through innumerable fronts, so as to accumulate advanced forces that will become the germinal sites of military opposition" (218).*

JMS: Any kind of armed revolution involving the masses of the exploited and oppressed can be validly called a people's war. To make such a people's war, the communist party and the mass organizations it leads must "spread their tentacles into every struggle, through innumerable fronts, so as to accumulate advanced forces that will become the germinal sites of military opposition." Of course, the armed revolution must be preceded by ideological, political, organizational and prudent military preparations.

*Review: Following Moufawad-Paul to the end, the science of making revolution proposes a protracted armed struggle, waged by those with "nothing left to lose but their chains" and their allies, led by a vanguard party spread amongst the wretched of the earth. War is present; war is being waged against us. It is important to understand that socialism or barbarism really means "socialism or planetary destruction." State monopoly on violence cannot be allowed to persist.*

# ***On the Question of People's War in Industrial Capitalist Countries***

May 28, 2019

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I have been asked many times by avowed proletarian revolutionaries whether protracted people's war as carried out by Mao in China can be successfully waged in capitalist countries where the industrial proletariat has become the majority class and the peasantry has become a minority class.

I will try to answer the question in a theoretical and hypothetical way on the basis of history and social conditions and within the existing constitutional and legal bounds of industrial capitalist countries. In the process, I will deal with the notion of some people that Mao's theory of protracted people's war is universally valid and applicable.

## ***Protracted people's war in China and the Philippines***

Mao himself explained in his own time that protracted people's war is not only possible but necessary for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to realize a successful people's democratic revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country in chronic crisis.

By applying the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, the proletarian revolutionaries can lead the people's army to grow from small and weak to big and strong in stages by availing of the countryside as a wide area of maneuver and getting the support of the peasant masses as the main force of the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party could successfully use the countryside for a protracted period of time in order to accumulate enough armed and political strength to ultimately seize the cities and thereby win the people's struggle for democracy and socialism.

I adhere to Mao's theory and practice of protracted people's war in my writings on the specific conditions of the Philippines for armed revolution. And I have taken into account the archipelagic and mountainous character of the Philippines among other considerations.

The armed revolution led by the Communist Party of the Philippines has been able to preserve itself and gain strength for more than 50 years by carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war, despite all the strategic plans of successive US and puppet regimes to crush it and despite drastic changes in the world, such as the full restoration of capitalism in China and the collapse of the Soviet Union since 1991.

In industrial capitalist countries, the proletarian revolutionaries cannot begin the revolutionary war with a small and weak people's army in the countryside and hope to use the wide space and indefinite time in the countryside to sustain the war.

As soon as that army dares to launch the first tactical offensive, it will be overwhelmed by the huge armed army and the highly unified economic, communications and transport system of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

However, the term "people's war" may be flexibly used to mean the necessary armed revolution by the people to overthrow the bourgeois state in an industrial capitalist country. But definitely, what ought to be protracted is the preparation for the armed revolution with the overwhelming participation of the people.

As Lenin pointed out, the revolution cannot win unless the capitalist system has been so gravely stricken by crisis that the ruling class can no longer rule in the old way, the people are desirous of revolutionary change and the revolutionary party of the proletariat is strong enough to lead the revolution.

It is futile to ignite armed revolution in the city or in the countryside without due regard to the objective conditions and subjective factors of the revolution. An urban armed insurrection against the capitalist state can succeed only as a result of grave debilitation by its internal crisis, the crisis of the world capitalist system, involvement in an inter-capitalist or inter-imperialist war and the rise of the revolutionary mass movement with sufficient armed strength.

## ***Historical examples of armed proletarian revolution***

The Paris Commune of 1871 showed that the proletarian revolutionaries could wage a successful urban insurrection when France was preoccupied with the Franco-Prussian war and the armed city guards themselves carried out the insurrection, with the overwhelming support of the proletarian masses.

In imperialist Russia, the Bolsheviks had the foresight to sow cadres as revolutionary seeds within the Tsarist army. When the masses of troops became discontented like the people in the course of World War I, they rose up to overthrow the Tsar and then the Kerensky bourgeois government. Subsequently, they waged a successful war against the reactionaries and the foreign interventionists in the countryside of the vast Russian empire.

Even before they were favored by the monopoly bourgeoisie to govern Germany and directly use state terrorism to suppress the proletariat and its revolutionary party, the German fascists formed their armed groups or paramilitary organization and collaborated with the army and police of the capitalist state to break workers' strikes and people's protests.

During the severe crisis of the Weimar Republic, the German communists and social democrats had also their own armed groups but were surpassed by the fascists at the crucial points. But the lesson remains valid that proletarian revolutionaries and the people must always strive to excel and be successful at both preparations and actual conduct of the armed revolution.

During World War II, the partisans could arise in several European countries, such as in France, Italy and elsewhere, to wage partisan warfare against the fascists. Where fascism first rose to power in 1922, the communists and the people engaged in guerrilla warfare in both urban and rural areas until they could hang the fascist dictator and come to the verge of taking state power.

Based on the foregoing historical facts, it is always wise for the organized revolutionary proletariat and masses to assume and anticipate that the capitalist system is prone to crisis and that the monopoly bourgeoisie resorts to fascism in order to head off the proletarian revolution. Even if the material foundation for socialism exists in capitalism, the proletariat must first defeat fascism, thus winning the battle for democracy, before socialism can triumph.

It is logical and necessary for proletarian revolutionaries to arm themselves, be consciously disciplined and conduct politico-military training in preparation for future armed conflict. I presume that the armed capability of the proletarian revolutionaries is in the first place bound by ideological, political and organizational principles and rules.

As the Bolsheviks did, the proletarian revolutionaries can also deploy cadres for revolutionary work in the reactionary army, especially because most of the soldiers come from the working class. A capitalist state can in the future become so debilitated by crisis and war that its reactionary armed services tend to disintegrate, like the Tsarist army in World War I.

As regards to obtaining and keeping arms covertly for decades and launching small-formation offensives under the most limited and difficult conditions, the revolutionary armed organizations in Ireland and Palestine provide good examples of conscious discipline, skillfulness, resourcefulness and durability due to mass support of entire communities opposing an occupying force. However, they are in situations and processes of development which are not typical in capitalist countries today.

### ***Considerations for arming the proletariat***

By the current constitutional and legal standards of the industrial capitalist countries that pretend to be liberal-democratic, any individual can legally acquire firearms for the purpose of sport and self-defense against criminals as well as against the potential of the state to become tyrannical and oppressive.

In the United States of America no less, the arms manufacturers invoke the constitutional right of citizens to bear arms in order to keep wide the domestic market for the sale of weapons, despite the bourgeois liberal clamor for stricter gun licensing laws, disarming the white supremacists and the overblown jihadists and keeping the arms out of the reach of children who are in the first place heavily influenced by the US culture of imperialism and senseless violence.

In quite a number of industrial capitalist countries, citizens are allowed to keep the firearms that they acquire in military training under the auspices of the bourgeois state. And they have no problems like a few American crazies and a few children using firearms from the home armory to shoot and kill innocent people in schools and other public places.

It is therefore possible to organize proletarians with firearms as sporting gun clubs, as community self-defense organizations and as voluntary security for public events and structures. But of course it is unwise to make displays of armed groups of people and at the same time provocatively declare themselves in opposition to the capitalist state, its army and police.

Such imprudence would immediately prompt state measures of violent suppression, as in the historical case of the Black Panthers. In capitalist societies, it is the fascists and other reactionary armed groups that are privileged to publicly boast of their arms and their military training and exercises.

It is also unwise to bring arms to mass protests that are supposed to be legal and peaceful and where most of the people are unarmed and are far from ready to launch an armed insurrection. It is wise for the revolutionary party of the proletariat not to declare publicly the intent of building a people's army before the conditions are ripe for armed revolution.

Whatever are gun licensing laws and no matter how strict they are, there are also among the people those who have the skills, materials and equipment to make firearms discreetly in their private garages and work sheds. In the long-term effort to prepare for people's war against the fascists and the capitalist state, the people can acquire and make firearms.

While there are yet no conditions for fighting and using the arms in a particular capitalist country, proletarian revolutionaries ought to continue arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses in legal and persuasive ways with the confidence that they have the means of self-defense to fight back with certain success against the fascists and capitalist state when the necessity arises.

Far more important than acquiring or making the firearms is fulfilling the ideological, political and organizational tasks to make the proletariat and its party truly revolutionary. But, of course, it is more important to have firearms before the fascists come to power than not to have any when the fascists are already in the process of taking power.

To repeat the point, for the purpose of emphasis, even in the USA, the people have the constitutional right to have firearms to preclude the state from monopolizing arms and thus allow the citizenry to have the arms to oppose and overthrow a tyrannical or oppressive government when it arises. And there are many particular legal reasons for citizens to bear arms.

### ***Worsening global conditions and proletarian internationalism***

In the aftermath of the full restoration of capitalism and collapse of the Soviet Union, US imperialism enjoyed the status of the sole superpower in a unipolar world and proceeded to carry out in a reckless and aggressive way its neoliberal economic policy and neoconservative military policy, unwittingly undermining its own strength and accelerating its strategic decline. Now, under Trump, the US is acting protectionist and more bellicose than ever.

The strategic decline of the US has become obvious in economic and financial terms since the crisis of 2008, although the US has become more bellicose. The rise of China and Russia as new imperialist powers has aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and has intensified inter-imperialist contradictions in a conspicuously multipolar world.

The imperialist powers always try to shift the burden of crisis to the proletariat and people of the world, who consequently suffer the escalation of oppression and exploitation and who are ultimately driven to resist. The imperialists will someday force the issue of armed revolution to the proletarian revolutionaries and masses in some of the capitalist countries. Right now, the imperialist states are becoming more repressive and are also generating fascist movements.

While proletarian revolutionaries are not yet immediately faced with the need to launch an armed revolution in any capitalist country, they can also consider in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity to share their revolutionary ideas, experience and capabilities, including arms and their skills in making these, with the proletariat and people who are preparing for armed revolution or are already engaged in it in the underdeveloped countries.

The spread and development of people's war in the underdeveloped countries or in the countryside of the world can be helpful to the rise of armed revolution in the capitalist countries. At present, the imperialist powers headed by the USA are carrying out military intervention and wars of aggression on a wide scale in the underdeveloped countries. Thus, all concrete acts of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity are urgently needed.



## ***Follow-up Note: On the Question of Protracted People's War in Industrial Capitalist Countries***

June 8, 2019

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Waging protracted people's war in any industrial capitalist country is not a matter of dogmatically asserting it or putting every part of my article out of its clear context.

For many decades already, I have heard of the notion or threat to wage a protracted people's war in imperialist countries but to this day I have not seen any Maoist party proclaiming and actually starting it in any imperialist country.

In fact, I am not aware of any Maoist party in an industrially developed capitalist country strong enough to lead any armed revolution with the participation of any sizeable proletarian masses in the industrial and service sectors of the economy. Nowhere in the industrial capitalist countries is there any Maoist party as formidable as the Bolshevik party in the trade unions and workers' cooperatives in the run until the October revolution of 1917.

There is no protracted people's war of any kind going on in any industrial capitalist country. What has been protracted is merely idle talk or hot air about the possibility of waging protracted people's war. No serious preparations for it are being made. There can never be such a people's war without preparations for a certain period of time, depending on the subjective factors and the objective conditions. It will take at least some years to prepare and to realize the start of such armed revolution of the people.

A people's war of whatever duration and scale is possible in the industrial capitalist country only after a period of preparations of ideological work, political education and mass work, party and mass organizing, clandestine accumulation of arms, politico-military training and Bolshevik style penetration of the reactionary armed forces. Such preparations or suggestions thereof should not be disdained or begrudged.

These preparations ought to take advantage of the imperialist crises and wars, splits among the imperialist powers, violent contradictions among reactionary factions in the imperialist countries, the revolutionary advances being made in the underdeveloped countries, the desire of the proletariat and the people for revolutionary change and the strength of the revolutionary party to lead the armed revolution of the people in their millions.

It is only a "Left" opportunist, a fake Maoist or even an agent provocateur who has disdain for the lasting admonition of the Communist Manifesto to win the battle for democracy against the bourgeois class dictatorship and who clamors for proclaiming and starting a people's war in an industrial capitalist country without the necessary preparations of the subjective forces and the favorable objective conditions that I have mentioned.

Winning the battle for democracy does not mean merely competing with the bourgeoisie within the confines of its class dictatorship but fighting in every possible and necessary way the attempt of the monopoly bourgeoisie to misrepresent itself as the center of moderation and to use reformism or social democracy and fascism as its two arms to stave off the proletarian revolution by debilitating or destroying it.

In any kind of country, the serious Maoist party makes concrete plans and preparations for armed revolution. The Filipino proletarian revolutionaries had to study the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people's war, conduct social investigation and mass work in the effort to develop the party, the people's army and the united front as the weapons of the people's revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

To prepare for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, the Filipino proletarian revolutionaries used a full decade of ideological, political and organizational work and some five years of politico-military training and linking up with remnants of the old people's army whose main force had been decimated from 1950 to 1952.

Communists proclaim their ideological position and political program and never conceal their ultimate goal of overthrowing the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replacing it with that of the proletariat. But they are smart enough to use both the open and legal as well as the clandestine and nonlegal forms of struggle and methods of developing the revolutionary mass movement towards the proletarian-socialist revolution. And they are prudent enough not to go into the pitfalls of being "Left" and Right opportunist, the fake Maoist or the agent.



# ***The Key Role of the New People's Army in the People's Democratic Revolution***

March 29, 2020

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In advance of the 51<sup>st</sup> founding anniversary of the New People's Army, journalists, academics and activists have asked me what is the key role of the NPA and related questions in the context of the ongoing people's democratic revolution in the Philippines.

I have relied on my background knowledge and reading of current publications from the Philippines to explain the role of the NPA as the cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army would themselves do. I write this paper for sharing my views with the widest possible range of readers.

## ***The NPA under the leadership of the CPP***

Three months after its founding on December 26, 1968, the CPP as the vanguard party of the proletariat established under its absolute leadership the NPA on March 29, 1969 and gathered support for it from the mass movement of workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, women, youth and the intelligentsia.

Guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the CPP has analyzed the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people war.

The Filipino people confront the ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats who serve and perpetuate the basic problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

These are the evil forces that oppress and exploit the Filipino people, remove from the country a great part of the social wealth created by the toiling masses of workers and peasants and cause underdevelopment, unemployment, low incomes, lack of social services and mass poverty.

The counterrevolutionary state always tries in vain to deflect attention from the real causes of social ills by blaming the oppressed and exploited masses for their own oppression and exploitation as well as by vilifying their legal mass protests and armed revolutionary resistance. The social realities instantly belie the psywar claims that the ruling system would run well in developing the economy and delivering services to the people if it were not for the revolutionary resistance.

Currently taking the name of the Filipino nation in vain, the rabid anti-communists in power unleash state terrorism against the people under Proclamation 374 and Executive Order No. 70. The fiat has the aim of totally destroying the revolutionary movement and even the legal democratic forces in the name of anti-communism. They engage in red-tagging, killing people, faking surrenders and bombing rural communities to preserve traditional landlordism as well as to enable logging, mining and plantation companies to take over the land.

They know no bounds for imposing on the people state terrorism on the pretext of anti-terrorism. Thus, they are in the process of enacting the Anti-Terrorist Law by amending the so-called Human Security Act to allow the regime and its armed minions to arbitrarily call anyone a terrorist, make warrantless arrests, detain people for 14 days without any charge and have no liability for any wrongful detention.

It is absolutely clear that the main objective of the people's democratic revolution is to achieve full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization and patriotic and progressive culture before there can be a basis for socialism.

It is an imperative just cause for the entire revolutionary movement of the people to confront and fight the traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and deceptive Duterte regime. This evil regime subjects the Filipino people to the most terrible forms of oppression and exploitation like the Marcos fascist dictatorship did from 1972 to 1986.

It practises the most horrendous forms of state terrorism in the futile attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement of the people. Bankrupted by its exploitative character and worsening crisis, the counterrevolutionary state knows no better than to engage in gross and systematic human rights violations.

In exercising theoretical leadership in the revolutionary movement, the CPP takes the vantage point of the revolutionary industrial proletariat to take into account the history, current circumstances and socialist direction of the people's democratic revolution.

In exercising political leadership, the CPP makes sure that it gains strength as the vanguard party of the revolution and that it must wield revolutionary armed struggle to effect the seizure of political power and the united front in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions.

In exercising organizational leadership, the CPP must build the proletarian revolutionary core in the NPA and mass movement and apply the principle of democratic centralism. It must grow in strength by recruiting Party members from the ranks of Red commanders and fighters and the activists in mass organizations and institutions.

### ***The NPA as instrument for the central task of the revolution***

The central task in any revolutionary struggle is the seizure of political power. The New People's Army plays the key role in smashing and destroying the military and bureaucratic machinery of the counterrevolutionary state and enabling the people's democratic revolution to arise.

The united front is for various forms of struggle, legal and otherwise, in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions. But it is principally for armed struggle on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class and its advanced detachment, the CPP.

The revolutionary armed struggle in a country like the Philippines is the way to gain the participation of the peasants in their millions. It is integrated with agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base and the organs of political power in the countryside.

The reactionaries mock at the revolutionary forces for having been unable in the last 51 years to seize the presidential palace in Manila. But they obscure the fact that the revolutionary forces and movement of the people have already established on a national scale the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government.

What is most gratifying about the strategic line of protracted people's power is that it lays the ground for developing the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry in building the people's democratic government in the countryside even as the people's army is not yet capable of seizing the cities.

The strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside allows the people's army to have the widest social and physical terrain for preserving itself, luring in and destroying the enemy force piece by piece and growing in strength through the stages of the strategic defensive, stalemate and offensive by using tactical offensives at each stage to change the balance of strength at every stage.

The NPA is determined to build the revolutionary bases and accumulate armed political strength for advancing wave upon wave until the cities become ripe for seizure. It has become tempered like steel in the crucible of revolutionary armed struggle in 51 years.

It has thousands of Red fighters well-trained and battle-tested in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 provinces out of the 81 Philippine provinces. It coordinates with the people's militia and the self-defense units of mass organizations as auxiliary and reserve forces. It enjoys the support of millions of people in mass organizations and under the local organs of political power.

NPA units follow the command of 14 regional operational commands under the National Operational Command. The CPP exercises its absolute leadership over the NPA through the Central Committee and its Military Commission, through the regional Party committees directing the respective regional operational commands and through the Party branches and groups in NPA companies, platoons and squads.

The NPA conducts a fluid war of movement and maneuvers freely in more than 80 percent of the Philippine territory. It is now carrying out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and ever deepening mass base. In every guerrilla front, one third of the NPA is relatively concentrated and ever ready for waging battles that it can win. Two-thirds are relatively dispersed for mass work.

The NPA has a flexible strategy and tactics. It can concentrate, disperse and shift its units according to need and advantage. It seeks and plans for battles, raids and arrest operations to defeat the enemy and seize his arms. To develop the Red commanders and fighters, they are rotated periodically in carrying out combat and non-combat tasks. Neighboring and adjoining guerrilla fronts are developing coordination, inter-operability and mutual support.

The NPA confronts and fights the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), which is the main component of the reactionary state power and is a puppet mercenary force of US imperialism. Despite the pretenses of the Duterte regime that it is terminating the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and shaking off military dependence on the US, the puppet Philippine government remains bound to the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty, Mutual Logistics Support Agreement, Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement and Operation Pacific Eagle-Philippines. The VFA may undergo only minor refurbishing.

The AFP is hated by the people as the brutal instrument of the US and the Duterte regime. It is against the national and democratic rights and interests of the people. It robs the tax money extracted from the people. It is extremely costly, corrupt, overextended and ineffective as a fighting force.

The US military assists the AFP in establishing, indoctrinating and training new combat units including the Light Reaction Regiment, the 1st Brigade Combat Team and the 2nd Brigade Combat Team which are all based in Fort Magsaysay, where the US maintains facilities under the EDCA. Until this time, however, the AFP has only 140 maneuver battalions, of which, 35 are deployed in Luzon; 19 in the Visayas; and 83 in Mindanao (19 battalions in Moro areas, and 64 in NPA areas).

Close to 85 percent or 118 battalions are deployed against the entire NPA and close to 55 percent of these are directed against the NPA in Mindanao, mainly in the Eastern Mindanao regions. Combined AFP and PNP troop deployment is highest in Southern Mindanao, followed by Southern Tagalog, Eastern Visayas, North Central Mindanao, Far South Mindanao and Negros.

The aim of the AFP is to deploy one combat battalion against every NPA guerrilla front, in the vain hope of crushing the entire NPA through intelligence, psywar and combat operations. But the AFP is extremely anti-people and too puny and impotent in relation to the size of the Philippine population and land.

The enemy forces are being worn down and worn out by the people's war. And the regime is already bankrupting the government treasury with military overspending and corruption in the acquisition of equipment, fake surrender projects and fake community support projects. Even then, the

Duterte regime feeds daily to the bourgeois press false claims that the NPA fighters are either surrendering or getting killed and that it has wiped out far more than the supposed size of the entire NPA.

On the contrary, the NPA mounted last year at least 710 big and small military actions against the enemy. These include ambushes and raids on enemy detachments, harassments, disarming, demolition, sapper and partisan operations and punitive actions. At least 651 enemy troops were killed and more than 465 were wounded in action. The casualties are equivalent to around 30 platoons or two battalions of enemy troops.

The people's war is now in the process of moving from the middle to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive. The NPA can win tactical offensives in order to further increase its arms and debilitate its enemy. Under strategic guidelines from the NPA national operational command to the regional commands, all the guerrilla fronts can be directed to carry out a monthly minimum quota of annihilative battles to increase their arms.

The NPA is now mastering the use of platoons and multiplying them on a nationwide scale for the purpose of guerrilla warfare. Occasionally these platoons can be concentrated for company-size offensives whenever possible. The NPA is determined to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate with the increasing use of companies for regular mobile warfare in most guerrilla fronts.

### ***Since the Second Congress of the Party***

Since its Second Congress in 2016, the CPP has directed the rectification of the major error of conservatism which has overstressed mass work at the expense of tactical offensives. The overdispersal of the armed force of a guerrilla front into teams or squads for mass work is being corrected. A third of the armed force is relatively concentrated for tactical offensives and two-thirds are relatively dispersed for mass work.

The constant reference by the counterrevolutionary state to the NPA as the No. 1 threat to "national security" attests to the great victory of the NPA in developing itself as the instrument of the people in their struggle for national and social liberation. All the reactionary regimes from Marcos to Duterte have failed to suppress the armed revolution with all their strategic campaigns of military suppression designed and supported by US imperialism.

The armed revolutionary movement of the people in the Philippines can be praised for having preserved itself, persevered and grown in strength on a nationwide scale in an archipelagic country which has often been described as the favorite neocolony of the US and sometimes as the unsinkable armada of the US in the Pacific Ocean.

The people's war has advanced by overcoming the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos and the strategic plan

of every post-Marcos regime to destroy it. The NPA has been most inspiring to all Filipino revolutionaries and has become the haven and fighting base for those who can no longer act legally in the urban areas in the face of rampant red-tagging and extrajudicial killing of social activists and human rights defenders.

The strength of the armed revolution has grown to such an extent that the counterrevolutionary state seeks peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines from time to time. The NDFP has engaged in peace negotiations to assert the status of belligerency of the armed revolution, spread the program of the new democratic revolution to the people in their millions, probe the possibility of basic social, economic and political reforms and expose the unjust and unreasonable policies and actions of the enemy regime.

Like the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the Duterte tyrannical regime unwittingly creates the most favorable conditions for people's war. It oppresses and exploits the people in the extreme and thus compels them to wage revolution. Brutality and corruption run rampant in tandem. Trillions of pesos are wasted in bureaucratic and military corruption, in graft-laden infrastructure projects, in the militarization of civil government functions and in the soaring appropriations for the military and police.

Such trillions of pesos of pesos could have been redirected towards national industrialization and genuine agrarian reform if the Duterte regime were seriously interested in negotiating and achieving a just peace with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines by addressing the roots of the civil war through social, economic and political reforms.

But the uppermost interest of the regime is to gain absolute power to enable absolute corruption and yet to perpetuate puppetry to imperialism. Thus, it is completely just for the Filipino people to carry out the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and build their own organs of political power in the expanse of the countryside before the seizure of the cities in the strategic offensive of the future.

The Covid-19 pandemic is an intrusion into the familiar flow of Philippine events and appears to be an apolitical phenomenon. But it has a tremendous impact and far-reaching consequences that are greatly injurious to the Filipino people. It involves the criminal responsibility of the Duterte regime for the entry and spread of the pandemic in the Philippines by refusing to carry out a travel ban on more than half a million travellers from China, including thousands from Wuhan, since January.

The regime has also failed to make adequate preparations to fight the pandemic, like the deployment of health workers to do mass testing at the community level and make referrals of the sick for treatment in hospitals and health centers. It has carried out lockdowns and other repressive measures to prevent the working people from earning their subsistence and the sick people from getting the appropriate and necessary treatment.

Production has taken a plunge, the people are starving from lack of food aid and compensation for the disruption of work and livelihoods by the lockdowns. And the pandemic continues to spread. After failing to deploy the available resources to fight the pandemic, Duterte uses it as the pretext for grabbing absolute power and hundreds of billions of pesos of public money.

His criminal acts, the pandemic and the deepening economic, political and moral bankruptcy of the ruling system are inciting the people to rise up and oust the Duterte regime. The regime has isolated itself from the people by its own crimes and cannot buoy itself up by begging for external aid because the world capitalist system is now in the vortex of a grave crisis.

The financial and economic collapse is occurring in the first quarter of 2020 at a rate faster than that in the period of the Great Depression from 1929 onward. We can be certain that the rapid worsening of the crises of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the world capitalist system inflict extremely intolerable suffering of the people and thus generate exceedingly favorable conditions for the rapid rise and advance of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

### ***The high standing of the Philippine revolution in the world***

The armed revolution in the Philippines is highly laudable for having been well-rooted in the dire conditions and demands of the Filipino people and having thrived self-reliantly and survived the systematic attempts of the Dengist counterrevolution to liquidate the people's wars in Southeast Asia in the name of regional peace and capitalist development.

Because of the CPP's long-standing and firm Maoist and anti-revisionist line, the people's war in the Philippines has never been demoralized by the victory of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration in China and in the former Soviet Union and by the rise of US imperialism as the sole superpower from 1991 to the recent years.

Now, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are more inspired than ever before as the crisis of the world capitalist system has worsened and US imperialism has declined from being the sole superpower to being one of the imperialist powers in the multipolar world. It is still the No. 1 imperialist power but is on a downward course in contrast to the economic and military rise of its chief rival China.

The people's democratic revolution stands to benefit from the intensifying contradictions among the imperialist powers, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, between the imperialist powers and countries assertive of national independence and between labor and capital in the imperialist countries,

It stands to gain from the rising anti-imperialist struggles in all continents and from the looming resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. The anti-imperialist struggles are against the neoliberal modes of exploitation, wars of aggression, mass unemployment, low incomes, austerity measures, rising costs of living, gender discrimination and environmental destruction.

By persevering in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have been acknowledged as a torch-bearer of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles on a world scale and are contributing significantly to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

Since the financial crash of 2008 in the world capitalist system, the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization has rapidly unravelled. It has resulted in the economic and trade war as well as a new cold war between the two main imperialist rivals of today, the US and China. The crisis of the world capitalist system has taken an unprecedented deep plunge at a rate faster than during the Great Depression.

The spread of the Covid-19 pandemic has aggravated the economic and financial crisis by compelling lockdowns, production breakdowns, mass unemployment, loss of incomes and extreme suffering for the jobless and homeless. It has exposed the lack of social protection and social services for the overwhelming majority of the people and the cruelty of the capitalist system, while the monopoly bourgeoisie that is merely one percent of the population is being assured of financial bailouts and asset protection.

The Filipino people are outraged by the gross crimes of the Duterte regime in abetting the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic, failing to test and treat those who are sick and preventing the working people from earning their subsistence. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines, together with the CPP and NPA, has therefore stood up for the campaign of the revolutionary movement against the pandemic and has refused to reciprocate the false ceasefire declaration of the Duterte regime in order to avoid complicity in its crimes.

As a co-belligerent in the civil war in the Philippines, mindful of the international law on human rights and humanitarian conduct and ever concerned with the interests of the Filipino people, the NDFP has responded positively to the call of the UN general secretary for a global ceasefire among warring parties in order to fight the Covid-19 pandemic. The CPP has therefore ordered the NPA, the people's militia and the self-defense units of mass organizations to cease fire against their enemy from March 26 to April 15.

But the revolutionary forces and the people have to remain vigilant and be ready to undertake self-defense because the reactionary forces, police and paramilitary forces continue to unleash attacks and intrude into the territory of the people's democratic government. Even then the CPP, NPA and NDFP stay firm on their commitment to cease fire and take defensive position and are thankful to the UN secretary general for recognizing as exemplary the ceasefire declaration issued by the CPP.

The NDFP has gone to the extent of indicating its desire for the Duterte regime to heed the people's demands for the timely testing and treatment of the sick, compensation for the loss of the subsistence incomes of the working people, the release of the political prisoners and preparations for the resumption of the peace negotiations.

But the Duterte regime is preoccupied with grabbing more powers, applying repressive measures and looting the hundreds of billions of pesos that has been given by Congress to Duterte in violation of the 1987 Constitution which allows the president to reallocate savings but not the entire budgets of departments of the reactionary government.

We can expect that the broad masses of the Filipino people, the broad united front of patriotic and democratic forces and the armed revolutionary movement of the people will confront and fight more resolutely and more courageously than ever the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation under the traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and mendacious Duterte regime as it aggravates the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

In the face of the Duterte virus, which is far more deadly than the Covid-19, the Filipino people see no other

recourse but to take the road of new democratic revolution with the socialist perspective. The advance of the Philippine revolution is now more than ever favored by the rapidly worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, the irrepressible desire of the people for revolutionary change and the growing strength of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the New People's Army.

# Questions on People's War

Interview by Harsh Thakor, April 4, 2020

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HT: I'd appreciate a comment on this comrade.

*Can Chinese or Russian path still be emulated today? Urban insurrection to combine with PPW? Reproduced excerpt from article by Kenny Lake in 'When we ride our enemies from Revolutionary Initiative blog.*

*The article sums up blending of urban strategy in people's wars all over the world. Not surprisingly, developments in Davao City in the 1980s led to internal struggle within the Communist Party of the Philippines over the strategy of protracted people's war. Comrades in Mindanao contended that the advances in Davao presented the possibility of urban insurrections as a means for rapid victory. They continued to expand armed city partisan operations and looked to the experience of the Viet Cong and the Sandinistas' quick victory through urban-based revolution in Nicaragua as models. 95 This strategic view has been the target of criticism by the CPP central leadership, especially in its Second Great Rectification Movement. In a crucial document of that rectification movement, the CPP leadership points out how armed city partisan warfare in Davao City and other places advanced without an adequate mass base put the all-around development of the revolution, including building the mass movement and mass organization in the urban areas and consolidating military strength and base areas in the countryside, in danger of defeat by the repressive state apparatus. Moreover, ideas about quick victory through urban insurrection within the CPP became bound up with illusions about the "people power revolution" (also known as the EDSA revolution), in which massive street demonstrations played a pivotal role in ousting the Marcos military dictatorship in February 1986. Such illusions failed to distinguish between the overthrow of a particular faction of the bourgeoisie by a broad array of class forces of which communists were not in a leadership position, and a communist revolution led by the proletariat that shatters bourgeois state power. Central to the success of the latter is the defeat and destruction of the bourgeois repressive state apparatus, including the bourgeoisie's military, by the revolutionary armed force of the proletariat, which cannot be achieved through overwhelming street demonstrations. While the revolutionary advances in Davao City in the first half of the 1980s became mired by erroneous strategic thinking, it is nonetheless important to recognize the objective factors and subjective actions that made these advances possible. Among a newly proletarianized population migrating from rural life to overcrowded urban slums, the CPP was able to forge a revolutionary people and territorial strongholds in which revolutionary violence was widely supported. To whatever degree its armed city partisan operations became overextended, they nonetheless engendered a revolutionary crisis for the bourgeoisie in Davao.*

JMS: Indeed, the CPP was not in a position to overthrow the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines in 1986. The New People's Army had only 6,100 Red fighters nationwide at that time. There was only one NPA company deployed in Manila in February 1986. It was not enough to seize power in the city. What brought down Marcos was a convergence of the rising tactical offensives of NPA mainly in the countryside, the mass protests of the legal democratic forces and the conservative opposition (the anti-Marcos reactionaries) and the junking of Marcos by most of the big compradors and landlords, the Catholic Church and US imperialism from the assassination of Benigno Aquino in 1983 to the 1986 downfall of Marcos. In this broad range of forces against the Marcos fascist regime, the US and the local exploiting classes still had the most and could still install the successor to Marcos.

When the Second Great Rectification Movement went into full swing from 1992 onward, the following facts were already well-established: the urban insurrectionists of Mindanao appeared to be successful from 1981 to 1985 but from the latter half 1985 onward the line of premature regularization of the NPA and neglecting mass work in the country side and making the NPA subordinate to spontaneous urban insurrection as the lead factor began to weaken the mass base of the revolutionary movement in the countryside. The failure of the wrong line resulted in certain leaders blaming the "deep penetration agents" for the effective counter-attacks of the enemy and generating a witchhunt by which crimes were committed in violation of due process.

HT: This raises two important issues to consider as communists develop new strategies and practices. First is the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)'s conception of fusion of armed insurrection and protracted people's war.<sup>97</sup> Davao City and Mindanao in the early 1980s are surely an example of this conception in practice.

JMS: Whether a line is correct or not is decided or answered by its consequences. In Nepal, the so-called



fusion of armed insurrection and protracted of people's war was in connection with the calculation and maneuvers of the CP leadership to be in a position in the urban areas to negotiate and exert direct pressure on those in power in Kathmandu and make compromise for peaceful settlement on the basis of ending the power of the monarchy but not of the ruling system of big compradors and landlords. The ultimate end of the Prachanda path has been capitulation. In the case of the urban insurrectionists of Mindanao, their line ended up in disaster for the revolutionary movement in their areas of responsibility and worse in the witchhunt and the crimes committed in the course of hysteria.

*HT: Second is the problem of vastly uneven development of the revolutionary struggle within what for communists is, and has been for several decades, an unfavorable balance of forces internationally (to grossly understate the matter). While the Russian and Chinese revolutions succeeded in part through taking advantage of temporary weaknesses in the imperialist global order during and following world wars and a strong international communist movement, similar scenarios have not presented themselves since then. Since waiting for history, and "objective conditions" in particular, to repeat will always mean, for communists, resigning ourselves to the prison of the present, it is necessary to consider how to transform unfavorable conditions through struggle, taking advantage of particular situations and geographic locations where a revolutionary people can be forged into a fighting force.*

JMS: Communists do not wait for objective conditions to change "on their own" or in other words modified by the bourgeois ruling class according to its own interests. There is no way to escape the law of uneven development. But this means that there are always weak spots of a ruling system or an empire by which the communists have the space for maneuver against oppression and exploitation. The form of struggle depends on the concrete conditions to take advantage of. In general, the communists can wage protracted people's war in countries where the poor peasants and farm workers still abound and provide both the social and physical terrain for the people's war to develop in stages in the countryside over an extended period.

At this time, when the neoliberal policy is unravelling so fast and the extremest forms of exploitation and oppression are arising in both developed and underdeveloped countries, imperialist and nonimperialist, there are already crisis conditions favorable for the proletariat and the people to wage legal democratic struggles and strengthen their forces. All major contradictions are intensifying: between labor and capital, among the imperialist powers, between the imperialist powers and oppressed peoples and nations and between the imperialist powers and countries assertive of national independence and the socialist cause.

The worldwide mass protest actions since last year signal the transition to a period of the resurgence of anti-imperialist struggles and the world proletarian revolution. The aggravation of the crisis and the resistance of the proletariat and people can result in the spread of protracted protracted people's war in many underdeveloped countries and in the rise of urban-based mass movements that can enable the proletariat to carry out insurrections and seize power Petrograd-style even in imperialist countries in the next 50 years. The inter-imperialist contradictions can generate conditions that can favor both the rural-based people's war as well as insurrections brought about by the people's war or by strong mass movements in debilitated imperialist countries.

*HT: A very subtle reference to CPP work in Davao city. Positive comrade?*

JMS: Yes.

## ***Duterte Fakes the Destruction of the NPA***

### ***While This Grows in Strength Nationwide***

December 17, 2020

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The repeated fake propaganda of the Duterte regime and its military is that they have either killed or made the New People's Army commanders and fighters surrender in the thousands far beyond the supposed actual size of the people's army.

In fact, Duterte and his top defense officials are engaged in big-time racketeering by inventing lists of NPA casualties and surrenders in order to pocket privately huge amounts of public money. They pad the costs of military supplies and operations (psywar, intelligence and combat) and fake the expenses for Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program and community support program under various titles.

Soon after they claim to have destroyed the NPA beyond its supposed actual size, they assault the intelligence of the people by renewing the call to destroy again the NPA and asking for a bigger military budget at the expense of social services for health, education, public housing, disaster relief and other urgent needs.

In fact, the NPA is growing in size and strength because of the everworsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation. The red-tagging campaigns, arbitrary arrests and mass murders are actually compelling the social activists to join the NPA and fight the butchers in power.

An ever-increasing number of the Filipino people take the road of armed revolution because they wish to end the conditions of underdevelopment, high unemployment and mass poverty and punish the top brutes and crooks of the tyrannical, traitorous, genocidal, plundering and swindling Duterte regime.

# ***On Protracted People's War and Related Questions***

Online Study Session, January 26, 2021

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*From Moh:*

*(1). What makes up a well rounded cadre member?*

JMS: A well-rounded cadre of the Communist Party must have revolutionary integrity and devotion to the cause of emancipating the proletariat and other exploited people and have enough ideological, political and organizational competence to belong to a leading organ or to be a leader of a collective at a certain level of the CP and any other revolutionary force led by the CP.

In ideology, enough competence means knowing the basic principles and methods of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In politics, it means knowing the general program of the Party and how to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. In organization, it means knowing the principle of democratic centralism and how to apply it.

*(2). What are the limitations of united front work? What are the positives of building united front work?*

JMS: Think of the united front as an instrument of expansion rather than as a concept or rule of limitations. If you compare the scopes and sizes of the three magic weapons of the people's war, the CP as the advanced detachment of the proletariat is the smallest because the ideological, political and organizational development of cadres and members is required, the people's army tends to be larger than the CP because the minimum requirement for membership is lower and the united front tends to have the largest mass following under the various forces that are allied.

The united front is the instrument of the CP for reaching the broad masses of the people in their millions in the quickest way possible. It is used to form the basic alliance of the organizations of workers and peasants, winning over the organized middle social strata and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate, weaken and destroy every current enemy. The united front puts together the organized forces as well as influences the masses that are not yet organized.

There is the united front for legal struggle, which is for the purpose of building the alliance of the legal anti-imperialist and democratic forces. And there is the united front for armed struggle, which is for the purpose of building the alliance of the various forces to fight and overthrow the enemy which may be the reactionary ruling system in the civil war or a foreign aggressor in a war of national liberation.

*(3). What are your thoughts on which classes will be part of the masses in an imperialist country? (Compared to semifeudal & semicolonial society.)*

JMS: In what you can observe now in the imperialist countries or most developed capitalist countries, the blue collar and white collar members of the industrial proletariat constitute the largest mass. The urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie are conspicuous but are far less in number than the industrial proletariat.

In the countryside of the industrial capitalist countries, there is great mass of poor peasants as in feudal and semi-feudal countries but there are some rich farmers and agri-corporations. The rural population has become a small part of the national population. And of course, the monopoly bourgeoisie is the smallest class in an imperialist country but is the wealthiest and extracts surplus value from the workers.

*(4) What keeps the Filipino revolutionaries continuing to fight even with heavy losses and gains?*

JMS: From 1969 to the present, the general trend of the armed revolutionary movement in the Philippines has been to grow in strength and absence despite some amounts of losses at certain times either due to the enemy's campaigns of military suppression or serious errors instigated by renegades. Despite the lack of cross-border advantages due to the Philippines being an archipelagic country, the CPP and NPA have done very well in self-reliantly carrying out the strategy and tactics of people's war and waging guerrilla tactical offensives against the weakest points of the enemy and thereby accumulating armed strength as well as political strength.

The Filipino revolutionaries keep on fighting because they have a just cause in the struggle for national and social liberation against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They are led by the proletariat which is the the most productive and progressive class and are guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They carry out the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war. They have been

able to cause the overthrow of the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and frustrate all the strategic campaigns of military suppression launched by post-Marcos regimes, from that of Aquino to that of Duterte,

The CPP started with a hundred cadres and members in 1968 and now these number 150,000 nationwide and are deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The NPA started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in Tarlac province in 1969 and is now in the thousands in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 74 provinces out of the 81 Philippine provinces. The revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of Red political power encompass millions of people. The enemy grossly underestimates the size of the NPA as being only around 4000 at the most and belittles even more the tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and the hundreds of thousands in the self-defense cops of the revolutionary mass organizations.

*(5) What is your take on Chinese Social Imperialism? Is this a concrete thing in Filipino society?*

JMS: Quite a number of people still call China social-imperialist because it still calls itself socialist formally and occasionally. But it has become a full fledged capitalist country since the Dengist counterrevolution and overthrow of the proletariat in October 1976 through the expulsion from the Chinese CP tens of millions of cadres and members who had supported the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and consequently the full-scale and rapid capitalist restoration through capitalist reforms and integration with the world capitalist system in 1978.

In more than four decades of collaboration with US imperialism in carrying out the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization, China has become an imperialist power and has become the chief economic competitor and political rival of the US for world hegemony. The US has accused China of manipulating trade and financial policy and stealing technology from US companies and research institutes and has decided to decouple from China in a belated attempt to weaken it economically, politically and militarily.

China has flagrantly acted as an imperialist power towards the Philippines and the Filipino people by taking over maritime features in the West Philippine Sea, building artificial islands and turning them into military bases in violation of the sovereign and maritime rights of the Philippines, the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the 2016 judgment of the Permanent Arbitration Court in favor of the Philippines against China.

In its imperialist interest, China has prevented the Philippines from availing of the rich mineral and marine resources worth many trillions of dollars in its own exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf. Filipino fishermen are often prevented from fishing in the West Philippine Sea and the Filipino people are deprived of a large part of their sea food requirement.

From Lucha:

*(6) Why is it important for the party to take a hard-line stance on anti-revisionism?*

JMS: It is important for the CPP and all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties to take a resolute stand against modern revisionism because it is a bourgeois ideology masquerading as socialist. The Great October Socialist Revolution was successful because Leninism exposed and defeated the influence of the classical revisionism of the Second International. After the death of Stalin who built Soviet socialism and directed the defeat of Nazi Germany and world fascism, the Soviet leaders from Khrushchov through Brezhnev to Gorbachov carried put modern revisionism to undermine and destroy socialism. Subsequently, modern revisionism also prevailed against socialism in China.

We have seen how in former socialist countries, modern revisionism has succeeded in undermining and then destroying socialism. But modern revisionism is also a subversive bourgeois ideology against the CPs still waging a revolutionary struggle to seize political power from the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. It preaches the line that socialism is achievable through the peaceful and parliamentary road and that it can prevail over capitalism through peaceful economic competition. It seeks to mislead the proletariat and people from taking the revolutionary road of anti-imperialist and class struggle for socialism.

No communist party that is polluted and misled by modern revisionism can seize political power from the bourgeoisie and establish socialism. And if a CP has already established socialism in any country, it must be vigilant and resolute against the danger of modern revisionism. Lenin has pointed out that after its defeat the bourgeoisie multiplies its resistance ten-thousand fold and that it takes a whole historical historical epoch to build socialism in transition to communism. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao has also taught us that classes and class struggle persist within socialist society and the proletariat must be vigilant and determined to complete its victory over the bourgeoisie.

*(7) What forms might a left-deviation take? (Within the context of the party's political line).*

JMS: In relation to the correct political program and strategy and tactics already set by the Party on the basis of the concrete analysis of concrete conditions in a country, “Left” opportunism or “Left” deviation can arise when some Party cadres and members fail to understand the balance of forces between the revolution and the enemy, overestimate the strength of the revolution and that of the enemy and undertake rash and premature actions that seriously damage the revolution instead of advancing it. The adventurist or putschist mentality comes from petty bourgeois subjectivism and lack of discipline.

For instance, in the experience of the CPP and the Philippine revolution, a central cadre by the name of Ricardo Reyes was influenced by Trotskyism and the claims of Marcos that the Philippines had become an industrial capitalist country under his rule. Reyes spread in 1980 the subjectivist view of the Philippine economy that it was no longer semifeudal but already industrial capitalist. This view encouraged Right opportunism among some cadres in the united front who argued that people’s war must be scaled down and that legal struggle must be scaled up. But the worse consequence of the subjectivist view was the generation of various lines of “Left” opportunism from 1981 onward.

The worst of “Left” opportunism went by the name of “Red Area and White Area Strategy” in Mindanao. It promoted urban insurrectionism through so-called people’s strikes and intensified armed city partisan warfare and the premature formation of 15 absolutely concentrated companies without maintaining relatively dispersed smaller units for expanding the mass base. At first, the first three to five NPA companies were successful in tactical offensives. But after the fifth company, the NPA companies could be easily spotted and isolated and drawn to decisive engagements by the enemy.

Instead of reviewing and rectifying the “Left” opportunist line, its most rabid authors concluded that the cause of the setbacks was not the wrong line but “deep penetration agents” and decided to carry out a witchhunt which violated due process and the correct principles and methods of investigation, evaluation of evidence and trial. Hundreds of CPP members, NPA fighters and mass activists were falsely accused and arbitrarily punished. But eventually the strong Marxist-Leninist-Maoist foundation of the CPP prevailed. All similar occurrences of “Left” opportunism resulting in crimes of witchhunt were stopped in a timely way. And they would still become the main target of the Second Great Rectification Movement, which was a nationwide campaign of ideological and political education from 1992 to 1998.

*(8) How do the conditions for People’s War differ here in the imperial core compared to in semi-feudal semi-colonial countries like the Philippines?*

JMS: Any kind of genuine armed revolution which is led by the proletariat and engages the broad masses of the people may be called a people’s war. But this is quite different from the strategy and tactics of the protracted people’s war conceived of and applied by Mao in semicolonial and semifeudal China as well as by the CPP in the semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines. Mao pointed out that this kind of society is in chronic crisis and people’s war can be started at anytime by using the strategic line of encircling the cities in the countryside to accumulate armed and political strength over a protracted period of time and by going through the probability course of the strategic stages of defensive, stalemate and counter-offensive.

He also pointed out that the strategic line of protracted people’s war is inapplicable in imperialist countries or advanced capitalist countries. We must consider that the economy and system of communications are far more unified and centralized than in the still backward China, that the overwhelming majority of the people live in urban areas and that the agri-corporations and some rich farmers are in the countryside instead of a big mass of poor peasants and that if you start any armed struggle in any urban or rural community you will be finished off within hours by the SWAT teams unless you have a large clandestine army organized well in advance and the imperialist army is already in the process of disintegration as in the October Revolution in Russia.

However, there are infantile Maoists. They preach that protracted people’s war can be started anytime in any of the advanced capitalist countries. But even after decades of their prattle, they have not started any armed revolution anywhere in the capitalist world. Even the Revolutionary International Movement which had believed that a world war would break out in the 1980s and would generate partisan warfare as in World War II faded out. The so-called Gonzaloites are worse for claiming that protracted people’s war is the greatest contribution of Mao and that Gonzalo was the one who synthesized and elevated Mao’s revolutionary theory and practice to Maoism as the third stage of development after Marxism and Leninism

*From Ignacio:*

*(9) What are key lessons Chicanos can learn from the Philippines to apply in our struggle for national liberation.*

JMS: It is unfortunate that by launching a war of aggression against Mexico the US was able to obtain in exchange for USD 15 million under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo more than 500,000 square miles (1,300,000 square km) of land from Mexico and expanded U.S. territory by about one-third. The territory grabbed included the states of New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, California, Texas and western Colorado. The aforesaid treaty is like the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898 in which the US bought the Philippines for USD 20 million from Spain in the aftermath of the US-Spanish War.

I have known Chicano or Mexican comrades in California since the early 1990s who have organized themselves as Union del Barrio to adopt and carry out a political program of Chicano liberation, defending the national and democratic rights of the Chicano people. Quite a number of them dream of someday recovering the territory grabbed by the US from Mexico. I am aware of the tremendous odds that they are up against. They face a gigantic imperialist power like the US which invokes the 1848 treaty of cession, collaborates with the reactionary classes and government of Mexico and has allowed people of various nationalities to stay in the former territory of Mexico and overwhelm in number the people of Mexican ancestry.

Conditions for Filipinos in the Philippines are entirely different from conditions of Chicanos within the present USA. What can give hope to the Chicanos is to persevere in their continuous struggle for their democratic rights and welfare, develop solidarity with other oppressed peoples like they did with the Filipino farm workers in California in the middle of 1960s when they conjoined in strikes and formed the United Farm Workers Union, always despise the land grab done by the US at the expense of the Mexican people and contribute to the further strategic decline and possible disintegration of the imperialist USA in the future.

The US Constitution upholds the sovereign right of the people to rebel against a government that becomes oppressive or tyrannical and allows the citizens to freely bear their own arms so that the government does not monopolize these. It is possible for Chicanos to own their guns individually and legally, develop their revolutionary unity, avoid premature armed struggle and decide for themselves when would be the correct time and circumstances to use their weapons in the revolutionary process.

# ***Why the Duterte Regime Cannot Destroy***

## ***the People's Revolutionary Movement***

April 3, 2021

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It is certain that Duterte and his political agents and armed minions will claim before, during and after his State of the National Address (SONA) in July 2021 that they have already destroyed the revolutionary movement and that they must be rewarded by being allowed to stay in power. They have been harping on the line that they have already destroyed the NPA several times over its underestimated size.

They must be reminded time and again that they cannot destroy the revolutionary movement with sheer military force and deception but that they can only escalate and make the oppressive and exploitative conditions more intolerable to the people and more favorable for the growth in strength and advance of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.<sup>1</sup> The basic problems of the Filipino people such as foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism persist as the root causes of the civil war. These are the causes of underdevelopment, unemployment and mass poverty and not the people's resistance to oppression and exploitation.

2. The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system continues and is worsening to favor the further rise and advance of the people's war against the reactionary state. The Duterte regime is culpable for the rapid worsening of the socio-economic and political crisis of the ruling system.

3. The crisis of the ruling system is aggravated by the worsening crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system and is further aggravated by the Covid-19 pandemic in terms of economic breakdown, mass unemployment and depressed incomes.

4. The ruling system has been bankrupted by the domestic and global economic crisis, bureaucratic corruption and military overspending. The Duterte regime is culpable for sabotaging the peace negotiations with the NDFP for the purpose of scapegoating the CPP and NPA and grabbing absolute power for the purpose of absolute corruption.

5. The Duterte regime is despicable to the Filipino people because of its crimes of treason, tyranny, mass murder, plunder and deception. No amount of psywar to worship Duterte or his regime and vilify social activists, critics and opposition can draw attention away from the crisis and crimes for which the regime is culpable

6. The armed revolution of the people has become stronger nationwide in both urban and rural areas because of the foregoing. The more than 110 guerrilla fronts of the NPA are increasing in number and serving as base for guerrilla warfare, mass mobilization and building organs of political power.

7. A broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces is developing widely and deeply against the Duterte tyranny as the narrow target of popular opposition. The united front includes the revolutionary forces of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the progressive forces of the middle social strata and the conservative opposition.

8. The Communist Party of the Philippines is daily engaged in ideological, political and organizational work to strengthen its ranks and the revolutionary mass movement. There is no way for the enemy to stop the secret recruitment and education of CPP members and their deployment in birth urban and rural areas. Repression will only incite more people to join the CPP and the armed revolution.

9. All patriotic and progressive forces are strengthening themselves and exerting all-out efforts to isolate and overthrow the Duterte regime. The revolutionary mass organizations of the workers, peasants, women, youth and other sectors of society have not been cowed by state terrorism but have become more resolute and more resolute in fighting and striving to defeat the regime.

10. The New People's Army is intensifying the people's war, with the support of the people's militia, self-defense units and the broad masses of the people. It is combining armed struggle with agrarian revolution and mass-base building. And it has a mastery of the strategy and tactics of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of the ever widening and deepening mass base as in the past 52 years.

# ***On the New People's Army***

## **Questions from the Anakbayan-Europe ND Online School**

**Pointers to Full Answers , April 4, 2021**

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**1. *What is the New People's Army? How was it established?***

JMS: a. The NPA is one of three magic weapons of the NDR. Distinguish and relate the three weapons: CPP as advanced detachment of the proletariat, NPA as the instrument for defeating the enemy and united front as widest possible alliance to mobilize the people in their millions.

b. NPA was established in Capas on March 29, 1969 by HMB guerillas and KM activists.

**2. *What are its tasks and revolutionary principles?***

JMS: a. The main task of the NPA is to fight and defeat the enemy. There are related tasks: AS in relation to CPP and NUF.

b. These tasks are within the frame of principles and policies of the NDR. Explain class line and interrelations of AS, agrev and mass-base building/

**3. *Is the NPA only a fighting force? What is the difference to a "regular" army and why is it "new"?***

JMS: a. Not only a fighting force but also a force for agitation, propaganda, mass organizing, economic and cultural work and mass mobilization.

b. It has to develop guerrilla warfare to lay the basis for regular mobile warfare and eventual regular warfare

c. NPA is new in relation to the Hukbalahap and HMB, also in relation to having learned PPW from China and Vietna,

**4. *What is the NPA's relationship to the party?***

JMS: The NPA is under the absolute leadership of the CPP which is responsible for the IPO development of cadres, general political line and strategy and tactics.

**5. *Why is the leadership of the party and of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism important?***

JMS: CPP leadership is necessary for applying MLM comprehensively on Philippine history and circumstances, leading all revolutionary forces and setting forth the IPO tasks for carrying out the NDR.

**6. *What is the line and strategy of protracted people's war?***

JMS: Encircle the cities from the countryside, accumulate political and military strength until conditions are ripe to seize the cities.

**7. *Why is it necessary to encircle the cities from the countryside? What are the three strategic stages? (Follow up:) In which stage is it currently?***

JMS: a. To grow from small and weak to big and strong by fighting the enemy on physical and social terrain favorable to the NPA

b. stages of strategic defense, strategic stalemate and strategic offensive.

c. Current stage: Strategic defense in the middle phase and on the way to advanced phase. The strategic stages of stalemate and offensive will be far shorter than the strategic defense.

**8. *How can the NPA advance the agrarian revolution?***

JMS: First the minimum land reform program and then maximum program after the NPA is strong enough to enable the latter.

**9. *How can you ensure the party's leadership and prevent revisionism, opportunism and military adventurism?***

JMS: Constant MLM education, correct IPO line of the CPP, use of timely and periodic criticism and self-criticism meetings to correct errors and shortcomings and rectification movement against major longrunning errors.

**10. *What is the NPA's relationship to the national united front?***

JMS: NPA benefits politically from anti-feudal united front and even more widely from the national united front.

**11. *Is the NPA internationalist?***

JMS: Of course. It adheres to proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples.

**12. *What is the relation between democracy and discipline inside the NPA?***



JMS: NPA follows the organizational principle of democratic centralism: centralized leadership and command on a democratic basis. Democracy is followed in decision-making but everyone is obliged as a matter of discipline to follow the decision. The NPA strictly follows the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention.

*13. How big is the NPA? How many units are there?*

JMS: NPA does not give exact figure of full-time Red fighters with HPR but reports publicly more than 110 guerrilla fronts, each having at the optimum 100 to 120 Red fighters. But the GFs have uneven levels of development and strength.

*14. What are the current challenges that the NPA faces?*

JMS: a. The Duterte regime gets a lot of military assistance weapons from the US.

b. Uses a lot of psywar tactics, intelligence work, focused military operations and dirty tactics of red-tagging and mass murder. The CPP anniversary statement declares that these create some difficulties but on the whole the NPA overcomes these and is increasing the number of GFs.

*15. Has Duterte's crackdown on the legal movement affected the NPA's strategy?*

JMS: The crackdown has aroused more people to wage legal forms of struggle and has prompted more activists to join the NPA, especially certain activists face imminent abduction and murder.

*16. Duterte has claimed several times that he will destroy the NPA within X amount of years. How feasible are his claims?*

JMS: From year to year, he has boasted of destroying the NPA. But he has failed from year to year. He cannot destroy the people's armed revolution because

I can present all the 10 reasons why Duterte cannot destroy the armed revolution, as explained by the statement attached hereto. Or I explain only the following:

a) the root causes persist, b) the chronic crisis of the ruling system is worsening. c) Duterte is aggravating the problems due to his crimes. d) CPP has correct IPO leadership, e) Correct strategic line of PPW and f) The NUF has broadened to isolate, weaken and defeat the regime.

1. *What is the sharpest line to differentiate MLM and revisionism?*

JMS : a. Revisionism denies the revolutionary class leadership of the proletariat and its party and opposes the necessity of armed revolution to overthrow the bourgeois state, establish the proletarian state and build socialism.

b. After the proletarian-socialist state is established, revisionism introduces so-called reforms to undermine it, reverse the socialist course and restore capitalism.

2. *What is the revolution of Khrushchov and the "Peaceful Co-existence"?*

JMS : a. Khrushchov's revisionist counterrevolution consisted of setting and implementing such lines as the CP is the party of the whole people and not of the proletariat, the socialist state is the state of the whole people, the peaceful road to socialism, peaceful economic competition and peaceful co-existence as the general line of the international communist movement and not just a diplomatic policy.

b. Khrushchov's notion of Peaceful co-existence was that the Soviet Union could have peaceful, non-antagonistic relations with the imperialist powers, did not have to encourage and support revolutionary struggles and needed only to have detente, cooperate and compete with the capitalist countries in order to prove the superiority and strength of socialism.

3. *What are the basic principles of the armed revolution?*

The basic principles of the armed revolution include the following : a. the crisis conditions of oppression and exploitation are extreme and intolerable to the people and favor armed revolution ; b. the people are desirous of revolutionary change by armed means ; c. there is a revolutionary party to lead them ; d. the armed overthrow of the bourgeois state results in the establishment of the socialist state, which enables the building of socialism.

4. *Why do we say that imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution?*

JMS : a. Imperialism or monopoly capitalism is the eve of proletarian revolution because it is the highest and final stage of the development of capitalism, brings about the worst crises of overproduction, the rise of the revolutionary forces and masses and outbreaks of interimperialist wars.

b. As Lenin predicted, the proletarian-socialist revolutions arose as a result of severe economic crisis and interimperialist wars like World War I and II : Russia, China and other countries.

5. *What are the two types of armed struggle, and how can you differentiate between the two?*

JMS : The two types of armed struggle are the urban insurrection and protracted people's war.

a. In Russia, the Bolsheviks took power by armed insurrection in Petrograd but the fighting shifted to the countryside when the reactionaries waged civil war and then the foreign interventionists came. b. In China, the strategic line of protracted people's war meant using the countryside and the worker-peasant alliance in order to allow the people's army to grow from small and weak to big and strong until conditions are ripe for the seizure of political power in the cities.

6. *How can you compare the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions?*

JMS: Basically, the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutionaries succeeded in defeating the imperialist and local reactionaries by using the strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside. They used rural-based guerrilla warfare to grow from small and weak to big and strong until they could use regular mobile warfare to knock out bigger enemy forces that guard the towns and cities.

7. *What are the kinds of mass base?*

JMS: The kind of mass base that can be established in the course of the people's war depends on the strength of the people's army. The mass base is made by forming CP branches, revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power.

a. During the strategic defensive when the people's army is waging guerrilla warfare, it enables the building of the guerrilla front, consisting of the guerrilla bases and zones.

b. During the strategic stalemate when the people's army is waging regular mobile warfare, it enables control and governance over entire towns, districts, provinces and regions.

c. During the strategic offensive when the people's army is striving to seize the cities, the provisional

revolutionary government for the entire country prepares for nationwide rule.

*8. How did Mao Zedong organize armed struggle in China?*

JMS : a. Mao organized the armed struggle in China in accordance with the probable three strategic stages of defensive, stalemate and offensive.

b. He required the coordination of the CP, the people's army and the united front.

c. He required the integration of revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base-building.

*9. How can we improve the guerrilla warfare during the period of strategic defensive?*

JMS : According to the recent CPP anniversary statement to mark the 52nd NPA anniversary, the NPA must strive to advance from the middle phase of the strategic defensive to the advance phase by building many more platoons as effective fighting units and for creating more guerrilla fronts and expanding existing ones. These platoons in great number will be the basis of building companies in the full maturation of the advance phase and reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate which is envisioned as the stage of companies, battalions and brigades for defeating the enemy and expanding the territory of the people's government.

*10. How can we go from strategic stalemate to strategic offensive?*

JMS: Advancing from one strategic stage to another in the people's war involves the change of balance of forces. The people's army takes the strategic defensive in response to the overwhelming military strength of the enemy forces that are engaged in the strategic offensive.

By the time of the strategic stalemate, the people's army shall have more or less the same military strength as the enemy and shall be able to regroup its battalions and brigades for continued regular mobile warfare as well as for regular positional warfare to knock out or force the surrender of the enemy forces in the cities and in the most strategic enemy camps.

*11. Why do we say that the Party has absolute leadership over the New People's Army?*

JMS : It must be clear all the time that the CPP has absolute leadership over the NPA in order to preclude the possibility of militarism. Thus, the iron rule of discipline that the Party commands the gun and not the other way around. The CPP is the advanced detachment or vanguard of the proletariat that is capable of leading the revolution ideologically, politically and organizationally.

*12. According to Zhu De, how can we organize an unbeatable Red Army?*

JMS: a. We can organize an unbeatable Red Army by recruiting, training and developing the Red commanders and fighters from the ranks of the oppressed and exploited masses and by deploying them to wage agrarian revolution and guerrilla warfare and advance on the road of national and social liberation in the direction of socialism.

b. The Red Army forces must grow in strength at any stage of the people's war by launching only those offensives that they are certain to win against the weak points of the enemy side. Thus, the arms of the enemy can be seized by the Red Army to gain a greater capacity to destroy the enemy forces in further offensives.

# ***On the Specific Characteristics of People's War in the Philippines***

**Guide Questions from Anakbayan Europe ND Online School,  
June 27, 2021**

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1. *For fifty-two (52) years the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is said to be waging protracted people's war (ppw). What is the nature and particularity of a protracted people's war as opposed to an insurrectionary warfare?*

JMS: The strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside means the working-class leadership in a semicolonial and semifeudal like the Philippines availing of the peasant masses as the main force of the armed revolution and the countryside as the widest area for maneuver while the people's army is still small and weak and still needs to accumulate political and military strength to be able to seize the cities in concert with the urban mass uprisings of the people.

The probable stages in the development of protracted people's war are the strategic defensive, strategic stalemate and strategic offensive. In the strategic defensive, the people's army is far too inferior to the enemy in terms of armed strength. In strategic stalemate, the warring sides have more or less the same armed strength. In the strategic offensive, the people's army has achieved superior armed strength and proceeds to seize political power from the enemy in the cities.

In a country like the Philippines, it is wrong and disastrous for a people's army to prematurely engage in urban insurrectionary warfare, especially in the major cities well-secured by the reactionary armed forces. It is highly probable that in the strategic stalemate lesser cities can be seized for short periods of time. But the best time to seize the cities on a permanent basis is when the enemy has been thoroughly weakened by defeats in the countryside.

In the experience of the CPP, the subjectivist notion that the Philippines had ceased to be semifeudal and had become industrial capitalist gained ground in certain regions at different times from 1980 onward. This ideological error led to the Right opportunist error of exaggerating the role of urban legal struggle and depreciating the role of the working class in the united front and also led to the "Left" opportunist error of urban insurrectionism and depreciating the protracted people's war in the countryside.

One major variant of urban insurrectionism was the line of intensifying both the armed city partisan warfare and the protest mass actions in the national capital region, with the working class seizing political power as in the October Revolution of 1917. Another variant was the line of making urban insurrection the leading politico-military factor in the armed revolution and reducing the NPA to being merely a military adjunct which was ordered to engage in premature regularization and verticalization as the reinforcement to the "people's strike" of the armed city partisans and spontaneous masses in the city.

In the worst case of urban insurrectionism, in which too many companies were formed rapidly and prematurely for the purpose of urban insurrection, the flexibility of strategy and tactics in rural-based guerrilla warfare, the balance of the relative concentration and relative dispersal of NPA units and the mass work needed to support the armed struggle were abandoned to the prejudice of the revolution.

The companies were unsustainable, lost initiative in fighting and became vulnerable to enemy surveillance and attacks. When setbacks occurred, the wrong line was not reviewed and corrected but hysteria was fanned to blame supposed deep penetration agents. The anti-DPA witch hunt did not follow the principle of due process and the correct methods of investigation, prosecution, trial and judgment on the basis of evidence. Thus, serious damage was done to the revolution.

In certain regions and areas, timely corrections were made by the principled and sober CPP cadres and NPA commanders. But in 1992, the CPP Central Committee found it necessary to launch the Second Great Rectification Movement as a campaign of ideological and education to identify, criticize and repudiate in the main the "Left" opportunist errors of urban insurrectionism and to reaffirm the basic principles of the revolution and the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

2. *Is protracted people's war (PPW) an original idea from the CPP-NPA-NDF? From where did this pattern of*

*warfare originate? Why should the Filipino people's war be a protracted one? How could a protracted people's war benefit Philippine society?*

JMS: Comrade Mao Zedong developed the theory and practice of protracted people's war in the course of the Chinese revolution. Chinese history is rich with the history of peasant wars. Mao also learned from the war in the countryside in Russia during the civil war and against the foreign interventionists after the seizure of political power by the Bolsheviks in Petrograd in the October Revolution of 1917.

In the history of Europe, two thirds of the Grand Army of Napoleon were destroyed by guerrilla warfare in the countryside in Spain and Russia. By the time that he was at Waterloo, he had only one-third left of his Grand Army. He was also outmaneuvered when he became so obsessed with frontally attacking Wellington's forces and was attacked from the side by the Prussian cavalry forces galloping in from the woods.

In my "Specific Characteristics of People's War in the Philippines", I tried to develop further the theory and practice of protracted people's war by adding to the use of the rough physical terrain and social terrain of the countryside the use of the archipelagic character of the Philippines to divide the enemy forces.

At first the islands are a disadvantage but become a long-term advantage when the revolutionary mass work and armed struggle are done successfully on a nationwide scale under the policy of centralized ideological and political leadership and decentralized operations. The CPP, NPA and NDFP have been successful at developing a revolutionary movement that is deeply rooted among the workers and peasants on a nationwide scale.

The Filipino people have to carry out the protracted people's war because they have no other way for self-reliantly developing the people's army from being small and weak one to big and strong, especially because the Philippines is archipelagic and does not have common borders with any friendly country that can help. In certain periods, the Chinese revolution found useful the common borders with the Soviet Union and so did the Vietnamese revolutionaries the common borders with China.

Remember that the New People's Army started with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms for 60 fighters. Over a protracted period of time, the NPA has grown to thousands of Red fighters with high-powered weapons, with reserve and auxiliary forces such as the people's militia with tens of thousands of members and self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations with hundreds of thousands of members.

The protracted people's war benefits Philippine society by propagating and realizing the people's democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The Communist Party builds the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions. In concert with the armed struggle, the agrarian revolution is carried out and the revolutionary mass base is built.

The revolutionary mass organizations of various types are formed. And the organs of political power are built as the people's democratic government long before the seizure of the presidential palace in Manila. This people's government of workers and peasants is in charge of administration, public education, land reform, production, health care, social programs, cultural affairs, self-defense, the justice system, disaster relief and environmental protection.

*3. It is said that the new people's army (NPA) is organized from elements of poor rag-tag band of men and women with poor and vintage weapons from variegated communities rather than from highly trained and schooled military experts. In what way will the war proceed with a semi-feudal and a semi-colonial political economy? How can it carry about a protracted military resistance against a modern and powerfully equipped bourgeois-state-funded military bureaucracy?*

JMS: The NPA builds itself precisely from the most oppressed and exploited classes of people, the workers and peasants, who are 90 percent of the population. They need the revolution for national and social liberation the most and they are the most motivated to fight the local exploiting classes of big comprador, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in the ongoing civil war and even the forces of US imperialism when it decides to wage a war of aggression.

As it has already been proven, the NPA can grow in strength by responding to the needs and demands of the toiling masses, gaining their active support, using the countryside and the archipelagic character of the Philippines to split the forces of the enemy, waging a war of fluid movement by concentrating, dispersing and shifting according to circumstances and launching only those battles that can be surely won by the NPA. The NPA avoids decisive engagements that can result in its annihilation in any guerrilla base or region.

At the strategic level, the enemy can be superior to the NPA in all respects, numerical strength, military training and equipment. Rate the enemy as 10 times strategically superior to the NPA. But whenever the NPA launches its tactical offensives, it makes sure that it is 10 times superior to the enemy in the battle ground the NPA has chosen.

Thus, close to 100 percent of the arms of the NPA have been seized from the enemy. The reactionary armed forces publicly admit that the NPA has wiped out 13,300 of their troops since 1969 in contrast to their record of killing with impunity some 40,000 civilians in reprisal.

At any time, only two to five percent of the arms in the hands of the entire NPA are donated by allies or bought from traders. In the course of the people's war, the NPA seizes weapons from its enemy and thereby raises its technological level. Ultimately, it will be able to take over the high-tech weapons of the enemy as in successful revolutions.

The revolutionary movement aims to annihilate as well as disintegrate the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces of the enemy. The principal policy is to annihilate or wipe out enemy units through ambushes, raids and disarming operations.

But there is also the secondary policy to disintegrate the enemy forces by persuading enemy units and personnel to change sides, when the crisis and losses of the ruling system have become so grave and the tide of war is going in favor of the revolution. Let us keep in mind that most of the enemy troops have been recruited from the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

*4. How shall a social movement with a people's army sustain itself in a protracted scheme? What is the significance of a protracted people's war to the political advancement of the Communist Party in the Philippines?*

JMS: The CPP operates in both urban and rural areas. For quite some time already, it is in practically all provinces of the Philippines, whereas the NPA forces and units are in more than 110 guerrilla bases in 74 provinces out of 81 Philippine provinces. In the course of the protracted people's war, the CPP has provided the leadership to the NPA and has increased its membership among the Red commanders and fighters and among the mass organizations arising from the mass work of the CPP and NPA.

The CPP promotes the social movement by encouraging the urban-based legal patriotic and democratic organizations and building the revolutionary mass organizations in both urban and rural areas. The CPP as well as the NDFP develops the urban underground and its linkages and coordination with the revolutionary forces in the rural areas.

The social movement becomes stronger and more respected because of the existence and growing strength of the NPA and the over-all rise of the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the CPP. Without the people's army for the reactionaries to reckon with, they will take lightly the demands and protests of the social movement. With the people's army, the people's government can enforce its policies.

Where the NPA is strong, the CPP is likewise strong. The two can be strong only because the CPP is at the lead and core of the NPA and the revolutionary mass movement. The CPP and NPA are deeply rooted among the workers and peasants. They have won over the middle forces as a result of united front work by the NDFP. And they are taking advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy.

*5. In what manner can the CPP win in a protracted people's war? How do you envision the course of the protracted people's war that the NPA engages? What should be considered as tactical as against strategic victory (and vice versa) in a protracted people's war?*

JMS: I have already explained how the NPA grows in strength and advances from one strategic stage to another. In the stage of strategic defensive, the NPA launches the tactical offensives through guerrilla warfare in order to seize arms, gain strength and frustrate the superior strategic strength of the enemy.

The people keep the enemy forces blind and deaf and the NPA makes them suffer casualties and defeats through ambushes, raids, arrest operations, demolition work and other forms of sabotage. The enemy is like a big monster that cannot protect its body parts and is bleeding to death from many wounds.

In the strategic stalemate, the NPA shall already have the strength to wage regular mobile warfare and launch tactical offensives that are much bigger than those of guerrilla warfare in the strategic defensive. Thus, the NPA can further increase its armed strength and further change the balance of forces in its favor. In the strategic offensive, the NPA has the armed strength already superior to that of the enemy and launches a combination of regular mobile warfare and regular warfare to inflict final defeat on the enemy.

It is possible that when the reactionary armed forces are already losing heavily and fast during the civil war US imperialism would escalate its level of military intervention or even carry out a full-blown war of aggression. But by that time, the NPA shall have gained the over-all political and military strength and the ability to adjust its strategy and tactics for a war of national liberation against foreign aggression.

It is highly probable that the NPA shall have the weapons that caused the defeat of the US in its war of aggression in Vietnam. Portable ground to air missiles are far cheaper than the costly targets, such as the drones, AUVs, helicopters and airplanes. It is also highly probable that the US shall have declined further strategically or become preoccupied with other areas of conflict and the Philippine revolution will be somehow assisted directly or indirectly by the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles and socialist revolutions abroad.

*6. Is it correct to call the protracted people's war (PPW) as a war without end? Why?*

JMS: It is wrong to say that the protracted people's war is a war without end. The limits are actually recognized and set when you say that the protracted people's war will continue so long as imperialism and the local exploiting classes persist. These monsters cannot be forever oppressing and exploiting the Filipino people who are resisting.

It took more than 300 years for the Filipino people to gain the national consciousness, direction and strength to defeat Spanish colonialism. It will take a much shorter time for the Filipino people to defeat US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

It is because the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the general political line of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective and the strategy of protracted people's war.

Unremolded petty bourgeois elements can drop out of the revolutionary movement but the proletariat, peasantry and most of the urban petty bourgeoisie are fed up with the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation and will not get tired from fighting for national and social liberation by every possible and necessary means.

*7. How long shall a protracted people's war sustain?*

JMS: So long as the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system exists and its chronic crisis worsens, there will be fertile conditions for the protracted people's war to continue and grow in strength. The people's war will be self-reliant and sustainable for as long as necessary.

The toiling masses of workers and even the urban petty bourgeoisie will oppose the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation and will recognize the need to wage a protracted people's war and will continue to join the CPP, NPA, NDFP, the revolutionary mass organizations and the people's democratic government in the countryside.

It is well-proven in the last more than five decades that the NPA can preserve itself, grow in strength and advance from its measly 9 automatic rifles to its current strength of so many thousands of high-powered weapons with practically no military assistance from abroad. The NPA has withstood even the Dengist drive to liquidate the revolutionary armed struggle in Southeast Asia and the setbacks of the socialist cause due to revisionist betrayal and the subsequent neoliberal offensive.

*8. What is the penultimate goal of a protracted people's war? Is there a significant timeline that the CPP and the NPA have set? Why and why not?*

JMS: The people's democratic revolution shall be basically completed upon the nationwide seizure of political power as a result of the NPA's victorious strategic offensive in the protracted people's war. Then, it shall be possible to begin the socialist revolution.

In general and probable terms, there is already a schedule of strategic stages for the NPA to go through in carrying out the necessary tactical offensives at each stage. But there is yet no schedule as precise as the train schedule which is set by the owners and managers of the train company. We have seen how the NPA has grown from teams and squads to platoons and companies as combat units in the strategic defensive.

We still have to see NPA combat units develop further and fight as companies and battalions in regular mobile warfare in the strategic defensive. Further into the future we shall see in the strategic offensive the combinations of battalions and regiments taking over cities through regular mobile warfare and positional warfare.

*9. In a general manner, SCPW mentions "...popular uprisings in the future and for the advance of the people's army". How is this in anyway comparable to the Huaihai, Pingjin and LiaoShen Campaign in the North (1948-1949), Nanjing and Shanghai Campaign (1949) in China or the 1945 uprising and 1975 Saigon Offensive in*

Vietnam?

JMS: When the people's army starts the strategic offensive, the masses in most parts of the Philippines shall be able to start uprisings to seize power on a wide scale. This was demonstrated twice in Philippine history, when Spanish colonialism started to collapse in 1898 and when the Japanese invaders abandoned their positions in many parts of the country and concentrated in the mountain provinces in 1944-45. The Hukbalahap took over power in several provinces in Central Luzon, the Igorots and Ilocanos wiped out 100,000 out of the 150, 000 Japanese troops and the USAFFE took over most of the archipelago.

The Huaihai, Pingjin and Liaoshen Campaigns in the North (1948-1949) and Nanjing and Shanghai Campaign (1949) in China were campaigns in the strategic offensive of the people's army towards the complete defeat of the Guomindang. The people's army had overwhelming superiority over the enemy and even the US ultimately decided to withdraw its three divisions already in China to back the GMD.

From the strategic stalemate to the strategic offensive, the people's army used regular mobile warfare to knock out enemy positions and allow the people to rise up, take over power and allow the people's army to keep on moving to knock out enemy positions. During the strategic offensive, the combined encirclement campaigns by the people's army and the mass uprising compelled the GMD generals to surrender entire cities such as Shanghai.

In the 1975 Saigon Offensive, the combined armed strength of the DRV and SVNLF was superior to the already demoralized and beleaguered enemy forces and was able to take over Saigon. Like many elsewhere in South Vietnam, the people of Saigon rose up in concert with the people's army. The strength of the strategic offensive was so overwhelming that the remaining US armed forces had no choice but to withdraw totally from Vietnam.

*10. With the Philippines geographic realities, wherein major islands of Luzon and Mindanao is separated with the smaller numerous islands of Visayas, do you think there's a likelihood that the Philippines will be separated like Vietnam and Korea with the escalation of people's war?*

JMS: There are only 11 major islands which carry 94 percent of the population in the Philippines. The reactionary armed forces will continue to have relatively strong forces in only a few forts in some of these islands. Thus, it is not impossible for the NPA to isolate and encircle these forts and take them over ultimately. The combinations of regular mobile, positional warfare, the people's uprising, decisive defeats of the enemy, mass defections and surrender of enemy forces and other factors will come into play.

As of now, the more than 110 NPA guerrilla fronts are on a nationwide scale and can serve as the base for building wider revolutionary base areas and for develop the strength to defeat the reactionary armed forces totally in the future. This is more likely to happen than the prolonged and indefinite division of the Philippines into two parts as in the Vietnam and Korea in the aftermath of World War II. The US is known to avoid launching a war of aggression when it sees that that it has no chance of achieving quick victory.

*11. Armed revolutionaries are fighting in "narrow fighting fronts" in the Philippines. How does this differ with the Indochinese and Chinese experience in terms of rear/base building and warfare conduct?*

JMS: In general, as it has already done, the NPA has to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare for a long period of time because of the elongated archipelagic character of the Philippines and the narrow fighting fronts. The Filipinos do not have the advantage of the Chinese such as having a large expanse of land and common borders with the Soviet Union; and the Indochinese such as having common borders with China.

The NPA has already achieved a great victory in self-reliantly building its nationwide strength without any significant military assistance from abroad even under conditions when the revisionist betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union and then in China resulted in strategic setbacks for the world proletarian revolution. Deng Xiaoping also liquidated the armed struggles in Thailand, Burma and other Southeast Asian countries and withdrew support from that in the Philippines.

*12. Can you give us an approximate picture of stages of strategic stalemate and strategic offensive may look like in the Philippines in the future? What it also may look like if there is direct aggression of US Forces, Chinese Armed Forces or if there would be imperialist war/global war among imperialist powers?*

JMS: So far, I have been able to prognosticate on the probable strategic stages of the people's war in the Philippines in terms of the size of combat units and the type of warfare that can be carried out. In the strategic defensive, platoons and companies play an effective role in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. In the strategic stalemate, companies and battalions will carry out the regular mobile warfare. And in the strategic offensive, battalion and regiments in combination with people's uprisings will accomplish the strategic offensive.



There is a possibility that the US will wage a war of aggression during the strategic stalemate when it thinks it can still save its puppet state but the NPA can do some adjustments to defeat the US combat regiments and air power as did the Vietnamese when they defeated the US from 1965 to 1975. China has no compelling reason to wage a war of aggression against the Philippines. As a matter of principle, the Filipino revolutionaries assert Philippine sovereign and maritime rights in the West Philippines but support China's national sovereignty over Taiwan, Hong Kong, Xinjiang, Tibet and the Daoyu islands.

13. What the legal democratic forces/non-parties to the armed conflict (church people, peace advocates, anti-war reactionaries, people's organizations, progressive lawmakers etc.) can and must do with the progress of People's War in the Philippines (under stalemate or offensive stage or conditions of National War) on one hand and the likelihood of fascist terror by reactionaries on the other hand? What lessons can be learned in the Chinese and Vietnamese experience?

JMS: The best time for the Filipino revolutionaries to engage in peace negotiations is when they are about to win and the enemy sues for peace negotiations. The Filipino revolutionaries can carry out peace negotiations as the Chinese CP did with the GMD after the defeat of Japan and the Vietnamese did when they were already preparing their strategic offensive. The Filipino revolutionaries must be prepared to fight all the way to the total victory of the Philippine revolution.

Duterte has made peace negotiations impossible. Even peace consultants of the NDFP are being butchered by him. There can be no peace negotiations any more unless the peace negotiators, consultants and staff of the NDFP are assured of indefinite refuge abroad. Localized peace talks so-called are actually intelligence, psywar and combat schemes of the enemy at the expense of the revolutionaries and the peace advocates. They have a longer history of failure since the National Unification Commission in 1992 than the GRP-NDF peace negotiations which started later in 1994.

14. What are objective (international and domestic) and subjective (forces) conditions that made the people's war in the Philippines more protracted than other countries that waged people's war in Asia?

JMS: The objective conditions that have made the people's war in the Philippines even more protracted than in China and Vietnam include the following: the lack of common borders with supportive countries, the absence of conditions similar to those of World War II which compelled the US and European powers to focus on Europe and allowed the people to fight Japan alone as imperialist power and then the revisionist betrayal of socialism from 1956 onward, especially the Dengist counterrevolution from 1976 onward.

The subjective factors include the following: the major errors of the series of Lavaite leaders which disabled the Hukbalahap from achieving more, the welcoming of the return of US domination and stabilization of the puppet state, the military adventurism of 1949 and the policies to liquidate the HMB in 1955 and the old CP-SP merger party in 1957. In the time of the reestablished CPP, the Left opportunist errors of urban insurrectionism from 1981 to 1992 mainly and the error of conservatism that set in after 2005 have been the adverse subjectivist factors. The latter error is being corrected by the proper proportioning of the deployment of forces and the balance of the tactical offensives and mass work.

# ***Long View of the Revolutionary Movement and Short-sightedness of the Duterte Regime***

July 26, 2021

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I intend to make a point-by-point comprehensive response to the final State of the National Address (SONA) of Duterte. But first let me make an immediate riposte to his big lie that he is succeeding at destroying the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people and that by implication he ought to be rewarded with a prolonged stay in power as vice president using his own daughter as stooge.

Duterte claims that 17,000 NPA fighters have surrendered and that 15 guerrilla fronts have been dismantled. Instantly, anyone can see that Duterte is lying because 17,000 is so many times the oft-repeated claim of the reactionary military that the NPA has only 2000 to 4000 fighters.

Duterte's lie contradicts the recent statement of his national security adviser, Gen. Hermogenes Esperon, that the NPA continues to expand and has recruited several hundred new Red fighters in the first half of 2021 pushing its number to 4,000 in June from 3,700 in December 2020.

It is the notorious corrupt practice of the Duterte regime and its generals to invent and exaggerate the number of NPA fighters surrendering or being killed so that they can collect huge amounts of reward money for every ghost surrenderer and everyone listed as killed NPA fighter and so that they can demand more funds for the already over funded military and police.

The latest claim of Duterte that he and armed minions have dismantled only 15 guerrilla fronts out of the more than 110 guerrilla fronts of the NPA belie their constant claim of being able to destroy the NPA. In guerrilla warfare conducted by the NPA, the reactionary army often conjure the illusion that it has destroyed a guerrilla unit that is merely retreating or shifting to gain a better position for a counter-offensive.

There can be nothing farther from the truth than the repeated claims of Duterte and his military and political agents that from year to year the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA) are on the way to total destruction.

In fact the terrible crimes of Duterte and the worsening economic and political crises have favored the growth and advance of the people's war in an unprecedented way.

The persistent semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, with its chronic crisis, has caused and enabled the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside.

The reactionaries, including their best strategists, often have the illusion that they are succeeding at defeating the armed revolution whenever the NPA retreats from the offensive of a superior military force or avoids being entrapped in any enemy campaign of encirclement.

Retreat and shifting are tactics of guerrilla warfare that allow the NPA to preserve itself and gain advantageous positions that enable it to launch tactical offensives on exterior lines with a concentrated strength against the most vulnerable points of the enemy forces.

At any rate, even in the course of retreating or shifting its main force, the NPA can still deploy ambush teams, demolition teams and snipers to inflict demoralizing blows on the advancing columns of the enemy.

And when the superior enemy force encamps, it exposes all its vulnerable parts, be it the undermanned command post, the dispersed detachments, perimeter posts and the patrol teams. The NPA can deliver precise blows to any of these and harass them to wear them down.

Another large fact that reactionaries do not perceive and appreciate is that the revolutionary armed struggle is integrated with the development of the local Party branches, the people's militia and self-defense units augmenting the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

The main and essential point in waging the people's war in the countryside is to avail of the wide area of maneuver, accumulate military and political strength and turn the countryside into a big graveyard of enemy combatants and local counterrevolutionaries.

The people and the revolutionary forces are happy that they are already building the people's democratic

government in the countryside even before the seizure of the cities from the counterrevolutionary state of the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The reactionaries fail to see that while the armed revolution does not yet have the strength, possibly battalions and regiments capable of seizing cities, it is wise and necessary to build the local organs of political power wave upon wave until the NPA can gain enough strength to seize the cities.

In very concrete terms, the strategists of people's war consider that the stage of the strategic defensive is a stage for multiplying NPA platoons and companies for as long as necessary, the strategic stalemate is a stage of multiplying NPA companies and battalions for regular mobile warfare and the strategic offensive is the stage for assembling battalions and regiments for seizing political power in cities in combination with urban uprisings.

A number of times, the CPP central leadership has expressed the wish to accelerate the people's war and move forward from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. But the strategic stalemate can be reached only upon the maturation of the strategic defensive. So far, on a widening scale, localized tactical stalemates have arisen with the platoons of guerrilla fronts being able to stalemate or neutralize local police forces.

"Left opportunists arose in the 1980s to call for various sorts of urban insurrectionism only to end up in futility and desperation. They have been the subject of study, criticism and correction by the Second Great Rectification Movement.

It must be understood that the NPA has to develop its strength in the strategic defensive while it does not yet have the strength to be in the strategic stalemate and there are yet no conditions such as violent conflicts among the factions of the reactionary classes or a national war of liberation against a foreign aggressor.

There are yet no conditions in the Philippines such as when the Guomindang (GMD) was confronted by the Northern warlords in China and it became possible for the Communist Party of China (CPC) to have a united front with the GMD against the Northern warlords and participated in building the national revolutionary army with logistical support from the Soviet Union.

Despite the betrayal of the united front by Chiang Kaishek in 1927, the CPC could carry out the agrarian revolution until the Japanese aggression occurred from 1937 to 1945, necessitating one more united front between the CPC and the GMD and allowing the CPC and its Red Army to build their strength and be ready for the eventual civil war with the GMD from 1946 to 1949.

In the absence of certain conditions that favor rapid growth and advance, the NPA has to develop its strength accordingly, even if it takes so long just to multiply the platoons and companies in the strategic defensive in the most self-reliant way, without any foreign government giving aid to the NPA. That is what the CPP, NPA and the entire revolutionary movement of the people have accomplished in the last 52 years.

But with the US and China now engaged in a fierce economic competition, and political rivalry in East Asia, we can expect these two conflicting imperialist powers to favor conflicting factions of the reactionaries in the Philippines. These factions can graduate from electoral competition to armed conflicts, especially if Duterte destroys the game of musical chairs among the reactionary politicians with his own game of electoral fraud and state terrorism in the name of anticommunism and anti-terrorism.

It is also possible for any of the two imperialist powers to carry out aggression someday against the Filipino people and convert the civil war into a war of national liberation. The rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is causing the inter-imperialist contradictions to become sharper and more violent and to generate inter-imperialist wars by proxy or otherwise as well as conditions to further necessitate people's war.

# *Interview on Isabela with Jose Maria Sison*

By Terence Patrick Repelente, August 11, 2021

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*Hello, Prof. I have some questions for you about Isabela, I hope you can see it and answer if you have free time.*

*1. Can you give a brief history of the expansion work in Isabela before it became the party's base?*

JMS: From January to March 1969, before the founding of the New People's Army in March 1969, we provided politico-military training in Tarlac to three young Canlas cousins. They are residents of the NARRA settlement in Echague, Isabela and they are children of former Huk who were given lots in that settlement. They were the first ones we trained from Isabela. Their quality is cadre. They were able to immediately organize barrio organizing committees among the poor farmers in Sa Guillermo, Angadana, Alicia, Caoayan and Echague.

In mid-1969, we assigned veteran Ka Eddie Layug (former cadre and regimental commander of the HMB) to be the supervisor of action in Isabela and throughout Cagayan Valley. In late 1969 I entered the forest region of Isabela to monitor the work. It was in 1971 that the headquarters of the Party Central Committee moved from Tarlac due to the intense enemy offensive in the framework of Task Force Lawin. Our area of maneuver in Isabela is much wider. During 1969 to 1971, our mass base was 150,000.

*2. Why was it decided to make Isabela the base?*

JMS: We value the strategic importance of the whole of Northern Luzon. That is why I did a social survey throughout the region in the years 1968 to 1969. There were student type cadres in the Ilokos-Pangasinan, Cordillera and Cagayan Valley subregions. But in Isabela, Cagayan Valley, the availability of cadres already rooted in the peasantry coincided and the terrain for the people's war was good.

But then there were guerrilla zones in Nueva Viscaya and Ifugao. The Isabela forest region and plains became a revolutionary base for the politico-training of cadres for Cagayan Valley, the whole of Northern Luzon and the whole of the Philippines from 1971 to 1974.

*3. From what year did you work there and until what year?*

JMS: I spent a few months each living in Isabela in 1969 and 1970. But more than a year during 1971 to 1972.

*4. What were the conditions in Isabela in the 70s? (in economic, pol, and cultural matters)*

JMS: The big comprador-landlord and bureaucrat capitalist classes ruled harshly. The haciendas in Isabela and Cagayan were larger than those in Central Luzon. The bureaucrat capitalists and their Chinese lumberjack accomplices further made money by logging. The usury was rampant. If you were a small landlord, rich farmer or merchant, just roll out 10,000 pesos for usury, you could acquire hundreds of hectares of land, especially in the most backward villages and homestead areas.

For government officials, the most important thing for land grabbing and enrichment is arming to dominate many other politicians. For example, when former allies Governor Reyes and Mayor Dy of Cauayan quarrelled, they had armed followers in addition to the police. In this situation, Dy allied with the NPA. It so happened that Ka Ruben Tuason, a member of the CPP's CC, was his childhood friend in Tarlac. In general, this culture is similar to that of other parts of the semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines.

*5. Did you act in the indigenous community then (gaddang, agta, etc.?)*

JMS: In the years 1969 to 1970s, indigenous communities extended to Cagayan Valley. Our base in the forest region in Isabela was already a settlement of Agtas (Pugot). We called our camp the People's Republic of Dipogo. It was a barrio of Agtas.

*6. Who were the notorious military / police / government personnel when you were operating in Isabela? was Faustino Dy the provincial chief at the time you were there?*

JMS: The notorious military, police, mayor or informers who are active and fiercely opposed to the movement were called demons. I can remember only a few mayors and military officers. Dy was still a mayor and an ally when I was in Isabela. But he became a governor and also turned strongly pro-Marcos when martial law came into effect.

*7. Can you summarize the experience of the Isabela movement?*

JMS: The movement in Isabela was successful. It became a revolutionary base for expansion to Cagayan Valley and Northern Luzon. Even Cordillera cadres trained in Isabela. There were more politico-military cadres trained for

the whole country in Isabela than in Tarlac. The trainees traveled from there to Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Western Visayas and Mindanao. There was a time when three companies trapped themselves in the Isabela forest region for a time from 1972 to 1976, but they rectified and redeployed and spread to various CV provinces in 1976.

8. *Do you have any suggested writings / documents / have you written anything about the history of the Isabela movement (if any?)*

JMS: Please read my “Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon” in the Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution. Most of the important things I wrote as directives on practical action are no longer with me and are not included in my books. Among the most important ones was about the rectification of the isolation of three NPA companies in the forest region from 1972 to 1976. I have many more short directives that easily got lost in the course of the struggle.

# ***On Vital Issues in the Armed Revolution***

**Interview by Karlo M. Manggosing, August 13, 2021**

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*1. What is your comment on the claim of Duterte, his military minions and some renegades that the armed revolution in the Philippines is going in circles and is futile and that it is certain to be destroyed by the Duterte regime?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines started with only a few scores of members in 1968. Now it has tens of thousands of members nationwide. The New People's Army started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms. Now, it has thousands of Red fighters nationwide, with auxiliary forces of tens of thousands in the people's militia and hundreds of thousands in the self-defense teams of mass organizations.

The mass base included only 20,000 workers and 15,000 youth in 1968 and only 80,000 peasants in 1969. Now, the mass base is in the millions nationwide, with members in several types of revolutionary organizations which elect the local organs of political power. These constitute the people's democratic government of workers and peasants in the countryside in opposition to the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords in the cities.

The people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war has grown in strength and advanced against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. This system is stricken by a chronic economic and political crisis and headed by a series of corrupt and brutal ruling cliques serving foreign monopoly capitalism and the local exploiting classes. The crisis of the ruling system is now rapidly worsening, aggravated by Duterte's unleashing state terrorism and plundering the national treasury and the entire economy.

*2. But what about the claim of Duterte in his final state of the nation address that his military forces are winning?*

In his final state of the address, he claims that his military minions have caused the surrender of 17,000 Red fighters and dismantled 15 guerrilla fronts. That is a blatant lie. The figure of 17,000 surrenderers is so many times the understated estimate of NPA strength by his own military. But indeed, military officers have staged fake surrenders and ordered the murder of civilians in order to collect reward money. And the figure of 15 guerrilla fronts dismantled is pure illusion because in the fluid people's war the reactionary military often mistakes the retreat or shifting by the NPA as permanent withdrawal or disintegration.

Military overspending and militarization of civilian departments and agencies by the Duterte regime has contributed greatly to the crisis of the ruling system and has generated corruption in the military under various triad campaigns of psywar, intelligence and combat and with unaudited funds for the so-called localized peace talks, Enhanced-Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Program.

Taking advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic, Duterte has railroaded the law of state terrorism, far worse than the martial law of 1972. This fascist law makes the social activists and critics of the regime subject to red-tagging, abduction, torture and murder under the direction of the so-called Anti-Terrorism Council. In his drive to make himself a fascist dictator, he is pushing a trend of militarism that discredits, isolates and actually undermines the entire ruling system.

*3. Why have the Communist Party of the Philippines and the armed revolutionary movement become strong in the last more than 52 years?*

JMS: The Party and the armed revolution have become strong by serving the Filipino people in their struggle for national and social liberation against the evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, big comprador capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The people have been compelled to engage in armed revolution because of the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation. The more brutal and corrupt the reactionary regimes, like those of Marcos and Duterte, the faster the growth and advance of the people's war.

*4. It is fine that there are already local organs of political power constituting the people's democratic government based in the country. But when shall the people's war result in the seizure of the cities from the hands of the exploiting classes?*

JMS: The people's army can ultimately gain more strength for seizing the cities from the exploiting classes by using the countryside to preserve itself, repeatedly win tactical offensives and accumulate strength. While the people's war is going on mainly in the countryside, it has an impact and inspiring effect on the urban-based legal

struggles of various political formations. It is a rising factor in the broadly-based and multipronged struggle of the people against their enemy.

*5. Do you think that further advances can be made in the people's war in a self-reliant way? What does it take for the New People's Army to graduate from the strategic defensive to the strategic stage of the people's war?*

JMS: The CPP and the NPA have excellently demonstrated that they can wage the people's war self-reliantly and advance through more than 52 years with practically no military assistance from abroad. According to knowledgeable sources, more than 95 percent of NPA arms have been accumulated through its tactical offensives against the enemy. The local donations and purchases of arms are in the range of only 5 percent or less. The records of the reactionary armed forces for a certain period show that 13,300 of their troops have been wiped out and have lost their weapons to the NPA aside from armed seizures in raids on AFP armories, police stations and paramilitary units.

The Philippines is an archipelagic country and the Filipino revolutionaries cannot avail of cross-border cooperation with revolutionary forces in neighboring countries like the Chinese revolutionaries had with the Soviet Union and like the Indochinese revolutionaries had with China in past historical periods. The Filipino revolutionaries are required to lure the reactionary armed forces to the countryside, wipe them out here and seize the arms from them.

The people's war in the Philippines is now in general advancing from the middle phase to the advanced phase and completion of the strategic defensive. At this time, platoons and companies are the kind of fighting formations being developed and multiplied in more than 110 guerilla bases for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare nationwide. The NPA has the strength, experience and skills to complete the strategic defensive in accordance within the principle of self-reliance.

*6. How is the strategic stalemate going to be developed?*

JMS: Even during the current period of the strategic defensive, many municipalities with a police force no bigger than a platoon and ostensibly under the rule of the reactionaries are already stalemated by the platoons radiating from the guerrilla fronts. But of course, in the stage of the strategic stalemate, the NPA shall be developing more companies and battalions for combat and will be covering extensive contiguous areas like districts and provinces.

Conceivably, it will be easier eventually for the NPA to change the balance of forces in provinces and regions through tactical offensives in regular mobile warfare. The stage of the strategic stalemate will be far shorter than that of the strategic defense. You can easily calculate how much higher is the capacity of companies and battalions of the NPA to defeat the enemy than that of platoons and companies.

*7. How can the NPA develop fully the strategic stalemate and proceed to the strategic offensive? How will the strategic offensive be undertaken?*

JMS: The NPA can develop fully the strategic stalemate self-reliantly. With companies and battalions to use in regular mobile warfare, the NPA is already capable of seizing at will major towns and provincial capitals in order to keep them for a while or to briefly attract enemy forces for annihilation. Without US aggression to head it off and delay it, the strategic offensive will be possible against the major enemy camps and major cities by battalions and regiments in a combination of regular mobile warfare, positional warfare and people's uprisings.

US imperialism considers the Philippines a major ally in East Asia. There is high probability that US imperialism will wage a war of aggression to try to save the local ruling system. But the NPA shall already have acquired the political strength, weapons and skills to counter US air power and give powerful blows to the US aggressors as in the Vietnam war. And the US may not be able to carry out its aggression effectively because it continues to be overstretched and to decline strategically. Look at how it has wasted resources in endless wars in Central and West Asia and failed to fully subjugate Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan.

*8. How fast do you think will the inter-imperialist contradictions, people's resistance and resurgence of the socialist cause develop and extend support to the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: The revisionist betrayal of socialism, the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed, the rise of state terrorism, fascism and the wars of aggression have inflicted so much intolerable suffering on the broad masses of the people in the imperialist countries and in the underdeveloped countries. The imperialist states are faced with the intensifying class struggle due to the crisis of overproduction. They are also involved in escalating inter-imperialist contradictions, with the contradiction of the US and China becoming most conspicuous since the financial

meltdown of 2008.

The proletariat and people of the world, especially in the underdeveloped countries, are intensifying their resistance to the ruthless attempts of the imperialist powers to shift to them the burden of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles are rising and spreading on a global scale. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. Those who advocate national liberation, democracy and socialism are inspired to fight for their revolutionary cause.

9. *Is there no possibility of the armed revolution being interrupted by the CPP and NDFP agreeing to a coalition government of national unity, peace and development?*

JMS: The legal patriotic and progressive forces and the forces of the armed revolutionary movement have grown so much that they can aim to address the roots of the armed conflict through peace negotiations and agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms that can lead to a coalition government of national unity, peace and development.

But the ultra-reactionary currents of neoliberalism and fascism are also running high. Right here in the Philippines, there is the recrudescence of fascist dictatorship from Marcos to Duterte. So, the revolutionary forces, as well as the legal democratic forces, have to be vigilant and be ready to fight the current traitorous, brutal and corrupt Duterte regime and the obvious scheme of US imperialism to tighten its control over the Philippines in competition with Chinese imperialism.

10. *Is there any possibility that pro-US and pro-China political and economic interests will develop violent contradictions? How will China react?*

JMS: Violent contradictions among the reactionaries are possible. At the least, these two competing reactionary interests are now boasting of money flowing from their respective funding US and Chinese sources. They are not far off from arming themselves and seeking arms from their conflicting sources. But China will officially deal mainly with whichever is the ruling clique in the reactionary state. That has been the policy and behavior of China since its restoration of capitalism. It has diplomatic and trade relations with all kinds of states.

11. *Will China support the armed revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines? Will China have relations with the CPP after it succeeds in establishing the people's democratic state in the Philippines after it is established by the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: China is not likely to have any relations with the armed revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. But China has maintained a foreign policy of having relations with any kind of state. It has such relations with the most reactionary states as well as with states that are anti-imperialist and adhere to socialism. It is very likely that it shall have diplomatic and trade relations with a people's democratic state after this is established by the armed revolution in the Philippines.

China has avoided the expression proletarian internationalism and has disengaged from armed revolutionary struggles led by communists from the time that Deng Xiaoping carried out a counterrevolutionary coup in October 1976, condemned the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, put aside the proletarian class struggle, adopted capitalist reforms, opened up China for integration in the world capitalist system and developed close relations with the US. China and the US have been close partners in promoting neoliberalism until their contradictions surfaced in the second decade of this century.

12. *What about the unlawful claims of China over the West Philippine Sea? Will they not obstruct or damage relations with the future people's democratic state?*

JMS: I presume that by the time that the people's democratic state shall have been established in the Philippines, China shall have realized the futility of insisting on sovereign ownership of more than 90 percent of the South China Sea and encroaching on the West Philippine Sea in violation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the 2016 judgment of the Permanent Arbitration Court in favor of the Philippines against China. It will be costly to China to offend the coastal states of Southeast Asia.

At any rate, the people's democratic state in the Philippines will be open to diplomatic and trade relations with China in the same way that Vietnam and China have such relations despite their dispute over sovereign and maritime rights in the Paracels. The diplomatic relations can open the way to a peaceful resolution of issues. In any case, the people's democratic state will always assert the sovereign and maritime rights of the Philippines over its exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf in the West Philippine Sea.



# ***How to Understand the Current Puzzle in Afghanistan***

**August 21, 2021**

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It is a puzzle for some people how the Taliban could beat an enemy with hightech weapons and seemingly endless resources and take over Afghanistan in just a few days after 20 years of struggle mainly in the countryside with RPGs, land mines and AK rifles.

The puzzle is like the one about the people's war in the Philippines persevering, expanding and deepening in the Philippines for more than 52 years, even without external military assistance, against the puppet government propped up and supplied with weapons by US imperialism.

The key to understanding the puzzle is having a just cause against foreign domination and a corrupt puppet government and developing for as long as necessary a rural-based government parallel to the corrupt and brutal urban-based government.

Such parallel government is supported and enabled by the broad masses of the people, led by a political party and supported by a people's army, revolutionary mass organizations and local organs of political power.

The rural-based people's revolutionary government is developing as the protracted people's war advances through the probable stages of the strategic defensive, strategic stalemate and the strategic offensive.

In the absence of a capable revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Taliban has played a relatively progressive role of fighting imperialism and a corrupt and brutal puppet government despite the reactionary characteristics of the Taliban as a theocratic, religio-sectarian and misogynist political force that was an offshoot of the US-supported mujahedin in the 1990s.