

# On the Revolutionary Movement and Mass Work



jose maria sison

sison  
reader  
series

13

julieta de lima  
editor

**Table of Contents**

On the Revolutionary Movement and Mass Work (Sison Reader Series, #13)

Foreword

Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon

Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports

Persevere in Legal Mass Struggle, Accumulate Strength in the Underground

The Critical and Creative Tasks of the Rectification Movement in the Communist Party of the Philippines

An Update: Qualitatively Unchanged Conditions

Mass Movement Must Surge Forward

Congratulations to the Filipino People, | Carry the Struggle Through to the End

On the Task of Arousing, Organizing | and Mobilizing the Masses

40 Years of Philippine Society and Revolution | Interview by Ang Bayan

Strengthen Communist Parties | in the Worsening Global Capitalist Crisis

Contribution to Literary Interrelations: Conference in Celebration of the Centennial of the UP Department of English and Comparative Literature

The Way Forward for the Filipino People

Expand and Strengthen the Christians for National Liberation

On the Immediate Tasks of Communists | and their Struggle for Socialism

The Second Great Rectification Movement

Author's Preface (to Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism)

Celebrate the Historic Leadership | of the Working Class in the Philippine Revolution

The New Democratic Revolution | through Protracted People's War

Replies to National Defense College Students

Author 's Preface (to Develop | the People's Power)

Message of Solidarity and Gratitude | to the Hosts and Participants in the Book Launch | at the University of the Philippines-Mindanao

On Theory and Practice

The People's Democratic Government | Has the Power of Taxation

Interview Atilim (Turkish Socialist Newspaper) and the Socialist News Agency ETHA

On Power and Socialist Transition

Effect of the Institutional Development | of the Communist Party of the Philippines | until the Present

A Complete View of Enabling Environment | for the Conduct | of GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations

Building the Mass Movement in Western Europe

Great Achievements of the Communist Party | of the Philippines in 50 Years of Waging Revolution

Purpose of Celebration amidst the People ´s War and Crisis of the Ruling System

On the 50th Founding Anniversary | of the Communist Party of the Philippines

On the Communist Party of the Philippines

People's Expectations in 2019

Reply to Duterte’s Tirade in Lucena City against the CPP, NPA and the Revolutionary Mass Movement

Reply to Duterte and Spokesman: | The Revolutionary Movement is Advancing

Guidelines for Social Investigation | and Class Analysis

The Anti-colonial Resistance in the Philippines

Red Tagging, Harassments and Extrajudicial Killings Drive many Legal Activists | to Join the People’s Army

The Philippine Revolution: Its Origin, | Development and Prospects

Study the Philippine Revolution for the Purpose | of Solidarity and Common Struggle | against Imperialism and all Reaction

Duterte Regime Goes Downhill | as Revolutionary Movement Rises

On the Filipino People’s Revolutionary Struggle | for National and Social Liberation

On Mass Work

In Transition to the Resurgence of the World Proletarian Revolution

ILPS as United Front for Anti-Imperialist | and Democratic Struggle

On the International Situation, | Covid-19 Pandemic and the People’s Response

On the People’s Democratic Revolution

On the Current Character of Philippine Society

On the Struggle | against the Marcos Fascist Dictatorship

In Prospect of Socialism

On the Five Golden Rays

On Proletarian Stand and Outlook

On the Launch of Upsurge of People’s Resistance | in the Philippines and the World

On the Life of Jose Maria Sison

Foreword | (to The Gumamela Is Still Red)

Criticism and Creativity

Solidarity Message to the Forum on Democracy, Socialism and Communism

Remarks at the Launch of the Two Volumes | of On the Communist Party of the Philippines | in Sison Reader Series Book Nos. 5 and 6

Introduction to the Screening | of El Barro de la Revolucion

On the Experience of the Communist Party | of the Philippines in Combating Modern Revisionism and Opportunism

Rabid Anti-Communists Unwittingly Help | the Armed Revolution of the Filipino People

The Filipino People in Struggle | During the Duterte Regime | and Perspective Beyond the 2022 Elections

On “Foreign Monsters” and the People’s War that Persists

The Filipino People’s Democratic | Revolution Is Invincible





*On the Revolutionary  
Movement and Mass Work*

***Sison Reader Series***  
***Book 13***



***Julieta de Lima***  
***Editor***



Copyright © 2023  
by International Network for Philippine Studies (INPS)  
Published by  
International Network for Philippine Studies (INPS)  
Cover and Book Design by Ricardo Lozano

## ***Foreword***

*Revolutionary Mass Movement and Mass Work* contains the writings of Jose Maria Sison on the subject over a span of 52 years, the first being the social investigation he made of the Northern Luzon region in 1970 in preparation for building the Party organization in the region. It details how social investigation is done and how it is important.

Equally important is the next article, Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports written in April 1971. It explains how CPP cadres, including those in the New People's Army, integrate and supervise the work at the basic levels and the need for building the basic Party organizations and the responsibility of the Party for building the mass organizations, the local organs of political power from the Barrio Organizing Committee (BOC) to the Barrio Revolutionary Committee (BRC).

These are followed by articles and reports on the growth and advance of the revolutionary forces under the leadership of the proletarian party. Among the most important is "The Critical and Creative Tasks of the Rectification Movement of the CPP" with its ten calls written for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Party's reestablishment.

"On the Task of Arousing, Organizing and Mobilizing the Masses" provides a comprehensive guide on how mass organizations should conduct the task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing (AOM) the masses.

The *Ang Bayan* interview, 40 Years of *Philippine Society and Revolution*, (PSR) reveals how this book has served in the ideological building of the revolutionary forces since it was first published in October 1969. The key contributions of PSR are its characterization of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and the corresponding line of national and democratic revolution under working class leadership. It defines the first stage of the Philippine revolution as people's democracy, which upon completion goes on to the next stage of socialism.

Internationally, "Strengthen Communist Parties in the Worsening Global Capitalist Crisis" describes the deleterious effect of neoliberal globalization on the world economy; and this has brought about favorable conditions for communist parties to strengthen themselves ideologically, politically and organizationally to be able to lead the struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism in their own countries while practicing international solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

Finally, "The Filipino People's Democratic Revolution Is Invincible" gives an optimistic revolutionary vision of undefeatable forces, "the toiling masses and the rest of the people who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction that gives us hope for a bright future of world peace and common prosperity."

# ***Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon***

**August 8, 1970**

---

Northern Luzon can be divided into three areas: the Ilocos at the western side, the mountain provinces at the center and the Cagayan Valley at the eastern side. The Ilocos includes the province of La Union, Abra, Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte. The mountain provinces include Benguet, Mountain Province (formerly Bontoc), Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao. The Cagayan Valley includes Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, Cagayan and Batanes. Batanes is a group of small islands at the northernmost tip of the region. Northern Luzon is the most mountainous region in the whole country. It is more than 90 percent mountains and valleys. The Cordillera mountain ranges occupy close to two-thirds of the whole region. Hills roll into the elongated Ilocos provinces and into the China sea. The Cagayan Valley is enclosed from the north to the south through the west by the Cordilleras and blocked off from the Pacific Ocean by the Sierra Madre.

Excluding Batanes, the most distant points of Northern Luzon lengthwise extend from Claveria, Cagayan to Santa Fe, Nueva Vizcaya by 280 kilometers and crosswise from Sta. Lucia, Ilocos Sur to Palanan, Isabela by 220 kilometers. These distances can be traversed in a number of days on foot trails and off the highways and main roads. Based on the 1960 census, 9.25 percent of the national population is in Northern Luzon. In 1970, the population should be already 3.5 million. According to the 1966 population projections, the population density of the Ilocos and mountain provinces is 70.3 per square kilometer and Cagayan Valley is 47.9 per square kilometer.

According to the Diokno Report, Northern Luzon has the lowest average income and rate of growth of average income. While the 1965 national average income is ₱2,541.00, the average income of Cagayan Valley and Batanes is ₱1,322.00 and the Ilocos and mountain provinces is ₱1,633.00. While the national growth rate of average family income from 1957 to 1965 was 72.7 percent, Cagayan Valley and Batanes registered the extremely low rate of increase of 3.8 percent and the Ilocos and mountain provinces, 26.4 percent.

These figures on average income from the reactionary government lump together the income of all classes. So had the income of the US-owned and US-controlled mining companies, the tobacco and rice landlords, the logging companies and other exploiters been set aside, the average family income of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat would amount to much less than those stated above. But the above figures clearly show that Northern Luzon is the most poverty-stricken region in the whole country.

The dominant ethnic group in the region is the Ilocano people and their language is the lingua franca of the entire region, including the mountain provinces and the foothills occupied mainly by non-Ilocano minorities. During the last seven decades, the Ilocano people have continuously spread out wave upon wave northward into the Cagayan Valley and southward into Central Luzon. They have even leaped over to Mindanao in big waves. Directly from Ilocos, they have also thrust sideways into the mountain provinces. Outside of Northern Luzon, the Ilocano people have become numerically superior in such provinces as Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and Zambales, and in many extensive areas in Mindanao.

Because of such conditions as severe exploitation of the people, a well-populated and well-vegetated mountainous and hilly terrain and a common language, all the areas of Northern Luzon are extremely favorable for guerrilla warfare. US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are at their worst in Northern Luzon. One can easily cite the extreme poverty and the constant migration of the people, the depression of tobacco price by US tobacco imports, the superprofits of the US mines, the low crop-share of the tenants and the usurious rates of interest in the land-scarce Ilocos and mountain provinces or in the haciendas of Cagayan Valley and the ruthlessness of armed gangs under the local warlords.

All reactionary parties never fail to consider the enormous Ilocano vote that exists both in Northern Luzon and in other regions. A notable fact under the present puppet republic is that three of the six presidents (Quirino, Magsaysay and Marcos) have been Ilocano. But these puppet chieftains and their political system have not at all raised the Ilocano people from grinding poverty. In fact, all the people of Northern Luzon have unceasingly become more impoverished as the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in the whole country remain unchanged and worsen.

The contradiction between the local production of Virginia tobacco and the importation of the same type of

tobacco from the United States has taken a turn extremely aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the peasantry in Ilocos. In the exercise of its imperialist power, the United States has dictated to the local puppet government to import more US tobacco and cigarettes and to remove the subsidy for the local production of Virginia tobacco.

The main advocate for the removal of this subsidy for more than a decade now is Raul Manglapus of the Christian Social Movement who claims himself to be an Ilocano but who obviously wants to put the interests of the US tobacco monopolies above those of the people of Ilocos. The implementer of the policy to kill the local production of tobacco is another Ilocano, Ferdinand E. Marcos who as a congressman grew fat on the tobacco business with the collusion of Harry Stonehill but who has now shifted his interest to the more lucrative business of importing Virginia tobacco and holding investments in sugar production and trading favored more than ever by US imperialism.

The tobacco subsidy is a paltry amount in comparison with the enormous financial support that has always been extended to the sugar landlords. But a puppet government like the present has no alternative but to follow the dictation of its foreign master. Thus, it has come to pass that the local Virginia tobacco is suddenly unwanted and subject to the low price dictation of the Phil-Asia Trading Corp. (a dummy corporation of Marcos), the redrying plants and their "Facoma" and "Procoma" (fake cooperatives controlled by local bureaucrat capitalists) and other merchant entities financed by Manila cigarette manufacturers.

US imperialism has always been antagonistic to the local production of Virginia tobacco in the Ilocos. That is why it has always prevented the railroad from reaching farther north than San Fernando, La Union. It is not only in depressing what was once a tobacco boom that US imperialism oppresses and exploits the Ilocos. By imposing semicolonial and semifeudal conditions on the Ilocos, US imperialism perpetuates a general state of backwardness and poverty. US manufactured commodities dominate the local market and Japanese goods have also invaded it. As a result of the repeated devaluation of the peso plus the depression of tobacco prices, the people of Ilocos have great difficulties purchasing basic commodities.

The people of Ilocos produce hardly enough rice for their own needs and tobacco production has restricted crop diversification. Though the Ilocos is strung along the China Sea, the fishing grounds are far from shore. Fish come from Pangasinan or as far as the fish market of Navotas, Rizal. Handicrafts, especially weaving, have been smashed a long time ago by imported US commodities. About two decades ago, a textile factory was established in Narvacan, Ilocos Sur by the National Development Corporation but it served only as an excuse for bureaucrat capitalists to steal government funds and was promptly crushed by the high cost of imported cotton and yarn and the continued inflow of finished fabrics from the United States. There is no manufacturing in Ilocos, with the exception of cement-making in Bacnotan, La Union. The extraction of magnetite ore and other minerals from the seashores of the Ilocos is being undertaken by the Japanese.

In the Ilocos, US imperialism maintains several military installations. In San Fernando, La Union, it has the Poro Point naval station, the Wheeler Air Base and the powerful radio transmitter of the Voice of America. The Port of San Fernando, La Union is the outlet for the mineral raw materials (copper, gold, silver, nickel, zinc and iron ores) from Benguet which are destined for the United States and Japan. In Pasuquin, Ilocos Norte, US imperialism has a major air base which is secretly equipped with nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons and is posed against neighboring peoples. It also has radar stations at a number of strategic points. In addition to these, it has military reservations. A number of Ilocos ports has been categorized as "international ports."

It is widely held that Ilocos has no big landlords. This is not true. Abra has 21 landlords owning 51 to 252 hectares of agricultural land. Ilocos Norte has 32 landlords owning 50.9 to 758 hectares. Ilocos Sur has 13 landlords owning 51 to 783 hectares. La Union has 29 landlords owning 52 to 630 hectares.

There are also landlords who own less than 50 hectares. The magnitude of land in the hands of each landlords is not the sole determinant of feudalism. More importantly, it is the relations of production obtaining between the non-tilling landowners and their tenants. The exploitation of the peasantry in land-scarce areas is even more severe than in land-extensive areas. A concrete investigation of the sharecropping arrangements, usury practice, system of tribute and the high value of land will easily bear this out. A non-tilling landowner with 20 hectares is no less a landlord when he exploits his tenants.

What is "50-50" sharecropping in Ilocos is actually 60-40 to 70-30 in favor of the landlord. Tenants enjoying 70-30 sharecropping in their favor are rare. Usury is at the rate of 20 percent to 100 percent a month. Tribute in

the form of menial service, unpaid labor or commodity such as chicken, vegetables or fruits is generally required by landlords. A hectare of land that could be bought for ₱4,000.00 in Central Luzon can hardly be bought for ₱12,000.00 in Ilocos.

The poor peasants can never hope to get their own piece of land in Ilocos. Land is so scarce here that there is actually stiff competition among the poor peasants just to become a tenant on a piece of land. The right to tenant a piece of land is usually sold by one poor peasant to another at a high price whenever the former chooses to migrate. In many cases, feudal and semifeudal exploitation is obscured by some familial kinship no matter how actually distant between the landlord and the tenant and between the moneylender and the debtor.

In areas along the Ilocos range, land grabbing has been perpetrated by provincial and municipal bureaucrats, especially in the course of making land surveys and determining territorial boundaries.

The relative scarcity of land and the harshness of exploitation in Ilocos explain why the Ilocano people are to be found in areas beyond their ancestral homes. The landless peasants have for decades flowed out of the Ilocos to the Cagayan Valley, Central Luzon and Mindanao either to become farm workers, tenants or homesteaders. They also join the proletariat in the mines of Benguet, the cement plants of Bacnotan, the port of San Fernando and elsewhere in the whole archipelago. US imperialism has for decades hired cheap Ilocano labor for its plantations, docks and fisheries in Hawaii, the West Coast or in US military bases and aboard US naval vessels.

The poor Ilocano peasants have been prey to recruitment into the reactionary armed forces. That is why 60 percent of the rank and file in the reactionary armed forces today is Ilocano. It is ironical that these poor Ilocano peasants are pitted by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes against the peasants of other provinces who have learned to fight oppression. It is worthwhile in waging revolutionary propaganda within the counterrevolutionary armed forces to recall to the reactionary troops their miserable peasant background in the Ilocos and elsewhere.

The members of the Ilocano petty bourgeoisie are acutely conscious that to maintain their status, they have to acquire formal education and acquire some government or private office or sink into the penury of the jobless and the landless. They have been actually the main support and at the same time the protégés of the bureaucrat capitalist factions that are the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party in the region. Since the emergence of warlordism in the Ilocos area, there has been an increasing awareness among them that democracy does not really exist in their provinces and home towns. They privately condemn the abuses of bureaucrat capitalists irrespective of parties. This is especially true among the student youth, public schoolteachers and lower government employees.

The principal problem in the Ilocos area today takes the form of warlordism. It is bureaucrat capitalism operating on a provincial or inter-provincial scale and using every fascist means to keep itself in power. Such warlords as the Crisologos, the Ablans and the Barberos are already bywords in the national scene because their frequent and flagrant use of armed power to abuse the people has at certain times found publicity in the Manila press. They maintain their own private armed gangs which strut about with the police and constabulary men. The reactionary armed forces and the goons combine in making a farce of the reactionary elections and in making daily extortions from the people. The Marcos fascist clique keeps these uniformed and non-uniformed criminals as its closest armed cohorts. This clique depends on them for the large-scale commission of fraud and terrorism in elections. As a matter of fact, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos himself still directly maintains his own private armed gangs in Ilocos Norte.

Under the Marcos fascist regime, warlordism has been given further blessings with the organization of the so-called "provincial strike forces" for "counterinsurgency" purposes. The warlords have been given license to commit murder, arson, rape, looting and extortion and have been given new facilities (arms from the JUSMAG and communications equipment from the AID) to tighten their control over districts and provinces. They are now directly manipulated by the CIA through the First PC Zone and the Polcom, and are poised to attack the best sons and daughters of the Ilocos who have emerged to bring about revolution in their own home provinces.

The booty of the warlords or bureaucrat capitalists in the Ilocos includes control and manipulation of public lands, monopoly over the tobacco trade and the nefarious practice of tobacco misgrading, private levies on merchants and control of coastlines for smuggling purposes. Crisologo has become most notorious in establishing the so-called tobacco blockade and in robbing the Philippine Virginia Tobacco Administration of its funds. The stakes are big enough to compel bureaucrat capitalists to commit all kinds of crimes to keep themselves in power.

Warlord chieftains like Crisologo, Valdez and Barbero have put up tobacco re-drying plants in Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte and Abra, respectively. These serve as their economic and armed bases. With so much filthy capital getting into their hands, they are expanding their landholdings by buying off lands from coerced and bankrupt peasants and even from the decadent gentry. Security guards in their plants double up as their political goons.

Warlord oppression and exploitation in the Ilocos from town to town have become so unbearable that the people, especially the peasant masses, are willing to fight the landlords tit for tat. They can no longer bear the misgrading, arbitrary confiscation or non-payment of their tobacco. They can no longer bear goons and constabulary men voting on their behalf during elections. It has become utterly clear to every patriot in Ilocos that only by using guns and bolos can they free themselves of well-armed bureaucrat capitalists and their armed minions.

The warlords have so excessively exposed with their unbridled abuses the anti-people and anti-democratic character of their power. To settle their own differences, they characteristically make use of armed force. The atrocity committed in Bantay, Ilocos Sur is but one instance of so many criminal abuses suffered by the people under the heels of the Philippine Constabulary and its goon partners. The courts have long become useless. Religious organizations have bared their impotency before the warlords. They could only beg Marcos, the biggest fascist puppet, to send more troops to suppress the people further. There is no more alternative for the people of Ilocos but to develop a strong underground movement and organize secret armed groups to free themselves from their powerful tormentors.

To start an armed mass movement in the Ilocos, strong bases can be developed among the peasant masses and Tinggians in remote barrios on hilly and mountainous areas and also along the national highway in coordination with a strong underground in the towns. The people can easily be mobilized because the abuses of the warlords and their henchmen have become too widespread and severe. A united front against warlordism can be made with a broad range of people, including aggrieved political personalities, civic leaders so-called, and merchants.

The warlords may have the illusion that they can easily control the national highway that runs through the length of Ilocos. But they certainly can never control movement on rice paddies and the mountains and hills. The revolutionary mass movement in any Ilocos province can easily coordinate with that in adjoining provinces. At any point in the Ilocos provinces, one has simply to walk 20 kilometers eastward to be in another province. Revolutionary rebels have traditionally crossed the distance between the Ilocos and Cagayan Valley through the Cordilleras.

The people of the Ilocos are not bereft of revolutionary tradition. Their ancestors fought the Spanish conquistador Salcedo. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they joined and supported the revolts led by Almazan and Ma-long. The revolt of Diego Silang and his wife Gabriela after the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the biggest and widest resistance to Spanish colonialism in Luzon before the outbreak of the Philippine revolution in 1896. In the early part of the 19th century, the people of Ilocos repeatedly raised their arms against the wine monopoly and landlord exploitation.

In the revolution against Spanish colonialism, and then against US imperialism from 1896 to 1902, the people of Ilocos rose unanimously and formed large fighting contingents. The best sons and daughters of the Ilocos were in both the revolutionary leadership and rank and file. Even when the main detachments of the Philippine revolutionary army had been defeated, New Katipunan associations emerged in the Ilocos provinces to wage guerrilla war against the US aggressor troops and the puppet constabulary.

Again when the Japanese fascists invaded the country during the last world war, the people formed guerrilla contingents which wiped out a great portion of the total Japanese soldiery and puppet forces. The unfortunate thing about this resistance was that the USAFIP-North Luzon leadership was principally interested in welcoming the return of US imperialism and the re-imposition of imperialist and feudal rule in the Philippines.

### ***The mountain provinces***

The principal problem afflicting the mountain provinces is direct US imperialist oppression and exploitation. Since the beginning of this century, US mining interests have robbed the people of their mineral wealth and lands in this area. Huge mining camps are like independent regimes with their own armed guards and checkpoints. To extract mineral wealth, the local proletariat has been subjected to wage slavery. There are now even more vigorous attempts by US and Japanese mining interests to open new mines not only in Benguet but also in the three other mountain provinces, Kalinga-Apayao, Ifugao and Mountain Province.

It is shamelessly boasted by the US imperialists that they brought progress and light to the mountain provinces. Their local running dogs echo the boast. But the widespread poverty of the mountain people is a clear testimony to the stagnation and backwardness imposed on them by their foreign exploiters. It is educational to repeat the story: "In the beginning, the foreign exploiters had the Bible and the mountain people had gold. In the end, the mountain people have only the Bible and the foreign exploiters have all the gold."

The US mining companies came to Benguet practically without investing a single cent of their own. The US colonial government subsidized these companies from the very beginning with taxes collected from the Filipino people. Even after the proclamation of the present puppet republic, these companies still manage to have their Gold Subsidy Law passed. Of the gold subsidy ranging from US\$50.00 to US\$65.00 per ounce (far more than the US\$35 per ounce fixed value of gold), only a measly 7.5 percent has been formally consigned to the workers and yet the subsidy has always been misrepresented as a boon to the workers.

The people are cheated several times over. First, huge profits are drawn from the labor of the workers but the workers are not paid decently on the basis of the value that they create. Second, the subsidy is extended with the idea of benefiting the workers but it is gobbled up by the company which arbitrarily determines the costs of production and always concludes that it needs the subsidy more than the workers do. Third, the cost of mining equipment, spare parts, mining chemicals and other materials which are imported from the United States or Japan is manipulated in company accounts. Fourth, the ores or concentrates produced are destined for US and Japanese companies abroad and their actual value is understated or obscured before they leave Philippine ports. Fifth, the mining companies bring profits out of the country to US investors. Sixth, if there is a yellow trade union or labor contractor around, union dues are drawn from the workers essentially for the benefit of the crooks and, therefore, of the company.

A local running dog of US imperialism, the chairman-general manager of the pompous Mountain Province Development Authority, stated in an official report and, therefore, in a serious vein the old sick joke that Benguet has a "favorable international balance of trade" with mineral exports outbalancing the consumption of US commodities in the area.

There are ten producing mines in Benguet today. They are the Acupan and Antamok mines of Benguet Consolidated, Inc.; the Atok Big Wedge Mining Co.; Benguet Exploration, Inc.; Baguio Gold Mining Co.; Black Mountain, Inc.; Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co.; Philex Mining Corp.; and Sangilo and Suyoc mines of Itogon-Suyoc Mines, Inc. These mines represent 36 percent of the total producing mines of the whole country, responsible for 90 percent of national gold production and 31 percent of national copper production. Benguet Consolidated, Inc. is the biggest gold producer and Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co. is the biggest copper producer.

At least one-half of Philippine copper production shall be in the mountain provinces upon the completion of the Boneng copper project of the Itogon-Suyoc Mines, Inc.; the Botilao copper project of the Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co.; the Copper Belt in the Mountain Province; the Batong Buhay Mines in Kalinga-Apayao; and the OMICO's Macawiwili copper project and also upon the expansion of Black Mountain, Inc. and Philex Mining Corp. At the moment, copper concentrates with various other components are mainly exported to Japan and only the US-Japanese monopoly capitalists know how much gold, silver, nickel and other by-products are contained.

The frenzied efforts of US imperialism and Japanese militarism to open new mines all over the mountain provinces have aroused the mountain people to resist. The opening of new mines entails the confiscation of communal and private lands, the depletion of the woods and destruction of watersheds, the drying up of rice fields and the pollution of rivers by copper wastes and mining chemicals which adversely affect even those lands not directly taken over by the mining companies. The mountain people have seen the adverse effects of mining on farming in Benguet where wide fields have been laid waste and the poor peasants have become more destitute.

In several instances, the mountain people have risen up to oppose the mining companies and destroy their quarters and implements. They say that it is more honorable to die in battle than to die a slow death when their fields are laid waste. The most outstanding examples of people's resistance have been made in Balbalasang and in Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao. In the former place, the people have repeatedly held demonstrations against the opening of new mines and in the latter place the people once took up their spears and guns, surrounded the Botilao mining camp of the Lepanto Consolidated Mines, Inc., confiscated the mining implements, sent the land grabbers and river polluters scampering away for their lives and burned the entire camp.

In this glorious instance, the struggle against US imperialism, the struggle for land and the struggle against

puppetry became joined. It is fast becoming clear who are the enemies of the Igorot national minorities. They are the US imperialists and their local running dogs. With its strange land and mining laws, the reactionary government insists that it has the privilege of disposing “public lands” and “public wealth” in favor of foreigners.

It uses corrupt provincial and municipal officials to deceive the people. It uses the courts and the Philippine Constabulary to have the people arrested, jailed and coerced. It uses the Mountain Province Development Authority to make false and vague promises about royalties, scholarships and barrio funds from the mining companies. It uses so-called mining associations to coerce and slander the people and grab lands in order to get a few crumbs from imperialism.

While all-out violence, including a large-scale military operation, is threatened against the people, the local agents of US imperialism and Japanese militarism talk of developing tourist spots in the mountain provinces as a pretext for demanding “hospitality” to foreign exploiters and destroyers of the people’s livelihood. They talk of progress being brought to the mountain people but they only mean outsiders enslaving the people, hiring only a few to dig the wealth from the land and putting away more people from their livelihood.

The mountain provinces have a strategic value to US imperialism not only because of its mineral wealth but also because political and military control of it means control of Northern Luzon. That is why, in addition to operating mining camps like independent armed regimes, the US imperialists maintain John Hay Air Base at Baguio City ostensibly as a rest and recreation center. This camp occupies 5.5 million square meters of highly valued urban real estate in a city abounding with the landless who are derisively called “squatters” in their own country. The area of the camp far exceeds the land owned by the puppet city government.

US imperialism also maintains the powerful transmitter of the Voice of America at Mount Sto. Tomas. It controls radar stations all over the mountain provinces. Several airstrips ostensibly under the private ownership of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Lutheran Church Mission and the mining companies are found in various parts of the mountain provinces and are clearly airfields for military purposes.

There is not only a system of US military protection for the US mining companies but there is also a cultural and educational system which supports them ideologically. American and other foreign missionaries beholden to US imperialism for mission funds and commodity aid run 82 private educational institutions which are well-distributed all over the mountain provinces and which conduct elementary schooling to college education. Sixty percent of the religious-run schools are run by the priests and nuns of the Congregation of the Immaculate Order and 40 percent by various Protestant sects.

Despite the fact that these religious institutions invoke the name of the “poor heathen” in soliciting contributions from various sources, they charge the highest fees and rake in the biggest profits in their schools, hospitals, printing presses, dormitories, houses and land for rent, fake cooperatives favoring farm capitalists and merchants, and other business enterprises. On top of that, they are even exempted from paying taxes.

Other subversive foreign organizations which make it a point to reach the barrio level are the US Peace Corps and the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. The former specializes in meddling in the public schools and the latter in pretending to be agricultural experts. These lately are the most aggressive agencies of US imperialism and Japanese militarism in aggravating the economic and political subservience and colonial mentality in the area. They have already become notorious for conducting political and economic espionage.

In the Benguet mines, the proletariat can be mobilized to wage a struggle against their daily exploitation and can become conscious of their revolutionary role and the need to nationalize foreign enterprises. They can also smash the maneuvers of the Marcos puppet clique to use its dummy corporation, the Hercules Mineral and Oils, Inc., in putting up a false facade that the US mining companies are already going national under the neocolonial legislation, the Investment Incentives Law.

There is no liberation from imperialism so long as the foreign investors can resort to stocks manipulation and so long as mineral ores in the mountain provinces are brought to the United States or Japan under the pretext of paying for loans and interest. At the moment, US and Japanese plunder of the mineral resources of the mountain people is even being intensified. There is no hope for the nationalization of the mines except by revolutionary action of the mine workers.

Based on 1968 employment records, there are supposed to be around 12,000 mining workers in Benguet. Obviously, this figure does not include “temporary” or “probationary” workers who are categorized as such for the capitalist purpose of depriving them of the basic rights of workers and extracting more profits from their



exploitation. But this figure shows immediately that it is in Benguet where the proletariat is most concentrated in Northern Luzon.

Though the mining camps today are armed enclaves of US imperialism in Northern Luzon, the proletariat can become conscious and revolutionary and can ultimately transform the mining camps into proletarian command posts. About 35 percent of the mining workers come from all the mountain provinces; about 33 percent from Pangasinan and about 25 percent from the Ilocos and Cagayan Valley. The rest come from various parts of the country.

Farm workers are also concentrated in the Benguet vegetable farms from La Trinidad to Abatan. They come from all over the mountain provinces, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan Valley. Either they cannot be accommodated in the mines or have preferred farming to mining. They are also subjected to extreme wage slavery. They receive a monthly farm wage of ₱40.00 to ₱70.00 with no overtime pay for a 12-hour work day from Monday to Sunday, are put into unsanitary quarters and are subject to usury.

Additional workers in Benguet are to be found in transportation, in the two hydroelectric plants (Ambuklao and Binga), logging and saw mills, public works, reforestation and construction. With the exception of the hydroelectric workers, all of these workers have their counterparts in the other mountain provinces. There is no significant manufacturing, only marginal handicrafts like basket weaving and woodcarving, notwithstanding the proximity of the hydroelectric plants. Darkness reigns where the source of light is and stagnation weighs heavily on the people where the source of power is.

The biggest logging firm in Benguet is US-owned Herald Lumber Company which supplies the wood requirements of the mines. This company is notorious for denuding the watershed of Benguet, especially that surrounding the hydroelectric plants. In all other mountain provinces, especially Kalinga-Apayao, there is more extensive logging but it is conducted by logging companies based in Cagayan Valley.

The vast majority of the mountain people are peasants. Most of them till lands which are categorized as "public lands" by the puppet reactionary government. Thus, the mountain people, like all other national minorities of the whole country are subject to the evil of land grabbing which is perpetrated more easily in areas adjoining Cagayan valley than in the interior where land grabbers have to reckon with the strong tribal and intertribal unity of the people. There is extreme land scarcity in Benguet, Bontoc and Ifugao where the people are limited to developing agriculture in small valleys and mountain slopes. Clans resort to communal farming from generation to generation because there is not much land to divide. But still the evils of feudalism operate as in the Ilocos provinces even on lands of less than 50 hectares which are owned by non-tillers.

In Kalinga-Apayao, there are 12 big landlords owning 50 to 1,543 hectares. In Benguet, there are 56 big landlords owning 50 hectares to 1,643 hectares. There are also 26 private mineral lands ranging in size from 52 to 703 hectares. In Ifugao, there are 8 big landlords owning 50 to 311.7 hectares. In Mountain Province, there are 15 big landlords owning 50 to 1,000 hectares. In dealing with these figures, one should bear in mind that there are more extensive valleys suitable for agriculture in Kalinga-Apayao (especially in Tabuk, Liwan, Flora and Luna) than in the three other mountain provinces where the topography is more rugged.

Seventy-five percent of the rice crop of all the mountain provinces is produced in the wider fields of Kalinga-Apayao. Though this province is considered the rice granary of the highlands, rice merchants find it more profitable to carry away the local rice produce to Cagayan where wholesale transportation is more accessible. The roads linking the mountain provinces beyond the Benguet roads used by the mining companies are utterly neglected by the reactionary government.

Bureaucrat oppression comes from the reactionary government center in Manila and also from the local puppet officials. Previously, the old Mountain Province was centered in Bontoc and the idea was to use throughout the highlands the provincial share of the taxes paid by the mines concentrated in Benguet. Even at that time, the mountain people were already terribly deprived of these taxes from the mines by the reactionary government center in Manila. So little a share was conceded to the provincial puppet government.

Now bureaucrat oppression is worse. Because the bureaucrats of Benguet are allowed to monopolize these concessions directly granted by the US mining companies and because there are now four sets of corrupt bureaucrats where before there was only one set sucking up and misappropriating public funds drawn from local taxation or congressional appropriation. Thus, the uneven development of the mountain provinces has become even worse.

The old Mountain Province was divided into four provinces ostensibly for the purpose of gerrymandering, specifically for satisfying the bureaucratic aspirations of the local Igorot petty bourgeoisie. But the actual purpose was decided by US imperialism and its running dogs in Manila who thought that it was a bright idea to deprive mineral-rich Bontoc, Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao of government appropriation so that the people would be compelled to allow the opening of new mines. In other words, the sinister idea has been to make the people jump from the frying pan (government neglect) to the fire (destruction of their fields in favor of foreign monopolies and local traitors).

The bureaucratic oppressors of the mountain people are experts in manipulating public funds and public bids and in land speculation. But they are not satisfied with the old sources of graft and corruption. They look up to the nefarious example of Benguet bureaucrats who receive sizeable retainers' fees from the US mining companies. As a matter of fact, the bureaucrats of all the mountain provinces have already started to receive retainers' fees and other concessions in payment for their efforts to maneuver the opening of new mines against the wishes and interests of the people.

Ostensibly to help develop the mountain provinces, the puppet government in Manila has put up the Mountain Province Development Authority (MPDA) and the Greater Manila Terminal Food Market (GMTFM). The MPDA is nothing but a milking cow of do-nothing bureaucrats who openly suck up 80 percent of MPDA funds in the form of salaries and allowances and dispose 20 percent in dubious ways such as honoraria, printing expenses, purchases of office equipment and transportation expenses. The MPDA, like its counterparts in other regions of the country, is mainly a device to bribe local opinion makers into supporting the Marcos puppet clique. Thus, its head is the publisher and editor of the largest non-religious publication in Northern Luzon (*The Midland Courier*).

The MPDA has been trying to deceive the people to accept such things as the opening of new mines and the economic espionage and propaganda work of the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers who take the guise of experts in mushroom culture and sericulture. The GMTFM, on the other hand, has only increased the costs of handling the vegetable and fruit produce of Benguet and made the cost of these commodities in Manila and other places prohibitive.

The bureaucrat oppressors of the mountain people are no different from their counterparts in other parts of Northern Luzon. Armed force is employed to keep them in power. The ambush of Governor Lumauig of Ifugao is nothing but a part of a struggle in which the Lumauigs (both governor and congressman) themselves have employed their own armed gang. Whereas previously they merely took orders from Crisologo in committing fraud and terrorism during national elections, the top bureaucrats in the mountain provinces are now taking full initiative in organizing and directing their own armed gangs.

The local bureaucratic tyrants are also involved in gambling and cattle rustling operations. The most notorious cattle rustling and robbery gang based in Bontoc and operating even in adjoining provinces is under the protection of Congressman Alfredo Samen.

Despite the oppressive rule of the Christian chauvinist government, the council of elders at the village level is still a powerful force. The relations of villages or rather tribes are still governed by the bodong, a peace pact resulting from tribal conflicts. Lately, the foreign mining companies and their local running dogs are trying to divide the tribes against each other in order to pave the way for grabbing lands and establishing mines. What is needed in the mountain provinces is an anti-imperialist, anti-land grabber and anti-bureaucrat bodong to unite the entire people and assert self-determination.

The mountain people have a rich revolutionary tradition. They resisted the Spanish colonizers as tenaciously as the native people of Mindanao did. That is why their ancient customs are still very distinct. It was only at the beginning of this century that a foreign power, US imperialism, succeeded in controlling the mountain provinces with the instrumentality of defeated troops in the Philippine revolution and of religious missionaries. The US imperialists used the trick of giving small gifts only to grab the huge wealth of the people.

General Antonio Luna was the first Filipino military strategist to recognize the strategic value of the mountain provinces. He had already started to take steps to convert the area into a resistance base when he was assassinated by the capitulationists in the Philippine revolution. Aguinaldo himself in his retreat to Palanan was forced to pass through the fastnesses of the Cordilleras.

It was during the anti-Japanese war of resistance that the mountain provinces proved to be a strategic and decisive base for the Filipino people. US military officers were able to impose their command on the USAFIP-NL

and were able to coordinate the anti-Japanese struggle in the whole region of Northern Luzon by maintaining their headquarters at varying points in the mountain provinces. By employing the mountain provinces as their rear, the people of Ilocos and Cagayan Valley resisted the Japanese. Eighty-five to ninety thousand Japanese troops, excluding puppet troops, garrisoned the whole Northern Luzon. Yet the people, the guerrillas and the bolo men were able to kill 52,033 of them.

General Yamashita himself chose to make his last stand in the mountain provinces during the last months of World War II. But the mountain people had long made their stand against the Japanese. Despite the fact that he concentrated in the mountain provinces some 120,00 to 150,00 men—including those withdrawn from other areas in Luzon—Yamashita could not hold out against the Filipino guerrillas and the mountain people who ambushed them at every turn in a terrain extremely favorable for guerrilla war. At the time of his surrender, Yamashita had only 33,000 troops left with him. The rest had been annihilated or had fled helter-skelter to Cagayan Valley.

Without making effective use of the Cordilleras, revolutionary bases in other parts of Northern Luzon can hold out only with great difficulty. Even if the lowlands of both Ilocos and Cagayan Valley and even the Sierra Madre are put into effective use, revolutionary bases therein will still have to reckon with US and puppet troops that could be concentrated on the mountain provinces for vantage in the whole Northern Luzon and with marine landings from the China Sea and Pacific Ocean.

The revolutionary support of the mountain people, the strategic position of the mountain provinces and the extremely favorable terrain and rich vegetation of the Cordilleras are of great significance in the Philippine revolution. There can be no secure interior line for the enemy here. Roads and countless foot trails also lead from the mountain provinces to the entire Cagayan Valley, all Ilocos provinces, Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija.

### ***Cagayan Valley and Batanes***

As in all other areas of Northern Luzon and the whole country, US imperialism oppresses and exploits the people of Cagayan Valley and Batanes by maintaining semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. The people are subjected to a cash economy where the price of manufactured commodities, especially those imported from the United States and other capitalist countries, is fast rising. At the same time, the price of rice and tobacco, which are the main products of the people, does not rise as much as that of manufactured commodities. It is only when the poor peasants have consumed their crop-share and are compelled to buy from the market that the price is high. Any increase in the agriculture produce of the people is appropriated by the big compradors and landlords—the reactionary allies of US imperialism. In this period of mounting inflation and repeated devaluation, it has become easier to expose to the people how they are squeezed by US imperialism and by the local tyrants.

In the whole of Northern Luzon, Cagayan Valley has the widest agricultural fields. As a matter of fact, it has long been known as the rice granary of Northern Luzon. It produces a rice surplus that more than covers the grain deficits of the Ilocos and mountain provinces. At the same time, it produces corn which is locally consumed mainly by the working people, especially the original inhabitants of the valley—the Ibanag, Gaddang, Itawes, Ilongot and Yogan minorities. Tobacco for the Manila cigar and cigarette factories has also been produced since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the rice surplus and the production of tobacco, the people have not raised themselves from the morass of poverty. Neither have the exploiting classes seen it fit to establish any significant manufacturing industry in the area.

Neither US imperialism nor the present puppet government has found it necessary to extend the railways or improve the road network of Cagayan Valley. It is only lately that an effort is being made to put up the so-called Japanese Friendship Highway in conjunction with joint US-Japanese efforts to dig up the mineral riches of the area, and also in conjunction with the US imperialist scheme to allow Japanese militarism to participate more speedily in counterrevolution. In World War II, the Japanese fascists made a major thrust through Aparri while they kept the USAFFE busy in Bataan. Now with US collaboration, the Japanese are making another thrust using the same route.

What is obviously the present principal problem of the people of Cagayan Valley is feudalism. This fact is easily borne out by the presence of 437 big landlords, owners of at least 50 hectares, in Cagayan province. There are 263 landlords owning 50-99 hectares; 90 owning 100-199 hectares; 56 owning 200-499 hectares; 13 owning 500-999 hectares; and 15 owning 1,150 to 7,037 hectares. Those who have the common notion that big haciendas exist only in Central Luzon, Negros and Mindanao should take note of the 15 biggest Cagayan landlords and their respective landholdings below:

1. Melquiades Bautista 7,037 (Solana)
2. Fernandez Sisters 5,000 (Calayan)
3. Reymundo Villacete 3,503 (Piat)
4. Benigno Limchey Hun 3,482 (Solana)
5. Susana Realty, Inc. 2,658 (Solana)
6. Hawkis Family 2,604 (Piat)
7. Cornelio Bunagan 2,494 (Enrile)
8. Caridad Villaflor 2,015 (Enrile)
9. Leonora Quequegan 2,004 (Faire)
10. Lope G. Rivas 2,000 (Enrile)
11. CVAC (Luis Gonzales) 1,923 (Enrile)
12. Benigno Lim 1,917 (Solana)
13. Pablo Gavino 1,402 (Solana)
14. Antonio E. Lee 1,368 (Tuao)
15. Luis Aquino 1,150 (Piat)

Cagayan ranks sixth in the whole country in the number of landlords owning more than 50 hectares of agricultural land. It follows only such notorious bastions of landlordism as Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Quezon, Camarines Sur and Nueva Ecija. It beats all the provinces of Central Luzon, with the exception of Nueva Ecija. In the absence of a strong armed peasant movement or any history of land seizure by the peasants, Cagayan certainly suffers worse feudal conditions than the provinces of Central Luzon. It is the province in the entire Northern Luzon where an agrarian revolution can be most easily ignited.

The cruelest forms of feudal exploitation are at work here. Lands are concentrated in the hands of the landlords. Usury is at the rate of 50 percent to 150 percent a month. Physical cruelty and other despotic practices are commonly inflicted on the people. It is a common practice of the big landlords to maintain armed gangs on their lands. So many murders have been committed against the peasantry by the landlords with impunity.

The processes by which land has become concentrated in the hands of the landlords are similar to those that have operated in Mindanao and everywhere else. Landlords from other regions, usually from the Ilocos and Central Luzon come to buy lands cheaply from the destitute peasants. Merchants join the landlords in practicing usury and they acquire lands. Bureaucrats who are originally landlords or not at all arbitrarily title to themselves public lands, especially when they are already logged over and poor peasants have already cultivated them. In the process, they even grab lands already tilled for several generations by poor peasants. The late reactionary chieftain Quirino grabbed 1,923 hectares of Cagayan land and placed it under the name of his son-in-law, Luis Gonzales.

The history and present conditions of Cagayan province hold true for the other provinces of Cagayan Valley. However, the available figures on landlords in Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya are unreliable. In Isabela there are supposed to be 45 landlords owning 50 to 7,572.7 hectares. In Nueva Vizcaya, there are supposed to be only 11 landlords owning 63 to 3,330 hectares. In Batanes, there are 11 landlords owning 53 to 129 hectares. By implication, the credible figures for Batanes, a small group of islands, make the figures for Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya which are provinces several times bigger extremely incredible. For instance, the land of at least 20,000 hectares grabbed by the reactionary chieftain Marcos and falsely titled to the brother-in-law of his wife (which straddle Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya) does not appear in the available list of landlords. The many ranches of large areas in these two provinces are also not listed.

In the Cagayan Valley, settlers now outnumber the original inhabitants. Most of them are Ilocano, coming either directly from the Ilocos provinces or from Pangasinan or the northern districts of Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. It can be safely estimated that Cagayan Valley is now 80 percent Ilocano. The other settlers accounting for 10 percent come from the Pampango and Tagalog districts of Central Luzon. The Ilocanos are all over Cagayan Valley and there are many towns which are completely Ilocano, especially in Northern Cagayan. Settlers from Central Luzon are concentrated in logging areas and in such official resettlement areas as the Edcor, Narra and Lasedeco. In the official resettlement areas previously reserved for surrenderees from the people's army in Central Luzon there are now more Ilocano settlers who come directly from the Ilocos and other areas of Cagayan Valley and who take the initiative of breaking new land beyond boundaries set by the puppet government for resettlement.

Practically all of the poor settlers who break new lands from the "public domain" are open prey to land

grabbers and all other kinds of exploiters. The poor settlers justly divide lands among themselves. But the reactionary government is blind to their situation and refuses to grant them titles to the land that they have developed. They can keep their lands only by uniting against the land grabbers and other exploiters who are allowed and encouraged by the reactionary government to prey on them. The reactionary government opened such resettlement areas as the Lasedeco, Narra and Eddcor only to deceive the entire peasantry and to cover up for the landlords' own program of resettlement, that is to say, their own program of titling vast tracts of lands to their names without expending a single drop of sweat.

Bureaucratic oppression in the entire Cagayan Valley is as cruel as in the Ilocos. Warlordism has become a well-entrenched fact in the area. It bares its teeth not only during election time but everyday. The warlords command constabulary men, policemen and their private goons to grab lands from poor settlers or protect their old holdings, to keep their logging concessions or to extort from logging companies, to extract private levies from merchants, to allow the passage of logs being smuggled out to Japan or of goods being smuggled in through the Cagayan coastline or maintain their cattle rustling syndicates. The nefarious activities of the provincial and municipal bureaucrats are too many to be detailed here.

Criminality against the people is rampant in Cagayan Valley. Taking after the example of their masters and also enjoying political protection, goons, policemen and constabulary men engage widely in robbery, rape, cattle rustling and extortion in the barrios. These are extensions of the bureaucratic tyranny suffered by the people.

The Cagayan Valley has long been known as a cool-down area for the worst criminals in Ilocos. These stay with their relatives or friends who have settled here. In no time, they hire themselves out to the local bureaucrats and at the same time engage in their own criminal ventures. But criminality is not only something imported from the Ilocos or Nueva Ecija. It is bred by the kind of political system that has long reigned in Cagayan Valley as elsewhere in the whole country. There are criminal strangers but there are more criminal natives now under the protection of the local warlords in Cagayan Valley. Put against the masses, they are only a handful. They can be struck down and be deprived of their guns to arm the masses.

The vast majority of the people in Cagayan Valley as in all other parts of Northern Luzon are peasants. There is also the proletariat which is very distinctly in logging and saw-milling areas, ranches, tobacco warehouses and transportation lines. They suffer the worst forms of wage slavery; they are deprived of the minimum concessions long given in Manila.

One distinct advantage of Cagayan Valley over the Ilocos and mountain provinces insofar as initiating revolutionary work is concerned is that cadres can easily be dispatched from Central Luzon. The settlers from Central Luzon are an important tactical bridge towards reaching the great Ilocano masses. What is most basic, of course, is that the land problem in Cagayan Valley is sharp enough to arouse the peasant masses to take up the revolutionary cause.

The public schoolteachers and the student youth of Cagayan Valley are also a considerable force as in the Ilocos and the mountain provinces. They can serve as an important channel for revolutionary ideas all over the valley and up to the small island province of Batanes.

The exploiting classes have their own severe differences. Their factional and individual differences have often led to violent incidents. These intra-class contradictions can be utilized to favor the revolutionary movement. Resort to armed force among the contending politicians and loggers is common in the Cagayan Valley. However, there is no substitute to revolutionary work among the broad masses of the people.

The terrain of Cagayan Valley is extremely favorable for waging a people's war. The Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre can serve as limitless rears. Even in the midsections of the valley are smaller but well-vegetated mountains and rolling hills. So long as the people are aroused and mobilized, tactical variations for guerrilla war are limitless in this kind of terrain. There may be the new strategic highway, the Japanese Friendship Highway, practically cutting up the huge valley into two but there are too many points along its course that can make it a deadly highway for the enemy from several directions.

The Cagayan Valley can easily compete with the mountain provinces as the death trap for the enemy in a big way. But to establish stable revolutionary bases in Cagayan valley, there has to be an effective employment of both the Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre. The effective employment of these two massive mountain ranges by the people will mean the defeat of the enemy in Northern Luzon and will determine the emergence of regular mobile units all over the plains of Central Luzon where the enemy at present has concentrated his forces and where he can

most easily dispose them in a mechanized way by land or by air.

On the grand scale of Northern Luzon, the enemy can never be sure of a secure interior line even if he applies the militarist theory of acreage and deploys as many as 200,000 men here. In the mountainous areas, US air and naval power can be rendered futile. Being able to employ a large manpower on the ground is a political question. Even at the present stage, US imperialism is already greatly weakened by revolutionary wars all over the world and the Philippine puppet government could hardly maintain 50,000 men to impose its tyranny over the entire archipelago. The people of Cagayan Valley have a revolutionary tradition. In 1596, Magalat led a powerful revolt against Spanish colonialism. The people of Nueva Vizcaya and then the people of Cagayan raised the banner of revolt in 1621 and 1625-27, respectively. In 1660, Malong was able to extend his revolt from Pampanga and Ilocos to Cagayan. Since the middle part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the people of Cagayan Valley repeatedly rose up against the tobacco monopoly.

The people of Cagayan Valley vigorously joined the Philippine revolution of 1896. They annihilated the Spanish tyrants and drove away the friars and tobacco companies exploiting them. In the Filipino-American War, the people continued to fight heroically. The revolutionary forces in the area were so strong that the Aguinaldo government made a retreat to it. In the war against US imperialism, the people of Isabela were among the last to be quelled in Northern Luzon by the US aggressor troops and their puppet constabulary men.

During World War II, the guerrilla fighters of Cagayan Valley coordinated directly with other guerrilla forces all over Northern Luzon, including Pangasinan. The guerrilla fighters of Cagayan Valley launched the most successful raids on Japanese military installations. The Japanese were always kept dizzy on a wide front. The guerrilla detachments in Northern Luzon that remained intact and grew strong from the beginning to the end of the war operated between the Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre.

The old Communist Party committed a major mistake by failing to dispatch even only a small number of cadres to Cagayan Valley during the war. Lack of a correct orientation on Northern Luzon prevented the old Party from doing so. The USAFIP-NL guerrilla leaders were only a few at the beginning. Cadres of the Hukbalahap could have easily based themselves among the settlers from Central Luzon at the beginning.

The mistake during the anti-Japanese war was repeated during the period of 1946-1950. When it was tardily decided in 1950 that the people's army develop people's war in Cagayan Valley, the few hundreds of Red fighters dispatched here were not correctly guided and were immediately broken up into squad-size units without any reliable base. They were spread out thinly to distant points to fend for themselves without any firm orientation that the people's war was protracted and that there was no substitute for taking the mass line. As roving rebel bands, some small units penetrated the mountain provinces without any understanding of the local people. The traitor Luis Taruc who was assigned to Cagayan Valley in 1951 completely underestimated its strategic value and chose to flee from the struggle and surrender.

---

## **Conclusion**

This report is an initial attempt towards the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete conditions of Northern Luzon. On the basis of this general study, we may start to consider a program of action for the entire region or a local adaptation of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Closer investigation by cadres who go into more particular areas will certainly see conditions more sharply. But the Party must have an overall view of Northern Luzon in order to be able to dispose a limited number of cadres and resources most wisely at this early stage. Our knowledge of Northern Luzon will certainly be further enriched by further practical work. This report is, therefore, essentially an initial guideline for further study and work in the region.

This report was drawn not by simply poring over books. The reporter made a survey of Northern Luzon and stayed in particular areas to make a concrete investigation.

The projection is made in this report that the people's army can and will annihilate the enemy in a big way in Northern Luzon. The projection is further made that the annihilation of the enemy in this region will determine the emergence of regular mobile warfare in the wide plains of Central Luzon. These projections are not mere conjectures drawn from sheer imagination. They are drawn from past history and a comprehension of present problems, such as the concentration of enemy forces in Central Luzon from Fort Magsaysay to Subic Bay.

It was in Northern Luzon that the biggest number of Japanese fascist troops in the whole country was annihilated during World War II. The number of casualties inflicted on the Japanese imperial army by the guerrillas of this area was several times more than that inflicted by the guerrillas of Central Luzon. The rapid advance of the Hukbalahap in Central Luzon from early October 1944 to the conclusion of the war depended to a great extent on the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Central Luzon to the mountain provinces during that period and the subsequent defeats inflicted on these invaders here.

It is necessary to know the past and present circumstances in order to draw correctly an outline of future developments. Chairman Mao teaches us, "You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it."

Cadres assigned to regional work should have an overall view of their respective regions. They should make overall as well as specific reports to leading organs. After a reasonable period of time of making specific reports, they should strive to draw an overall picture of their regional sphere to help the Central Committee in its strategic thinking.

There is the illusion among some cadres that conducting revolutionary work is only to be constantly on the move in local work without pausing to sum up and study their practical work. They even fail to make the appropriate specific reports on their work to leading organs. The result is that there is lack of direction in their work and the leading organs themselves become deprived of substantial knowledge to guide general work.

All work without study is as bad as all study without work. According to Chairman Mao, "For those charged with directing work, the basic method of knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan and, using the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, make a number of thorough investigations."

# ***Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports***

April 1971

---

## ***Foreword***

The Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports shows members of the Communist Party of the Philippines how to integrate and supervise the work on basic levels. It lays stress on the need for basic organizations and their leadership to submit reports to higher Party organs.

The Central Committee prepared this guide for implementation by the National Operations Command of the New People's Army and the regional Party committees.

This guide should be discussed by all Party branches and groups, squads and platoons of the New People's Army, and cadres in the organs of political power and mass organizations.

It is necessary for those taking the primary course to study the subject of basic organizational work and reporting based on the text of the Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports.

Party cadres and members are expected to give their opinions and suggestions on how to improve this guide on the basis of their own revolutionary practice.

The principle of democratic centralism should be studied and implemented in our organizational life. In this regard, let us refer to Article IV of our Party Constitution:

Section 1. The structure of the Party shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism, meaning to say, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership.

The basic condition shall be as follows:

- Leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be elected and shall be responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them.
- After free and thorough discussion, decisions taken by the Party shall be implemented without exception.
- Leading organs of the Party shall always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and of the masses of Party members and they shall constantly study concrete experiences and render prompt assistance in solving problems.
- Lower Party organizations shall give regular and special reports about their work to the organization above them and shall request instructions promptly concerning problems which require the decision of a higher Party organization.
- All Party organizations shall follow the principle of collective leadership and all important questions shall be decided collectively.

## ***Guide to self-analysis for candidate members***

### **A. Life History and Personality**

1. State the date of your birth, place of birth, the places where you have stayed for at least six months during the last five years, the languages or dialects you can speak, schools attended, occupation for the last five years and special knowledge, skills or training.

2. State the occupation and political orientation of your close relatives by blood as well as relatives by marriage and at least ten of your closest friends during the last five years. Cite those who are particularly counterrevolutionary and those who are revolutionary or those you can help develop to become revolutionaries.

3. Relate your class origin and the development of your ideology and political consciousness.

4. State what you can do for the Party at present and in the future regarding Party building, armed struggle and the national united front.

### **B. Political Record**

1. State all the organizations you have joined for the last five years (in chronological order) and give background information on these and the work you have undertaken therein.

2. State your reason for desiring to join the Party and the concrete circumstances that made you decide to join.

3. Give a full account of your involvement in the mass revolutionary movement.



4. State your present personal condition in relation to the political work you have done for the mass revolutionary movement.

C. Ideology

1. Answer the basic questions regarding materialist philosophy, dialectical materialism, historical materialism, political economy, imperialism, international communist movement, Philippine history, basic problems of the Filipino people, new democratic revolution in the Philippines, history of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, program and constitution of the Party, rules of the New People's Army and the organs of political power. (Give emphasis on the primary course).

2. State frankly the points you want to be clarified regarding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, Philippine society and revolution, and the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

3. Explain the present balance of forces in the world and in the Philippines.

4. Give practical suggestions on how the Party in general and the organization or unit to which you belong can be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally based on your present understanding of the mass revolutionary movement.

Required readings for candidate members:

1. Five Golden Rays
2. Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong
3. Philippine Society and Revolution
4. Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines
5. Current major decisions of the Central Committee
6. Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports
7. On People's War

N.B.: This guide to self-analysis shall serve as an outline for any set of questions that may be asked by the Party member assigned to evaluate the candidate member. The two Party members who recommend the candidate member shall be responsible for his/her education and actions.

Pertinent provisions of the Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines [Refer to the Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines]

- A. Article II – Membership
- B. Article III – Rights and Duties of Members
- C. Article IV – Structure and Principles of Party Organization
- D. Article VII – Basic Organization of the Party
- E. Article VIII – Party Groups in Mass Organizations
- F. Article IX – The Party's Relationship with the New People's Army
- G. Article X – Party Finances

Clarification of the tasks of the party branch leadership

A. The Executive Committee shall:

1. Carry out and propagate the political line, the policies and directives of higher Party organs.
2. Discuss and decide the policies, plans and work of the Party branch between meetings of the entire branch.
3. Evaluate candidate members of the Party branch and approve their full membership.
4. Create positions or other committees under the Executive Committee or Secretariat in order to implement specific tasks.

B. The Secretariat shall supervise the daily activities of the Party branch.

1. The Secretary shall:

- act as political officer, chief representative and spokesman of the branch;
- call the general meetings of the branch, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat; and
- Set an example to the Party members and the people.

2. The deputy secretary for organization shall:

- supervise the groups of the branch and the Party groups in the organs of political power and in local mass organizations;

- take over as secretary if the latter is unable to carry out his duties; and
- see to it that all members attend the meetings of the branch.

3. The deputy secretary for education shall:

- supervise the continuous study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine revolution by candidate members and full Party members of the branch; and
- see to it that publications and other reading materials are available to all the sections in the branch.
- The members in the executive committee shall be from five to eleven based on the total number of members in the branch. If only three members constitute a branch, it is desirable that they form a provisional secretariat (with one secretary and two deputy secretaries) until the number of members in the branch reaches seven and they can elect the executive committee and secretariat.

### ***Guide for building organs of political power***

In the present people's war, it is important to underscore the building of organs of political power by the masses in the countryside. This is because the conditions in the countryside allow us to annihilate the forces of the enemy and establish organs of political power, thus paving the way for the seizure of power in the whole country and the complete establishment of the system of people's democracy.

#### ***In the countryside***

As an answer to the democratic demands of the present stage of the revolution, the organs of the people's political power in the countryside are by nature a government of the united front against feudalism. In establishing organs of political power in the countryside, it is important to emphasize the class policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants and the farm workers, striving to win over the middle peasants (especially its outstanding activists) and neutralizing the rich peasants. Also take into account the workers and teachers and other democratic elements residing in the barrio.

First Step:

Establish the Barrio Organizing Committee (BOC) after social investigation.

#### **A. Organizing the Barrio Organizing Committee**

1. Choose from the ranks of the people the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.
2. After having been thoroughly evaluated and given tasks, five to ten of them shall be elected to compose the committee which shall in turn elect the leadership.
3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.
  - The chairman shall be directly responsible for the implementation of the necessary tasks and the mobilization of the committee members.
  - The vice chairman shall take the place of the chairman in times of necessity and shall perform other functions assigned to him by the chairman.
  - The secretary shall make the records and keep the records of the committee.
  - The treasurer shall take charge of the finances of the committee.
  - The defense chief shall take charge of the security of the barrio and the propaganda unit and, at the start, shall be the only one who will have direct contact with defense members.
  - All the committee members shall have the equal right to request for a meeting and to bring up or discuss problems.

4. Choose the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

#### **B. Duties of the Barrio Organizing Committee**

1. Arouse the masses on the need for unity in order to solve their problems.
2. Prepare the components for the organization of the BOC:
  - mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women and children; and
  - those being developed to become members of the BOC.

3. Prepare the masses for armed struggle.
4. Explain to the masses the vital role they play in the people's democratic revolution:

- by supporting and assisting the Party and the New People's Army; and
- by joining the armed struggle.

5. Keep watch on the enemy's movements and give timely information to the comrades and the masses.

#### C. Methods of Mobilization

1. Hold indignation meetings against the enemies of the people.
2. Hold study meetings on the problems of the masses.
3. Solve day-to-day problems.
4. Watch, eliminate and suppress the enemies of the people such as abusive landlords and officials, cattle rustlers, extortionists, bandits and troublemakers.

#### II. Advanced Step

Establish the Barrio Revolutionary Committee (BRC) based on the following conditions:

##### 1. On the mobilization of the masses

- The barrio has been consolidated and the enemies of the people eliminated or suppressed.
- Land rent and loan interest have at least been reduced.
- Mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women and children, or at least a majority of these have been established.
- The five committees under the BRC, namely the committees on organization, education, defense, economy and health, have been prepared.

2. On the Party: A branch of the Party has already been formed in the barrio which can function within the BRC itself. The existence of the Party group in the BRC and in the New People's Army is an affirmation of the proletarian leadership. The Party leadership is proven by good deeds for the benefit of the people. It is desirable that one-third of the BRC are Party members.

##### A. Methods of Organizing the BRC

1. Hold an election to be attended by heads of families and leaders of mass organizations under the supervision of the Party branch.
2. Let the whole barrio elect the overall committee of the BRC of 15 members.
3. Let the overall committee elect the overall chairman and the chairmen of the five committees.
4. The elected chairmen of the five committees shall recommend to the BRC those who will compose their committees; the members are drawn from the masses.
5. Anyone may be removed from his position anytime in accordance with the desire of the majority of the people and the decision of the BRC.

##### B. Duties of the BRC

1. Serve as the organ of political power in the barrio.
2. Take charge of the organization, education, defense, economy and health of the barrio.
3. Administer the people's court (usually composed of representatives of the Party, people's army and BRC).
4. Keep watch on the activities of the enemy and furnish the comrades and the masses with timely information.

##### C. Duties of the Leaders and Committees

###### 1. Leaders:

- The overall chairman shall act as the head of the BRC and the coordinator of the five committees.
- The chairman of the organization committee shall be the overall deputy chairman; he shall coordinate the mass organizations and shall perform other functions assigned him by the chairman.
- The chairman of the education committee shall act as secretary of the BRC.
- The chairman of the committee on economy shall act as treasurer of the BRC.
- Each chairman of the five BRC committees shall take charge of his committee.

## 2. Committees

- The organization committee shall take charge of establishing and coordinating various mass organizations like those of the peasants, farm workers, youth, women and others.
- The education committee shall take charge of raising the class and revolutionary consciousness of the masses and the administration of schools.
- The defense committee shall take charge of internal order and of suppressing the enemies of the people; it shall also take charge of the militia or self-defense units (bolo squads, for example) as a pillar of the local political power and as reserve force and reinforcement for the people's army.
- The committee on economy shall take charge of advancing production and cooperation, and of supporting the revolutionary armed force and government.
- The health committee shall take charge of medical work and public hygiene in the barrio.

### ***In the Factories, Mines, Logging Concessions and Transportation Lines***

At present, less than one-tenth of the entire workers in the Philippines is unionized. As such, three possibilities will confront the cadre in the places of work. First, the workers have no union. Second, there is a yellow union. Third, there is a sympathetic union. In each case, the genuine and revolutionary leadership of the proletariat should eventually prevail on the basis of conscientious work.

#### I. First Step

Establish the Workers Organizing Committee (WOC) in the place or line of work after a social investigation.

##### A. Organizing the WOC

1. Choose from the ranks of workers the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.

2. After having thoroughly evaluated them and, at the same time that they are politicized and given tasks, at least five of them shall be elected to compose the committee which will in turn elect the leadership.

3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.

- The chairman shall be directly responsible for the implementation of the necessary tasks and the mobilization of the committee members.
- The vice chairman shall take the place of the chairman in times of necessity and shall perform other functions assigned him by the chairman.
- The secretary shall make the records and keep the records.
- The treasurer shall take charge of the finances of the whole committee.
- The defense chief shall take charge of the security of the workers.
- All the committee members shall have the equal right to request for a meeting and bring up or discuss problems.

4. Select the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

##### B. Duties of the WOC

1. Arouse the workers on the need for unity and for a genuine union.

2. Explain to the workers their leadership in the people's national democratic revolution.

3. Prepare the workers for self-defense and for uniting with the democratic classes, especially the peasant class.

4. Keep watch on the enemy's movements and give timely information to the comrades and the masses.

##### C. Methods of Mobilization

1. Hold study meetings on the problems of the workers and on the listing of demands.

2. Hold indignation meetings against the enemies of the people.

3. Prepare for the organization of a genuine union.

4. Solve day-to-day problems.

#### II. The Advanced Step

Organize a genuine workers' union based on the following conditions:

1. On the mobilization of the masses:

- The union can already carry out a strike supported by the majority or can secure the demands of the workers.
- The proper leadership and committees within the union have been formed.
- The workers are ready to join general mass actions.

2. On the Party: A Party branch has been formed within the union and have Party groups under the branch. The Party leadership is proven by deeds for the benefit of the workers.

#### A. Methods of Building a Genuine Union

The method of building a genuine union is based on the needs of the workers in each specific place of work. The workers shall fight for their rights and use these to thwart the reactionary schemes against the workers.

#### B. Duties of the Genuine Union

Instill the revolutionary idea and leadership of the working class and fight for the economic rights of the workers.

#### C. Duties of the Party branch

1. Provide secret leadership to the activities of the union.
2. Send to the countryside workers who are ready to join or should join the New People's Army.
3. Broaden the overall mass actions of the workers in coordination with those of the other democratic classes.

#### ***In high schools, colleges and universities***

The student-youth and teachers in the high school, colleges and universities play a very decisive role in propagating the national democratic revolution throughout the country. From their ranks, cadres may be drawn for the Party and the New People's Army for tasks in the countryside and other places.

#### I. First Step:

Establish the School Organizing Committee (SOC) after an investigation.

#### A. Organizing the SOC

1. Select from the ranks of teachers, student and workers in the school the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.
2. After having thoroughly evaluated them and, at the same time that they are politicized and given tasks, five of them shall be elected to compose the SOC which will in turn elect the leadership.
3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.
4. All the committee members have the equal right to request for a meeting and bring up or discuss problems.
5. Select the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

#### B. Duties of the SOC

1. Arouse the masses on the need for unity in order to solve their problems.
2. Prepare the masses for armed struggle through propaganda.
3. Make known to the masses of students and teachers the important role they play in the revolution:
  - giving assistance to the Party and the New People's Army; and
  - joining the armed struggle

4. Keep watch on the activities of the enemy and give to comrades and the masses timely information.

#### C. Methods of Mobilization

1. Hold secret meetings to study the problems of the students and teachers and the people in general.
2. Solve day-to-day problems.
3. Monitor enemy activities and anti-people propaganda of the enemy and submit reports of these to the concerned unit or person.
4. Gather support from the people.
5. Foil the attempt to utilize ROTC and PMT as reserve forces of the enemy.
6. Establish a branch of a legal national democratic organization, build a new local organization with similar objectives, or join an existing school organization and develop its objectives.

#### The Advanced Step:

Organize a Party branch when there are already three-Party members in the school.

#### ***In barrios in the city and town***

The difference between the barrios in the city and in the town on one hand, and the majority of the barrios, on

the other, is this: different classes live in the former, while in the latter it is certain that the most numerous residents are peasants.

#### I. The First Step:

Form the Community Organizing Committee (COC) after an investigation.

##### A. Organize the COC

1. Elect from the ranks of the people the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.

2. After having thoroughly evaluated them and, at the same time that they are politicized and given tasks, five of them shall be elected to compose the COC which will in turn elect the leadership.

3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.

4. All the committee members have the equal right to request for a meeting and bring up or discuss problems.

5. Select the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

##### B. Duties of the COC

1. Arouse the masses on the need for unity in order to solve their problems.

2. Prepare the masses for armed struggle through propaganda.

3. Explain to the masses the role they play for the revolution:

- giving assistance to the Party and the New People's Army; and
- joining the armed struggle.

4. Keep watch on the activities of the enemy and give timely information to the comrades and the masses.

##### C. Methods of Mobilization

1. Hold secret meetings to study the problems of the masses.

2. Solve day-to-day problems.

3. Watch, eliminate and suppress the enemies of the people.

4. Enlist the aid of the people in the city and town.

5. Form a branch of a legal national democratic organization, build a new local organization with similar objectives, or join an existing community organization and develop its objectives.

#### II. The Advanced Step:

Organize a Party branch when there are already three Party members in the community.

Guide for the revolutionary mass organizations

Mass organizations of 1) workers, 2) peasants, 3) youth, 4) women and 5) children that are devoted to the revolutionary cause may be formed in the localities by Party cadres of a local Party branch, a Party group in a squad of the people's army, or a national, regional or provincial mass organization. Local organizations that had been formed by the masses may also be made into organizations devoted to the revolutionary cause instead of forming a new organization.

The real names of the mass revolutionary organizations are the following:

1) Association of Patriotic Workers, 2) Association of Patriotic Youth, 4) Association of Patriotic Women and 5) Association of Patriotic Children. In order to conceal the illegal nature of these mass organizations while engaging in legal activities, other names may be used.

To ensure the revolutionary nature of these local mass organizations, the Party cadres should form Party groups in these mass organizations.

These Party groups are expected to provide correct leadership to these mass organizations.

To discharge effectively their revolutionary duties, these local mass organizations should wholeheartedly help in the creation, strengthening and mobilization of the local organs of political power, especially in the countryside. The leading activists in the local mass organizations should be included in the local organs of political power.

The leadership of each mass organization is usually composed of the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and others, or their equivalent. In as much as the existing organizations can be used, there should be flexibility in the position and the form of leadership.

1. Association of Patriotic Workers

A. The members are composed of those who receive wages as industrial workers, farm workers and others.

They may be working in different factories or may belong to different unions but live in the same community.

B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Workers are:

1. Unite all the workers in a locality under the banner of the people's democratic revolution;
2. Develop cadres and Party members among the workers in order to build genuine workers' unions and Party branches in their respective places of work;
3. Undertake revolutionary studies;
4. Propagate the idea of a general workers' strike;
5. Recruit Red fighters from the ranks of the workers; and
6. Seek reasonable financial, technical and other forms of aid from the workers for the revolution.

2. Association of Patriotic Peasants

A. Most of its members are poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and leading activists from the middle peasants. Sometimes, the cadres may find legal peasant associations formed by national reformist associations. These may be turned into revolutionary peasant associations.

B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Peasants are:

1. Unite all the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants in the struggle for national liberation and agrarian revolution;
2. Recruit cadres and Party members from the poor and middle peasants who will be pillars of the Barrio Revolutionary Committees;
3. Help in organizing struggle meetings against the exploiters and fight for rent and interest reduction, and if possible the confiscation of land or the non-payment of land rent to the landlords;
4. Undertake revolutionary studies;
5. Recruit Red Fighters from the peasant class; and
6. Increase and develop production and farm cooperatives in order to help the revolutionary struggle.

3. Association of Patriotic Youth

A. The members are composed of young men and women from 14 to 25 years. Sometimes, Party cadres may find youth associations that had been organized by the youth for various reasons. These should all be converted into revolutionary youth organizations.

B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Youth are:

1. Unite all the young men and women under the banner of the people's democratic revolution;
2. Prepare or develop cadres and Party members from the ranks of the youth;
3. Create among the youth a powerful reserve force for the New People's Army;
4. Undertake revolutionary studies; and
5. Tap funds from cultural presentations and productive work of the youth.

4. Association of Patriotic Women

A. The members are composed of all the women in the community.

In reality, they constitute half of the population and therefore play a very important role. They are usually neglected in our revolutionary work.

B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Women are:

1. Unite all the women under the banner of the people's democratic revolution;
2. Turn them into active participants in the revolution;
3. Develop cadres and Party members among the ranks of the women;
4. Encourage the women to help each other solve their day-to-day problems;
5. Undertake revolutionary studies; and
6. Mobilize the women to support the revolutionary movement in the tasks suited to women.

5. Association of Patriotic Children

A. The members are composed of children from seven to 13 years. They should be guided by Party members or activists in the youth and women associations.

B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Children are:

1. Unite the children under the people's democratic revolution;
2. Undertake simple tasks for the revolution;
3. Import revolutionary knowledge to the primary and intermediate education; and

4. Popularize revolutionary slogans, stories and songs.

Preliminary Report of the Party Group in a Squad of the New People's Army for the Secretariat of the Party and

Political Department of the New People's Army

1. Date of the establishment of the Party group

2. Areas of operation (barrios and towns)

3. Full members:

- nom de guerre
- date of induction as candidate member
- date of induction as full member
- date of induction into the New People's Army
- class origin and previous occupation
- previous work in the revolutionary movement
- combat readiness and discipline
- previous studies about the revolution
- special knowledge, skills and abilities

4. Candidate members:

- struggle names
- date of induction as candidate member
- date of induction into the New People's Army
- class origin and previous occupation
- previous work in the revolutionary movement
- combat readiness and discipline
- previous studies about the revolution
- special knowledge, skills and abilities

5. Deputy secretaries for organization and education

6. Past, present and future studies of the squad

- Topics
- document used
- dates of schooling

7. Meetings for the implementation of political, military and economic democracy

- Topics
- dates of meetings
- decisions

8. Meetings on criticism and self-criticism

- main problems of the squad; give details if necessary
- dates of meetings

9. Plans of the Party group in the squad for

- the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine Revolution
- training in various kinds of work
- the various kinds of meetings in the squad
- arranging the daily life of the squad
- propaganda work among the masses
- the establishment of organs of political power (Barrio Organizing Committees and Barrio Revolutionary Committees)



- the establishment of Party branches in the localities and Party groups in the Barrio Organizing Committees and the Barrio Revolutionary Committees
- the establishment of Party branches groups in mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, etc.
- arranging the organization, education, livelihood, defense and health of the masses
- the annihilation of the enemy, reactionary troops, oppressive big landlords and overseers, evil authorities, vicious robbers and other bad elements

10. Party branches in the localities where the squad operates (attach or include the preliminary report of the local Party branch also in two copies)

Secretary of the Party group

or Secretary of the platoon

Date of the report

The Party group in the squad of the New People's Army shall have an acting secretariat. The political officer shall act as secretary of the group. When the squad reaches the level of a platoon or when three adjacent squads concentrate, the Party branch may be temporarily based on the platoon. The fighters who are Party members shall elect the executive committee and this committee shall elect the secretary, deputy secretary for organization and deputy secretary for education to form the secretariat.

If there is a Party branch on a level higher than a squad, the political officer of the squad shall be considered as head of the Party group.

Preliminary Report of the Local Party Branch

1. Date of the establishment of the branch
2. Place (barrio, municipality, province)
3. The group or cadre in charge of the establishment
4. Full members

- nom de guerre
- date of induction as candidate member
- date of induction as full member
- class origin and present occupation
- tasks in the revolutionary movement
- combat readiness and discipline
- previous studies about the revolution
- special knowledge, training or abilities

5. Candidate members

- nom de guerre
- date of induction as candidate member
- class origin and present occupation
- tasks in the revolutionary movement
- combat readiness and discipline
- previous studies about the revolution
- special knowledge, training and abilities

6. Members of the executive committee

7. Secretariat

- Secretary
- deputy secretary for organization
- deputy secretary for education

8. Past, present and future studies of the branch

- Topics

- documents used
- dates of schooling

#### 9. Criticism and self-criticism meetings

- main problems of the Party branch; give details if necessary
- dates of meetings

#### 10. Plans of the Party branch for:

- studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine Revolution
- increasing the members and candidate-members of the Party
- giving aid and information to the New People's Army
- training new recruits of the New People's Army
- leading the organs of political power
- leading the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth and women
- arranging the organization, education, defense and health of the masses
- establishing Party groups among mass organizations
- establishing local Party branches in adjacent barrios

Cadre in charge of organizing branch

Secretary

Date of report

Preliminary Report of the Party Group in the Mass Organization to the Party Secretariat

1. Date of the establishment of the Party group
2. Nature and scope of the work of the mass organization
3. Full members

- nom de guerre
- date of induction as candidate member
- date of induction as full member
- class origin and present occupation
- tasks in the revolutionary movement
- combat readiness and discipline
- previous studies about the revolution
- special knowledge, training or abilities

#### 4. Candidate members

- nom de guerre
- date of induction as candidate member
- class origin and present occupation
- tasks in the revolutionary movement
- combat readiness and discipline
- previous studies about the revolution
- special knowledge, training and abilities

#### 5. The Secretariat

- Secretary
- deputy secretary for organization
- deputy secretary for education

#### 6. Past, present and future studies of the Party group

- Topics
- documents used
- dates of schooling

#### 7. Criticism and self-criticism meetings

- main problems of the Party branch group; give details if necessary
- dates of meetings

#### 8. Plans of the Party branch group for:

- studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine Revolution
- increasing the members and candidate members of the Party
- giving aid and information to the New People's Army
- training new recruits of the New People's Army
- cooperating with the local organs of political power (Barrio Organizing Committee or Barrio Revolutionary Committee)
- establishing Party groups in different departments and levels of mass organizations. (This is complied with by the Party group from the municipal level and up.)

Secretary

Date of report

Clarification of the Tasks of the Squad and Leadership of the Squad of the New People's Army

It is important for the squad of the New People's Army to know its tasks in general as well as the tasks of every member in its leadership, so as to determine the responsibility of everyone in order that the general tasks of the squad should not be overlooked.

#### A. Tasks of the Whole Squad

1. Based on the concrete investigation of the areas of operation, explain to the masses the aim of the national revolution in order to arouse, mobilize and organize them against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.
2. Build the organs of political power of the people (Barrio Organizing Committee, Barrio Revolutionary Committee and the Organizing Committees in Schools, in Work Places and in Communities).
3. Wipe out and punish enemy troops, oppressive landlords, informers, local goons, outright bandits and gangsters, and other bad elements.
4. Build and consolidate guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones.
5. Based on the concrete condition, implement the agrarian revolution (rent reduction, interest reduction, land confiscation, etc.).
6. Recruit new fighters for the New People's Army and give them primary political and military training.
7. Lead in organizing and training militia and self-defense units under the defense committee.
8. Help the masses solve their day-to-day problems.
9. Join in production to sustain itself and to lighten the burden of the people.
10. Hold study, summing-up, criticism and self-criticism meetings in the squad.

#### B. Duties of Members of the Leadership

The leadership of the squad is composed of 1) the commander, 2) deputy commander, 3) political officer, 4) logistic officer and 5) health officer.

##### 1. Duties of the commander:

- Act as overall leader of the squad and as such be directly responsible for the implementation of the tasks assigned to the squad by the higher command.
- Take charge of the military operations of the squad and decide on military problems.
- Lead in mass work and in building organs of political power.
- Lead in looking after the members of the squad in economy, equipment, health, security and solving internal problems.

- Strengthen Party leadership in the army, democratic actions and conscious discipline.
- Call study, summing-up, criticism and self-criticism meetings to raise the ideological and political level of the squad and to improve its revolutionary work.
- Lead in heightening revolutionary heroism, sincerity, tirelessness and courage in successive battles.
- Prepare the necessary reports to the higher level.

#### 2. Duties of the deputy commander:

- Assume the duties of the commander when the occasion so demands or in circumstances where the commander is not in a position to discharge his duties.
- Assist the commander in accomplishing the tasks assigned to the squad by the higher command.
- Assist the commander in looking after the welfare of the squad members.
- Perform other tasks as may be assigned to him.

#### 3. Duties of the Political Officer:

- Organize and lead the Party group in the squad and ensure that there is collective decision in solving problems.
- Ensure the implementation of policies and directives of higher Party organs.
- Lead in organizing local Party branches in accordance with the building of local organs of political power.
- Lead the Party group in holding study meetings and receive educational materials from higher political departments.
- Ensure that there is political, military and economic democracy within the people's army; and
- Prepare reports for the political department of the National Operational Command.

#### 4. Duties of the Logistic Officer:

- Take care of the equipment and funds of the squad.
- Prepare and keep records and accounts of the overall expenses of the squad and submit a report to the commander as scheduled.
- Collect and inventory arms and other things confiscated from the enemy.
- Attend to possible sources of equipment and funds for the squad.

#### 5. Duties of the Health Officer:

- Attend to the health of comrades and the masses.
- Collect and store the proper medicines, especially for emergency use.
- Answer first aid calls from comrades and the masses.
- Take charge of calling the doctor or sending a sick comrade to the doctor.

N.B. It will be noted that the first two leaders of the squad are called "commander" and "deputy commander" although it is not yet of company size. This is to keep in mind the (future or expected) development of the present squads to company level.

#### Guide for Preparing the Report of the Armed Propaganda Unit

Kinds of reports to be prepared:

- I. Report on investigation
- II. Monthly reports
- III. Various special reports
- IV. Special battle report

#### Report on Investigation

The report on investigation is prepared immediately after a thorough investigation of the conditions in the area of operation and the report shall continue as the area expands. It is also necessary to prepare these reports on the areas which have not yet been reported.

Barrio, town and province:

1. Population and number of houses
2. Barrio captain and members of the barrio council and their social classes, size of the land they till or own, and their party affiliation
3. Big landlords (from 50 hectares above), overseers and landlords owning 10 or more hectares. (In a number of places, the size of the landholding may be smaller to recognize the big landlords.)
4. Number of poor peasants, middle peasants and rich peasants
5. Number of barrio teachers, ages and grades they are teaching
6. Non-peasants living in the barrio who are working within or outside the barrio
7. System of land sharing or rent
8. System of usury (interest rate)
9. Other forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation (including exploitation by merchants)
10. Hated big landlords, land grabbers, usurers, overseers and persons in authority (civilian police or military officer) residing within or outside the barrio, and their offenses and activities against the people
11. Bad elements like cattle rustlers, extortionists, robbers, rapists and other criminals
12. Owners of firearms and their status and political activities
13. Former and present residents of the barrio connected with the reactionary armed forces or police
14. Agents of the reactionary government or foreign governments operating in the barrio and their particular activities
15. Religious sects, membership and their activities
16. Mass organizations, membership and their activities
17. Revolutionary experience or history of the people
18. Terrain, condition of roads and distance from the national highway, town proper, or Philippine Constabulary (PC) detachment
19. Tactical value of the barrio
20. Most common and special problems confronting the barrio people

Commander

Date

Monthly Report of the Squad

A. Political Situation

1. Attitude of the masses toward the revolutionary movement
2. Main problems of the people
3. Attitude toward the reactionary government and its imperialist and landlord masters
4. Conflicts within the ruling class and in the bureaucracy of the reactionary government

B. Working Conditions

1. On Organization

- In what barrios have people's committees (Barrio Organizing Committees and others like Workers Organizing Committee) and organs of political power in the countryside (Barrio Revolutionary Committee) been established?
- What is the organizational status of the committees on organization, education, economy, defense and health; in which barrios have these been formed and when?
- How many mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women and children were formed; how many are their members; has the organizational committee coordinated these organizations?
- How big (number of people) would be the mass base of the revolutionary movement?
- How many Party members and candidate-members are there in the squad and in the localities? Mention the organizations formed by the enemy, the religious and other organizations formed not on our initiative.

2. On Education

- How many struggle or study meetings under the Barrio Organizing Committee or Barrio Revolutionary

Committee have been held; what was the discussion about and how many attended?

- How many study meetings of each mass organization have been held; what was the discussion about and how many attended?
- Are the committees on education already functioning; what are they doing?
- How many teachers in the public school can grasp the revolution and can help in educational work based on the primary course?
- Is the local Party branch or its members prepared to do educational and propaganda work?
- What did the squad take up in its inner internal study, summing-up of experience, and criticism and self-criticism meetings?

Mention any propaganda and educational drive being waged by the enemy and by the different sects and organizations which have no connection with us.

### 3. On Economy

- What are the conditions and problems of the different classes and strata to which the masses belong?
- What steps have we taken to help them?
- Has production been undertaken for the Party and the army; has material assistance been secured from the people or allies?
- Is the committee on economy already functioning?
- What is the economic (including financial) condition of the squad?

Mention those who are exploiting the people (landlords, usurers, corrupt officials of the reactionary government, merchants, etc.) and the forms of exploitation.

### 4. On Health

- What is the most widespread disease among the masses?
- Is there a doctor who is at least an ally?
- What are the local medicine and traditional treatment availed of by the masses?
- Is the health committee now ready and able to treat, take care or bring to a doctor our wounded or sick fighters?
- How is the health of the squad members?

### 5. On Military

- How is the enemy condition (strength and number of weapons, formation and their dispositions, abuses and actions directed against us)?
- What countermoves (tactical avoidance, punishment, ambush, attack, etc.) have we taken against the enemy; what were the results?
- What have we done to eliminate the enemy (troops, Barrio Self-Defense Units, informers, landlords, land grabbers, vicious officials, extortionists, robbers and other bad elements)? How many casualties (dead or wounded) have been inflicted on these enemies?
- What type of weapons and ammunition, and how many more were confiscated from the enemy?
- What is the condition of the squad (its disposition; new recruits and their abilities; the number of men and weapons lost and the causes; etc.)?
- What is the condition of the committees on defense and the militia units and self-defense units it is leading; have these been trained and how are they armed?
- Are the squad and the local armed groups now cooperating with each other in undertaking operation and other military work?

### C. Requests, Opinion and Proposals

1. Regarding work on organization, education, economy, health and military
2. Regarding the squad and new recruits

Commander

Date

Different kinds of special reports

The special report is immediately prepared and submitted due to urgency. There is no need to include it in the monthly report.

Guidelines:

1. Problems which should be reported immediately and which need the assistance of the higher organ or command or by other comrades for solution

2. Big incidents involving the masses, and/or the squad, and which occurred within the area of operation

3. Movement of the enemy which have to be reported immediately to other units

4. Results of major military operations and others

5. Causes of failure to carry out an immediate or major order

A. Account of the Event

1. Date and place of operation

2. Type of operation (punishment, ambush, attack or encirclement of enemy, bombing, unexpected encounter or encirclement by the enemy)

3. What is the condition of our side?

- number and type of our formation
- number and type of weapons used
- assistance or participation of the masses or militia
- casualties on our side (dead; wounded, serious and not serious; and captured)
- weapons, ammunition and equipment taken or destroyed by the enemy
- ammunition spent

4. What is the condition of the enemy?

- number and type of formation of the enemy
- kinds of weapon and other military equipment used
- casualties we inflicted on the enemy (state whether the number of 1) dead, 2) wounded, serious or not serious, is exact or approximate)
- weapons, ammunition and other equipment destroyed or confiscated from the enemy
- additional information about the enemy gathered from the masses
- information taken from captives, if there are any

5. Description of the Operation (diagram or drawing)

- disposition of our men and the enemy's
- terrain and other features of the place
- movement of our men and the enemy's 1) in the beginning, 2) in the middle, and 3) in the end
- How long did the whole operation last?

B. Summing-Up of the Operation (Answer the questions to help the leadership sum up the operation).

1. Whose was the initiative? Did we win or not?

2. What is the basis of our victory or failure?

3. What should be done by the squad to improve our actions and initiative?

4. What is being done to pinpoint the root cause of and correct the errors and weaknesses that arose during the operation?

5. What was the effect of the operation on the masses?

6. What should be done to completely win over the masses to our side and mobilize them against the enemy?

Date

Commander

## ***Persevere in Legal Mass Struggle, Accumulate Strength in the Underground***

**Ang Bayan, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 15, 1972**

The general outcome of mass protest actions last year demonstrates more clearly than ever that the revolutionary determination of the broad masses of the people can render ineffectual all the evil machinations of the US-Marcos regime to extend its tentacles of oppression and exploitation. Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

An examination of the counterrevolutionary tactics of the US-Marcos clique establishes the truth of this statement. Using patently dual tactics, the Marcos fascist puppet clique, with the full blessings of US imperialism, commits the blackest counterrevolutionary deeds and at the same time attempts to sweet-talk the people into complacency with false promises of "reform." In the field of counterrevolutionary propaganda, meanwhile, it strains to advance the laborious argument that the crimes and massacres it commits are the doing either of genuine revolutionaries or its political enemies. All these steps are taken in the vain hope that they will prevent the irrepressible advance of the national democratic movement and the revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of the people.

Thus, early this year, reactionary hacks in the pay of the US-Marcos regime sought to mislead the masses by blaming the exploited jeepney drivers for the general strike that lasted from January 5 to 13, deliberately ignoring the fact that the rise in oil prices was dictated by the US imperialist oil cartel and slavishly implemented by the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Malacañang itself even went so far as to tag "pressure groups," particularly the Lopez business group, as responsible for financing the strikers and inciting them to violence.

What was obvious even at that time, however, was that the reactionary state led by the fascist puppet Marcos and controlled by US imperialism had already been oiled to suppress the strike by means of counterrevolutionary violence. In a vain effort to sabotage the rightful dissent of the masses, fully armed reactionary soldiers and army trucks were unleashed for transportation purposes. And in the January 13 worker-student march and rally that capped the strike, UIOG forces under the minor puppet Roquito Ablan, under directions from Marcos, tried to break up the demonstrators with the use of high-powered guns, in the process killing five persons and injuring hundreds of others.

The revolutionary upsurge of the masses continued despite the combined use of reactionary propaganda and counterrevolutionary violence, despite the willful murder of five people. Contrary to the divide-and-rule tactics of the fascist puppet Marcos, the jeepney drivers hand in hand with the militant youth consolidated their ranks. By February they had consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, thereby girding themselves for more confrontations with the exploitative US imperialist oil cartel and the oppressive Marcos fascist clique. Shortly before, the workers, also hand in hand with the militant youth, had also done the same.

The murderous hand of the fascist puppet Marcos struck once again when, on May Day 1971, one woman worker and two students were felled by the bullets of fascist troops. The fact that the battle-gearred troops were positioned on the grounds, offices and rooftops of Congress, and were in addition backed up by a machinegun-rattling helicopter, speaks for itself.

The martyrdom of the three May Day patriots, however, only inspired broader and more intense mass actions. On June 11, youth, workers, intellectuals and professionals rallied to demand the release of a patriotic youth leader, Nilo Tayag. In Mindanao and throughout the country, demonstrations were held to protest the continued massacre of Muslims. Since August 24, pocket-size demonstrations as well as rallies commanding as many as 50,000 participants have been held throughout the country. The People's Long March Against Poverty and Fascism, the second to start from a point in the countryside and the first to converge in the city from two points in Luzon, took place October 20-24, ending up before a crowd of 30,000 in Plaza Miranda.

The ever increasing frequency of mass actions throughout the country is one concrete manifestation of the futility of all schemes of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to perpetuate itself in power and to protect the interests of US imperialism. As the US imperialist race after superprofits becomes more and more hectic due to its balance of payments problem, the need to suppress revolutionary mass movements becomes more and more urgent on the part of the reactionaries. However, as the Manila-Rizal Regional Council of the Communist Party of the



Philippines correctly assessed after the Caloocan massacre, the seriously aggravating economic conditions only serve to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the system, while the escalation of fascist terrorism in the urban areas provides more effective and sharper weapons in waging the national democratic cultural revolution among the masses.

Paper tigers do not vanish of themselves; they have to be torn up and set to fire. The events of the past year show that without determined implementation of the correct political line, economic hardships and acts of fascist terrorism will not entirely result in the advance of the national democratic cultural revolution.

As the Party accurately concluded as early as January of 1971, legal mass struggle in the city must persist even as the underground is strengthened “to provide a powerful support to mass activities and to counteract enemy schemes in the most appropriate ways.” The correctness of these measures was proven when, in the latter part of the year, the US-Marcos clique, hectically running the reactionary race toward military dictatorship, reached a new mark characterized by Hitlerite terrorist schemes. That up to now the enemy has not managed to take a single patch of the underground only goes to show that the underground has succeeded in concealing itself from the enemy and is now counteracting enemy schemes in the most appropriate ways, thereby making possible the persistence of legal mass struggle in the city.

# ***The Critical and Creative Tasks of the Rectification Movement in the Communist Party of the Philippines***

**Speech on the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPP Reestablishment  
December 26, 1993**

---

Comrades and friends, twenty-five years ago, on December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Since then, the Party has won great ideological, political and organizational victories through the integration of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. In the entire history of the Filipino people, the Party has stood as the most formidable revolutionary force, deeply rooted among the masses of the working people and the most developed on a nationwide scale.

As one of those who founded the Party, I am exceedingly happy that it has proven itself as the advance detachment of the working class and as the leading force of the entire Filipino people in their revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The great victories of the Party would not be possible without the hard work, struggle and sacrifices of the Party cadres and members and all the people who have joined and supported them in the course of the revolutionary struggle. We owe the most to the revolutionary martyrs. Amidst this celebration, we pause for a moment to pay our highest and deepest respect to them.

We celebrate today not only the accumulation of the victories of the Party in general but also in particular the resounding victory of the current rectification movement within the Party. We offer all these victories to the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong, the great communist thinker, leader and fighter whose 100th birth anniversary coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Party.

I propose to discuss with you today the critical and creative tasks of the rectification movement. This is in accordance with the theme of this meeting of celebration and, of course, with the common recognition that the rectification movement is of crucial importance to the Party and the entire revolutionary movement in the motherland.

## ***Historical and current context of the rectification movement***

First, let me present the historical and current context in which this rectification movement has arisen and has developed. It would be one-sided for us only to celebrate the great victories against the blatant enemy and not to consider the errors and shortcomings which have lessened the victories and which have even caused a big setback, especially in the period from 1984 to 1989.

The point is to rectify those errors and shortcomings in order to unite the Party and the people along the correct revolutionary line and raise higher their fighting will and capabilities against the enemy, the US-Ramos clique. This clique currently represents the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, the exploiting classes servile to the foreign monopoly capitalists.

The rectification movement is an important method for strengthening a revolutionary party, for combating and overcoming errors and shortcomings that weaken it, especially those of a major character that have accumulated for sometime. If not for the first great rectification movement which preceded and coincided with the reestablishment of the Party, the Party would not have laid a solid foundation for its development and would not have successfully developed in consequence. We can observe that the current second great rectification movement is yielding excellent results.

As you know, the Party grew in strength and advanced cumulatively from year to year since its reestablishment in 1968 up to 1984, registering the most rapid growth from 1981 to 1984. Then in 1985, there was a drastic decline in the rate of growth. And this proceeded to negative growth rates in several respects, especially with respect to mass base, until 1989 when the proletarian revolutionaries started to effectively arrest the rapid rate of decline and make partial corrections and adjustments in accordance with the principles and methods clarified as early as 1988 in a review of Party history. In 1990 the erroneous line of "strategic counteroffensive" and "regularization" was criticized and withdrawn.

Notwithstanding the undeniably gross setback from 1984 onward, the Party and the revolutionary movement are still so many times far bigger than their small and modest proportions in 1968. The Party started with a few scores of members who had studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and had a mass following of some thousands organized since the onset of the 1960s mainly through the legal democratic movement. Now, the Party has a membership of several tens of thousands and leads the New People's Army with thousands of Red fighters, a mass base of millions under organs of political power and in mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, youth, women, professionals and other people.

What is excellent about the current situation of the Party is that a comprehensive and thoroughgoing rectification movement has been carried out since last year and is being vigorously carried out by all of the seventeen regional Party organizations. The Party rank and file are enthusiastically participating in the rectification movement, which in the first place an increasing number of them have demanded since the early 1980s, in opposition to the opportunists. At every level, the organs and organizations of the Party are summing up revolutionary experience, conducting criticism and self-criticism and carrying out the revolutionary tasks in accordance with the rectification documents and other decisions issued by the 10th plenum of the Central Committee.

The Party cadres and members are loyal to the Party Constitution and Program and to the Party and its Central Committee and support the rectification movement. They are recruiting several times a greater number of new Party members from the revolutionary mass movement than the paltry number of those temporarily or permanently led astray by the long-running and recent spate of slander and intrigues spread by the opportunists.

There is no cost but a great benefit to the Party in the departure of the opportunists and fictitious communists from the Party. Allowing the incorrigible and the worst opportunists to remain in the Party, commit the most destructive errors and crimes and spread degeneration have inflicted a heavier cost on the Party and the revolutionary movement than their desperate and futile attacks in the course of their recent departure from the Party. The expulsion of such opportunists is beneficial to the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The unity of the Party is strong and the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and Executive Committee are firmly leading the Party. There is neither a split nor a mass purge in the Party. In nearly two years of the rectification movement, from the beginning of 1992 to the end of 1993, only two central staff organ have been reconstituted and another dissolved, and three out of the seventeen regional Party committees have been reconstituted in order to deal organizationally with splittist and liquidationist activities.

The "Left" opportunist exponents of urban insurrectionism and military adventurism and the Right opportunist exponents of liquidationism, reformism and capitulationism are a measly few. They were basically defeated in the middle of 1991 through the process of democratic centralism in the Party. But in late 1991 they started to make loud noises outside the Party by publicly circulating gossip and slander articles against the Party and the central leadership. They tried but failed to stop the rectification movement by threatening to split the Party and by spreading fear about a mass purge worse than Kampanyang Ahos, for which some of the chief opportunists were criminally responsible in 1985-86 in Mindanao.

They have unwittingly helped the rectification movement by putting themselves out of the Party and publicly attacking it, by adopting anticommunist slogans and thereby exposing themselves as blatant counterrevolutionary Rightists, by openly going over to the side of the US-Ramos clique and openly collaborating with the intelligence and psywar agencies of this regime as well as with corrupt trade union leaders, the Lava revisionist renegades, some foreign-funded NGO bureaucrats, the bourgeois populists, the pro-imperialist liberals, the Christian democrats and the Trotskyites.

The counterrevolutionary Rightists are hitching a ride on the wagon of the imperialist ideological and political offensive. Their favorite anti-communist line is to hold Comrade Stalin responsible for the very anti-Stalin character of the modern revisionism that undermined and ultimately destroyed what Stalin had built and defended. By using anti-Stalin slogans, the counterrevolutionary Rightists demagogically misrepresent themselves as champions of democracy in the bourgeois press. But among them are the principal criminals in bloody witch hunts like Kampanyang Ahos which trampled on the basic rights of Party members, Red fighters and allies and murdered hundreds upon hundreds of them on the basis of mere suspicion as deep penetration agents.

Any revolutionary party of the proletariat somehow and to some extent reflects at any given time the contradictions of the society in which it exists. The law of uneven development operates within the party as a whole and in its parts. There is the constant problem of remolding Party members of urban-petty bourgeois background and

current lifestyle. There is always some ground in a communist party for subjectivism and opportunism to arise. Thus, there is always a two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the purveyors of the bourgeois influence within a communist party even at its best.

From 1968 to 1977, those individuals wittingly or unwittingly carrying and pushing the bourgeois influence were generally spontaneous and disparate. Major errors and shortcomings were promptly criticized. But from 1978 there arose certain individuals in central leading and staff organs systematically propagating ideological eclecticism and opposing the Marxist-Leninist analysis of Philippine society. Spurred by petty-bourgeois impetuosity and by the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement resulting from the implementation of the line set by Our Urgent Tasks they sought a rationale for a leap in the armed struggle from the early substage to the advance substage of the strategic defensive without fulfilling the comprehensive requirements of the people's war. Others, unremolded bourgeois populists and Christian democrats who had slipped into the Party, sought a rationale for liquidating the Party or subordinating it to bourgeois politicians opposed to the US-Marcos regime and falling back on bourgeois reformism.

From 1980 onward, certain high Party officials started to spread systematically a line running counter to, undermining and interfering with the correct line and process of developing the revolutionary movement. Opportunism principally took a "Left" form with the line of the "strategic counteroffensive" and "regularization" in 1980 and farther on, the line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism in 1982. Secondly, opportunism took a blatant Rightist form with the line of liquidating the Party and replacing it with the "New Katipunan", a formal united front organization as the center of the revolution in 1980.

Even as the wrong lines overlapped with it, the correct line continued to guide the majority of Party cadres and members and to result in the rapid growth of revolutionary forces from 1981 to 1984, especially because of the rapid worsening of the crisis of the ruling system. Such basic and major documents of the Party as the Guide for Party Cadres and Members (1968), Philippine Society and Revolution (1970), Specific Characteristics of Our People's War (1974) and Our Urgent Tasks (1976) had drawn the correct ideological, political and organizational line and would prevent the wrong lines from taking over the Party completely. The most devastating effects of the wrong line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism in Mindanao became indubitably clear in the gross setbacks of the prematurely and rapidly formed companies of the people's army in 1984 and the anti-informer hysteria and Kampanyang Ahos in 1985-86. The wrong line and its results (including the bloody witch hunt called Kampanyang Ahos) were not properly examined, criticized and repudiated. Instead, the wrong line was pushed even more vigorously on a nationwide scale. From 1985 onward militarism grew strong as the NPA "General Command" started to break out of the absolute leadership of the Party and ran ahead in pushing the "strategic counter-offensive" and "regularization" through a series of military conferences.

The great victories and rapid growth of the revolutionary movement from 1981 to 1984 were never due to the wrong lines but were due to the solid foundation laid by the first great rectification movement, the correct line set by the Party at its reestablishment in 1968 and carried out continuously by the proletarian revolutionaries and by the rapid aggravation of the chronic crisis of the ruling system. Thus, notwithstanding the spread of the wrong lines from 1980 to 1989, the proletarian revolutionaries had a strong basis to stand on in asserting themselves with the support of the people against the wrong lines, arrest the decline of revolutionary strength and carry out the second great rectification movement.

If you wish to know more about the rectification movement, I suggest that you read the issues of Rebolusyon, which contain "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors", "General Review of Important Events and Decisions, 1980-1991", "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism"; the Party anniversary statements from 1988 to 1993; and the rectification documents formulated by Party leading organs at various levels before and after the Central Committee's 10th Plenum.

### ***The critical and creative tasks of the rectification movement***

Let me now provide you with an understanding of the critical and creative tasks of the rectification movement. In doing so, I am guided by the ten points guiding the rectification movement.

#### ***1. Uphold the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!***

The rectification movement is first of all a movement of theoretical education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze-dong Thought. It stresses the integration of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat with concrete revolutionary practice. It promotes the study and application of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles and raises to the level of

Marxist-Leninist theory the rich revolutionary experience of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the revolutionary mass movement. It seeks to develop the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method of the revolutionary proletariat. Party cadres and members must learn to grasp the law of contradiction and handle it well in class analysis and revolutionary struggle.

The rectification movement criticizes and combats the subjectivism that has given rise to the "Left" and Right opportunist errors that have in turn caused great damage to the party and the revolutionary movement. It repudiates the eclecticism, empiricism and dogmatism that have afflicted the Party for a considerably long period of time. It combats the depreciation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and of the Philippine revolution, the deviations from the anti-revisionist line through the adoption of Brezhnevite and Gorbachovite revisionism, the depreciation of the two-stage Philippine revolution through the uncritical adulation of movements without proletarian revolutionary leadership and the dishonest practice of quoting the great Lenin out of context to attack the line of the Party.

The rectification movement points out that theoretical education within the Party is necessary and that political education on the national democratic revolution is not enough. It seeks to revive, improve and propagate three levels of Party education: basic, intermediate and advanced. The study materials include both the works of the great communist thinkers and leaders and the most important documents of the Party that pursue the correct revolutionary line. The materials are reproduced and circulated for reading and study in advance of the formal study courses. All Party organs and units are urged to undertake social investigation, summings-up, criticism and self-criticism and the definition of tasks along the Marxist-Leninist line.

### *2. Pursue the anti-revisionist line consistently!*

It is of crucial importance to pursue the anti-revisionist line consistently. Although modern revisionism has been discredited through the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Soviet revisionist party and the accomplished disintegration of revisionist ruling parties and regimes in some countries and the continuing degeneration of those in other countries, the exponents of modern revisionism, neo-revisionism and social democracy are still trying to extend their influence by combining with the ideological and political offensive of the imperialists and their retinue of anticommunist petty bourgeois camp followers in misrepresenting modern revisionism of the last more than three decades as "flawed socialism" or "Stalinism".

The rectification movement criticizes and repudiates all the deviations from the anti-revisionist line. The first major deviation started in the early 1980s and involved the subjectivist expectation that the Soviet Union and its allies would provide military and financial assistance in order to accelerate the victory of the Philippine revolution. This opportunism took the appearance of being Left but the content was Rightist because it led to the Party's shift to regard the CPSU and similar parties as no longer revisionists, the Soviet Union as no longer social imperialist and the satellites as no longer neocolonies of Soviet social imperialism. The second major deviation infected some key cadres in the late 1980s. They adopted and spread Gorbachovite revisionism in certain parts of the Party. Ultimately, the worst of these opportunists would become like Gorbachov, blatant anti-communist, using anti-Stalin slogans to attack the Party.

In the education movement in Marxism-Leninism, the studies include the critique of modern revisionism and Mao Zedong's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian leadership in order to consolidate socialism, combat modern revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. The Party is promoting its comprehensive stand for socialism against modern revisionism and is clarifying the bright future of socialism and communism against monopoly capitalism.

### *3. Confront the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Philippine society!*

The persistence of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society is obvious. This is a society ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the service of foreign monopoly capitalism. It has an economy that is agrarian and without basic industries. Its import-dependent low value-added manufacturing either for domestic consumption or reexport is ailing and breaking down.

The rectification movement repudiates and rectifies the line pushed by the "Left" and Right opportunists since the late 1970s, crediting the US-Marcos regime, the IMF-World Bank and the foreign multinational firms with having industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to the extent, as the opportunists claimed, that the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war had become outdated and needed refinements, adjustments and innovations. The misrepresentation of Philippine society laid the basis for the "Left" opportunist line of the "strategic

counteroffensive" and "regularization" combining urban insurrectionism and military adventurism; as well as the Right opportunist line of urban-based reformism. Now, both types of opportunists have exposed themselves as counterrevolutionary Rightists, endorsing the scheme of the US-Ramos ruling clique to suppress the revolutionary movement and to make the Philippines a "newly industrializing country" before the year 2000. It is now clear that after all the US-Marcos ruling clique never industrialized the Philippines. The opportunists are now betting on the US-Ramos clique to achieve industrialization.

It is absolutely necessary to describe correctly the character of Philippine society because it lays the ground for what is the correct general line for the revolutionary movement. The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society like that of the Philippines calls for the strategic line of protracted people's war. The rectification movement is promoting the study of the continuous social analysis done by the Party from the years 1968-1970, through 1982, to the present in direct opposition to the false claims of the purveyors of official development theory, dependent capitalism, revisionism and so on.

#### *4. Carry out the general line of new democratic revolution!*

The general line of new-democratic revolution aims to complete the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. It is new because it is under the leadership of the proletariat and no longer the bourgeoisie. It is the first stage of the Philippine revolution, leading to the next stage of socialist revolution. The revolutionary forces required to achieve the first stage are the same forces that can begin the socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The rectification movement criticizes and repudiates the opportunist line of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The opportunists had been trying to weaken the class leadership of the proletariat by using petty-bourgeois arguments to preserve and enlarge the interests of the big bourgeoisie and landlord class. They elaborated and diluted the national-democratic program and pushed the idea of setting up a so-called national-democratic state and a national-democratic economy after the seizure of political power by the revolutionary forces.

The revolutionary class line of the Party is to uphold the class leadership of the proletariat, rely mainly on the worker-peasant alliance, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie to become a basic revolutionary force and further win over the middle bourgeoisie to become a positive force of the revolution and take advantage of the contradictions among the big bourgeois and landlord reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the most reactionary faction at every given time. Upon the seizure of political power, the new democratic revolution is basically completed and the socialist revolution can begin.

#### *5. Build the Party as the vanguard force of the proletariat and the people!*

In this era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, the working class is indubitably the most productive and most progressive force in the Philippines and in the world. This is the class defined by the objective conditions and by its long history of revolutionary struggle to lead the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. The advance detachment of the proletariat is the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is the leading force of both the proletariat and the entire Filipino people in the new-democratic revolution, within the context of a world proletarian-socialist revolution rather than a world bourgeois capitalist revolution.

The rectification movement completely rejects the notion that the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism can be won without the class leadership of the proletariat. Such a notion runs counter to the petty bourgeoisie's history of cooptation, the middle bourgeoisie's dual character, flabbiness and lack of basic industries, and the close collusion of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class with the imperialists in the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. It also runs counter to the recent history and current circumstances which show that the national democratic movement has become a strong force because of the proven, tested and continuing class leadership of the working class through its vanguard party, the Communist Party of the Philippines. The rectification movement condemns those opportunists who have become exponents of bourgeois pluralism and Gorbachovite anticommunism, rabid opponents of the vanguard role of the working class and special psywar agents of the bourgeoisie and the current ruling system.

The rectification movement asserts the principle of vanguard role of the proletariat through the Communist Party of the Philippines. That key cadres of the Party could in the past degenerate to the point of attacking the vanguard role of the working class serves to underscore a serious lack of ideological and political education within

the Party. The rectification movement therefore seeks to further strengthen the Party comprehensively in ideology, politics and organization so that it can continue to be the advance detachment of the leading class in the Philippine revolution.

*6. Wage the protracted people's war and carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever-widening and deepening mass base!*

The theory and strategic line of protracted people's war means that the people's army must encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength in the countryside until it can seize political power in the cities. The protracted people's war is the revolutionary process of seizing power along the new-democratic line. It is a revolutionary mass undertaking. In the course of people's war, the Party builds the worker-peasant alliance. It carries out land reform and builds the mass base in the form of mass organizations and the organs of political power. The people's army cannot preserve and accumulate strength without the strong foundation in the people's participation and support, realized through painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing. The people's army itself is an armed mass organization under the absolute leadership of the Party.

The rectification movement vigorously opposes and condemns the "Left" opportunist line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. This has caused the worst damage to the Party and the revolutionary movement in their entire history. This put the prematurely enlarged military formations in an isolated and passive position and caused the drastic reduction of the mass base and the big diminution of armed tactical offensives. This made the Party and the revolutionary movement vulnerable to the enemy's strategic offensive and tactics of gradual constriction. This led to the urban-basing of the "general command" of the people's army and the notion of depending on foreign military assistance, misrepresenting it as the crucial factor that without it there is either retrogression or stagnation of the revolutionary movement. This also led to barbarities like bloody witch hunts and gangsterism. The incorrigible "Left" opportunists have been frustrated and have swung not only to a Right opportunist position but worst of all to a position of becoming counterrevolutionary agents of the US-Ramos regime.

As a result of the rectification movement, there is now a redeployment of the forces of the people's army. There is an appropriate size of the center of gravity involving no more than thirty percent of the total number of Red fighters in every guerrilla front. The overwhelming majority of the Red fighters are now deployed on a wider scale in order to operate in a greater number of municipalities and do painstaking mass work, expanding and consolidating the mass base. Extensive areas temporarily lost are now being recovered and new areas are being opened in the expansion of revolutionary work. The current line is to conduct intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The Party is putting into effect the minimum land reform program and mass base-building on a far wider scale. It is coordinating the rural-based armed struggle as the principal form of struggle and the urban-based legal democratic mass movement as the secondary but important and indispensable form of struggle. The urban Party organizations are now determined to send more Party cadres and members to the countryside.

*7. Pursue the revolutionary class line in the united front!*

The revolutionary class line in the united front is no different from the class line of the entire new democratic revolution as previously defined. It is possible to pursue the united front with or without any organizational form. Fortunately, the Party has plenty of experience in building formal united front organizations legally and illegally. There are the alliances based on class and sectoral interests or on certain important issues in the legal democratic movement. There has also been the underground National Democratic Front since 1973. The most important of all the alliances is the basic one between the working class and the peasantry. To build this alliance the Party has pursued the antifeudal class line in which the proletariat relies mainly on the poor, lower-middle peasants and farm workers, win over the rest of the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants, take advantage of the contradictions between enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic gentry. Since 1969, this class line has been followed in building organs of political power in the countryside.

The rectification movement vigorously condemns and opposes the attempt of the former "Left" and Right opportunists within the Party who are now openly counterrevolutionary Rightists to liquidate the class leadership of the proletariat and destroy the basic worker-peasant alliance which is the foundation of the revolutionary united front. The rectification movement criticizes and repudiates the series of Right opportunist attempts to liquidate the leading role of the working class in the united front, starting with the 1980 concept of the "vanguard front" to

replace the vanguard party, proceeding to the 1985 and 1987 decisions to convert the NDF into a "federation" or "confederation" in which the Party is made to relinquish its role as center of the revolution and further proceeding to the 1990 attempt to convert the NDF into a confused federation of member-organizations and of individuals, in which the Party gives up its leading role in the revolution and its independence and initiative and is subordinated through a voting system to a ready-made majority of petty-bourgeois groups and individuals that imposes on it a program of bourgeois nationalism, pluralism and mixed economy.

The rectification movement is applying the Party's clarification of the distinct roles and correct relationship of the Party, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front along the correct revolutionary class line. It is stressing the principle of upholding the working class leadership in the united front. On behalf of the proletariat and the entire people, the Party wields the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as the weapons of the revolutionary movement. It maintains its independence and initiative in any kind of united front arrangement and is for the rule of consensus among allied organizations rather than a system of voting in which the nonproletarian groups have a ready-made majority.

#### *8. Follow the principle of democratic centralism!*

Democratic centralism is the basic organizational principle of the Party. It is centralism based on democracy and democracy based on centralized leadership. I need not restate here all the provisions of the Party Constitution regarding democratic centralism. Let me point out however that democratic centralism is not just about the democratic and collective process of decision-making. Were it simply so, there would be no difference between the Party and a business or even a religious corporation. The essence of centralism in the Party is the commitment to the basic Marxist-Leninist principles and policies that are clearly stated in the Party Constitution and Program. Democracy is the method by which the essence of centralism is integrated with the concrete practice of the revolution, and by which the dialectical relationship or interaction is realized between the central leadership and the general membership of the Party through the elected representative organs of leadership.

The rectification movement opposes and repudiates such notions as the following: that education in the basic principles of the Party constitutes "fundamentalism" (whatever that means), that there must be "democratic pluralism" instead of democratic centralism and that anticommunists can become Party members, that the evaluation of Party members is "inquisition", that anti-Party factions, their "caucuses" and "autonomous groups" are permissible, and that public attacks against the Party by those who claim to be Party members are beyond the ambit of Party discipline and are legitimate and democratic. Since early 1992 and even earlier on a smaller scale, ultra-democracy has been whipped up by both former "Left" and Right opportunist elements. The Party combats both bureaucratism and ultra-democracy. Each one is a one-sided malignance; one simply dictates from above and the other is anarchy or the tyranny of the mob. Those who are now counterrevolutionary Rightists had been the worst practitioners of these in the entire history of the Party.

In the rectification movement, the Party explains thoroughly the meaning of democratic centralism. It demonstrates how the rectification documents have been arrived at, how they have been decided, how they are being implemented and how they are being further enriched. All lower Party organs and organizations are encouraged to make further summings-up and criticism and self-criticism. All Party cadres and members are encouraged to participate in decision-making and to engage in criticism and self-criticism. There are the bounds of discipline and within these bounds there is inner-Party democracy to make sure that discipline is well-informed and enlightened. The Party must always be concerned about the unity, solidity and security of the Party as a necessity in the revolutionary struggle. Within the Party there is a dialectical relationship between discipline and freedom.

#### *9. Look forward to the socialist revolution!*

There is no point in making the national-democratic revolution now if there is no socialist perspective. In the first place, the national-democratic revolution cannot be won if the factors that make for socialist revolution do not prevail in the course of the national-democratic revolution. The factors for bringing the people to the stage of socialist revolution are the class leadership of the proletariat through the Party, the people's army as the main component of state power under the absolute leadership of the Party, the proletarian class dictatorship at the core of the people's democratic form of government and the basic revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the foundation of the united front. In brief, there is power in the hands of the working class and its revolutionary party to start the socialist transformation. Upon the seizure of political power nationwide, the national-demo-crat- revolution shall have been basically completed and the socialist revolution can begin. The



socialist sector of state enterprises and cooperatives shall be instituted even as there are transitory concessions to the owner-cultivators of land and the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

In view of the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in some countries and the continuing degeneration of these in other countries, the rectification movement criticizes and condemns modern revisionism and upholds socialism. It combats the ideological and political offensive of the imperialists and the reactionaries who misrepresent socialism to mislead the people. It is absolutely necessary for the Party to study the processes and victories of the two-stage revolutions in the history of the international communist movement and the undermining and reversal of these by modern revisionism in the light of Mao's theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought gives us the scientific basis and optimism for winning the struggle against monopoly capitalism and reaction and for attaining socialism and ultimately communism.

The theoretical education promoted by the rectification movement necessarily extends to the understanding that national-democratic and socialist revolutions will surely resurge and that Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship is a great resource for consolidating socialism, combating revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism the next time that socialist societies arise once more on a wider scale on the face of the earth.

#### *10. Carry out the Philippine revolution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism!*

The new-democratic revolution in the Philippines is now at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and people of the world against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. It is one of the few revolutionary movements now that are led by a Marxist-Leninist party, have some significant strength and, most important of all, are engaged in the revolutionary armed process of overthrowing the imperialists and the local reactionaries. The Philippine revolution has a signal role in upholding the torch of armed revolution while a more widespread armed revolution in the world is still to come. The Party is aware of its internationalist duty in leading the armed revolution. This is something to be proud of. But this is also something that calls for hard work and the spirit of self-sacrifice and modesty in the face of tremendous odds and the growing attempts of the imperialists and reactionaries to focus on the Philippine revolution in order to destroy it.

The rectification movement condemns and repudiates the counterrevolutionary line that the Filipino people are getting tired of their own resistance to the ceaseless violence of imperialist and class oppression and exploitation and that the CPP and the NDF must follow what is globally trendy and fashionable, which is capitulation to the enemy. Frustrated in pushing their line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism and getting foreign military assistance and financial assistance, the principal "Left" opportunists of the past have become counterrevolutionary Rightists and are the most active in spreading the noxious line of capitulationism and reformism. They are now aligned with the long-time principal Right opportunists who have long exposed themselves as anti-communists all along and who have had the least knowledge about the creation of Red political power in the countryside. These counterrevolutionary Rightists are getting funds from the US-Ramos ruling clique and from foreign funding agencies to spread their line of anti-communism, anti-Stalinism, reformism and capitulationism.

To perform its internationalist duty most effectively, the Party continues to strengthen itself, wage protracted people's war and build the mass organizations and organs of political power self-reliantly. There is no way that the enemy can destroy the revolutionary movement because of the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system. At the same time, the Party is actively cooperating with other Marxist-Leninist parties and pre-party formations in the world to propagate the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and with all other entities that are opposed to imperialism and all reaction to bring about the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale.

#### Concluding Remarks

The rectification movement is consolidating the ranks of the Party and is infusing the core and the entirety of the revolutionary mass movement with an ever-stronger revolutionary resolve and vigor. All honest cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines are eager to raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness and militance through the rectification movement and the revolutionary struggle, while only a few incorrigible elements have brought themselves out of the Party in order to attack it from the outside along a blatantly anticommunist line.

We can be confident that the Party and the entire revolutionary movement will become ever stronger as a result

of the second great rectification movement. We wish all the cadres and members of the Party and all the revolutionary masses under their leadership to win ever greater victories. The crisis of both the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system are daily worsening. The objective conditions are favorable for strengthening the subjective forces of the Philippine revolution and for delivering effective blows on the counterrevolutionaries. The Communist Party of the Philippines will win ever greater victories.

- Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!
- Long live the proletariat and people of the Philippines!
- Long live proletarian internationalism!

**April 1995**

---

I am deeply pleased and grateful that my long interview with Julie, *On the Mode of Production in the Philippines* in 1983, while I was still detained by the Marcos fascist dictatorship, and my series of lectures as research fellow of the Center for Asian Studies of the University of the Philippines, *Philippine Crisis and Revolution*, in April-May 1986 are published together in this volume, *Philippine Economy and Politics*.

Since its congress of re-establishment on December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has described Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal. The Philippine political system has been semicolonial since 1946, under the indirect rule of US imperialism through the parties and politicians of the local exploiting classes. The Philippine economic system has been semifeudal since the first decade of the 20th century, exploited by the homegrown comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class in the service of foreign monopoly capitalism.

Correspondent to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the CPP has put forward the general line of national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war under the leadership of the proletariat. The strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength in the countryside until it becomes possible to seize the cities realizes and activates the basic class alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

In this regard, the CPP has deployed its cadres in the countryside in order to build the people's army and the peasant movement, solve the land problem as the main problem of the democratic revolution and build the people's democratic power even while reactionary state power is still entrenched in the cities. Responding to the demand of the peasant majority of the people for an agrarian revolution, the anti-feudal line is the main component of the general line of national democratic revolution.

---

### ***On the question of semifeudalism***

Some opponents of the general line of national democratic revolution pretend to be anti-imperialist and progressive and therefore avoid questioning the description of the Philippine ruling system as semicolonial or neo-colonial. But they concentrate on attacking the description of the Philippine economy as semifeudal in order to do away with its precision, confuse the situation and exaggerate "development" or prospects of it under the auspices of the imperialists and the local reactionaries and attack the general line of the national democratic revolution, especially the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The Philippine economy has been called many names—"free enterprise", "market", "mixed", "developing", "semicapitalist", "dependent-capitalist" and so on. But none of these is more precise than "semifeudal" in denoting the level of development of the productive forces and the relations of production, particularly the retention of the agrarian character of the economy and the shift in terms of socioeconomic relations from the feudal economy of the 19th century under Spanish colonialism to the semifeudal economy of the 20th century under US imperialism. Bourgeois economists adopt their own terminology to stress private ownership of the means of production, the commodity system or the primacy of the market and the promise of development under capitalism. And political counterrevolutionaries wish to get rid of the term semifeudal to impugn and undermine the general line of national democratic revolution that carries out protracted people's war.

In its entire 20-year period of the rule from 1966, especially during its imposition of fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people from 1972 to 1986, the US-Marcos ruling clique aggravated and deepened the agrarian, pre-industrial and semifeudal character of the Philippine social economy. It did not undertake national industrialization and land reform but exacerbated the socioeconomic problems inflicted by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Under the policy dictates of the US and such multilateral agencies as the IMF and the World Bank, the Marcos regime poured domestic as well as borrowed foreign resources into big comprador operations, bureaucratic corruption and into a rapid military buildup. It made a big portion of agricultural production of staples dependent on imported inputs under the "green revolution", expanded mineral and agricultural raw material production for export, maintained the infrastructure for the exchange of raw material exports and manufactured imports and deepened the dependence on imported equipment and inputs.

However, in the late '70s, a handful of subjectivist elements within the CPP started to question and undermine the description of the Philippine economy as semifeudal, agrarian and without basic industries. They cited data on the commodity system, wage relations, the increase of rural and urban odd-jobbers and distribution of gross output values. They came to the conclusion that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal but "semicapitalist", implying that it was already industrial capitalist. In effect they credited the Marcos regime for "industrializing" the Philippines. They also exaggerated the extent of the urban population as 40 percent and implied that the purported percentage increase in urban population was due to industrialization and not merely due to the exhaustion of the land frontier in the '60s and the increase of the unemployed and odd-jobbers in both rural and urban areas throughout the '70s. Among those who pushed the line that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal but was semi-capitalist was no less than the chairman then of the central committee of the CPP.

The subjectivists falsely claimed that the Philippines had been industrialized and urbanized to an extent that it was necessary to "modify, adjust and refine" the general line of the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war. In fact, they were undercutting and assailing this general line. They were rationalizing the urban-basing of the CPP central leadership and the concentration of cadres in the cities. They were promoting revisionism by pushing subjectivist and opportunist lines of thinking.

In 1980, the subjectivists pushed distinguishably "Left" and Right opportunist lines of policy. They blamed the founders of the CPP for the supposed inaccuracy of describing the Philippine economy as semifeudal and for the supposed neglect of revolutionary work in the urban areas. They obscured the fact that the proletarian revolutionary cadres of the CPP had been ceaselessly developing the legal democratic movement in the urban areas since the entire decade of the '60s and that it was the open rule of terror of the Marcos regime rather than the anti-feudal line of the Party that had required the urban-based legal democratic movement to go underground in the 1970s.

Throughout the 1980s, the worst of the Left opportunists pushed the line of accelerating the advance of the armed revolution through urban-based armed insurrections, incited by armed city partisans, and through

premature enlargement and "regularization" of units of the people's army, and without analyzing the kind of industry that existed and the socioeconomic relations.

They had contempt for the legal and defensive character of the struggle in the urban areas and for the constant necessity of ever expanding and consolidating the mass base in the urban and rural areas through painstaking mass work.

"Left" opportunism was pushed either under the premature notion of "strategic counteroffensive" or making urban-based insurrections the leading factor in the process of armed revolution. They kept on wishing for an exceptional "conjuncture" of domestic and international factors that would invalidate the strategic line of protracted people's war. They considered as more important the external rather than the internal factors of the revolutionary process and confused the principal and secondary aspects of this process. They took the victorious uprisings in Vietnam in 1945 and in Nicaragua in 1979 out of historical context and cited these as the best models of the Philippine revolution.

At the same time, the Right opportunists pushed the erroneous line that the urban-based legal mass movement was of higher importance than the rural-based armed struggle, and that more people would be attracted to the united front and to the revolution if the leadership would be entrusted to the anti-Marcos section of the reactionaries under the concept of a bourgeois-nationalist "New Katipunan" and that the leadership of the working class and the CPP would have to be concealed, cut down or even liquidated. Under the stimulus of funding from bourgeois and religious agencies in Western Europe, the urban-based Right opportunists produced a considerable amount of bourgeois reformist propaganda and drew as well as withheld CPP cadres from the countryside.

In any communist party, even at its best, there is always an internal basis for the emergence and development of subjectivism and opportunism because of the inflow of petty-bourgeois elements who fail to remold themselves to become genuine proletarian revolutionaries and because there is the constant impact of influences from outside the Party, either from the social environment in general or from deliberate attempts of the enemy to penetrate and influence the CPP. The dangers of subjectivism and opportunism rise when ideological, political and organizational standards for Party membership are lowered as in certain urban-based units of the CPP and when the antifascist aspect of the revolutionary struggle is cut off from the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aspects.

The communists are always bombarded by the official "development" theory of foreign monopoly capitalism and the local reactionaries. In the absence of or due to the weakening of Marxist-Leninist study, the unremolded petty-bourgeois elements in the CPP can become impressed with the glossy presentation of "development" programs and projects of the reactionaries, the heavy importation of consumer goods and rapid infrastructure-building financed through deficit-spending and foreign borrowing. Whenever a communist party is ideologically and politically lax, the class enemy can even introduce or recruit in place agents to sow political confusion. In addition, there are those outside the Party who pretend to be Left and progressive, deliberately address themselves to the communists and spread wrong notions about the Philippine economy which in fact assist the counterrevolutionary line of the barefaced enemies of the Philippine revolution.

After the imposition of martial rule on the Philippines, the so-called social democrats, who are in fact Christian democrats trained for anti-communist work but who deck themselves out as progressive competitors of and alternatives to the communists, circulated the notion that the Marcos regime even if repressive had adopted an excellent economic policy of development under the auspices of the IMF and World Bank. The Lava revisionist group openly capitulated to the Marcos regime and misrepresented it as representative of the national bourgeoisie, as one interested in "noncapitalist development" and as one genuine proletarian revolutionaries and because there is the constant impact of influences from outside the Party, either from the social environment in general or from deliberate attempts of the enemy to penetrate and influence the CPP. The dangers of subjectivism and opportunism rise when ideological, political and organizational standards for Party membership are lowered as in certain urban-based units of the CPP and when the aspect of the revolutionary struggle is cut off from the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aspects.

In 1979, Philippine military intelligence officers were telling several prisoners, suspected as high cadres of the CPP, that they could be released from prison immediately if they pledged to push the line that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal and that the Marcos regime had made substantial economic progress under the auspices of the IMF and the World Bank.

In the late 1970s, the Filipino assets of US intelligence agencies (CIA and DIA) inserted themselves into and

used the US- based Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) to question the description of the Philippine economy as semifeudal and push the twisted line of "support the Philippine armed struggle, drop Mao Zedong's theory of people's war and seek the decisive support of the Soviet Union". Soon, the KDP openly attacked the CPP. Some of the KDP activists pretended to remain loyal to the CPP but in fact continued to push such notions as that "export-oriented manufacturing" could be the cutting edge of US-inspired industrialization and that democratization was simply a matter of overthrowing Marcos, without the need for people's war.

By the early 1980s, there was already a loud debate in narrow petty-bourgeois circles whether the Philippine economy was semifeudal or not. I responded to the attempts of the opportunist elements within the CPP and pseudo-Left elements outside the CPP to sow confusion regarding the character of the Philippine economy. It so happened that Julie was already out of prison and could relate to me developments in the current debate and bring to me reference materials every weekend. We agreed on the format of an interview by her with me on the Philippine mode of production in order to clarify the essential character of the Philippine economy and counter the wrong notions about it.

It is of vital importance to publish this interview in this volume in order to bridge the economic analysis in the founding documents of the CPP in 1968 and Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution* in 1970 on the one hand and the current reality and information about the Philippine economy on the other hand and in order to counter the persistent attempts of anti-CPP elements to discredit the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Philippine economy as semifeudal and undermine the general line of the national democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

### ***The semifeudal economy, 1960-90***

The Philippine economy continues to have no industries producing basic metals, basic chemicals and capital goods from the local primary production of raw materials. It remains basically agrarian even as it has some kind of floating industry dependent on imported capital goods. The socioeconomic relations are dominated by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the service of foreign monopoly capitalism.

The semifeudal economy is a commodity system that has departed from the feudal economy of self-subsistence but it is one dominated by the comprador big bourgeoisie rather than by a homegrown industrial bourgeoisie. The urban-based comprador big bourgeoisie is in close partnership with the rural-based landlord class. At the same time, the whole semifeudal economy is a neocolonial pre-industrial or an agrarian adjunct of the world capitalist system.

Whatever are the current proportions of gross output values and employment in the agriculture, industry and service sectors of the economy, all these are dependent on imported equipment, fuel, other raw materials and manufactured components from abroad.

The latest high-tech tools may be used in any sector but the Philippine economy until now does not produce these tools. Production for local consumption as well as for export has become more import-dependent than ever under the policy of trade liberalization. Agricultural and mineral production for export and low value-added production of semiconductors, garments and toys for reexport have consigned the Philippine economy to chronic foreign trade deficit and ever-mounting foreign debt.

In all sectors of the economy, the imported producer and consumer goods count high in the gross output values. Subtracting the value of the import content will reveal the following: the highest net value is still contributed by agricultural and mineral ore production and the rising high payments for the imports. In essence, the imports are paid for in part by export income (mainly from raw material exports) and in another part by an increasing amount of foreign borrowings.

The export of cheap labor for unskilled work has become a bigger earner of foreign exchange than any of the agricultural, mineral or manufactured exports. However, the income of the overseas contract workers is not large enough to close the foreign trade gap. Practically all of this income goes into consumption. The export of cheap labor is a manifestation of the inability of the economy to employ the huge number of college-educated Filipinos who are driven to take menial jobs abroad.

Under the Aquino and Ramos regimes, like their predecessor Marcos regime, the Philippine reactionary government has rabidly followed the same policies dictated by foreign monopoly capitalism. These have run counter to national industrialization and land reform, aggravated and deepened the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy and, in the face of international credit difficulties, compelled the state to resort more and more to

local public borrowing, privatization of state assets, increasing the tax burden and attracting short-term speculative foreign capital.

It is instructive to go over some important data from 1960 to 1990 in order to see how much the Philippine economy has undergone degradation. According to official statistics, some 15.4 percent of the labor force was in industry in 1960. This dropped to 15.0 percent in 1990. Within the industrial sector, manufacturing plunged from 12.1 percent share of employment in 1960 to only 9.7 percent in 1990. In 1979, it was supposed to have gone down to 14 percent. The upward fluctuation to 15 percent in 1990 is not believable but is still indicative of retrogression. This is evidence of de-industrialization rather than industrialization. The proportion of employment in manufacturing has become smaller in the period of "export-oriented" manufacturing since the '70s than in the earlier period of "import-substitution" manufacturing in the '50s and '60s.

The share of industry in the gross national product (GNP) is supposed to have risen from 28.5 percent in 1960 to 32.9 percent in 1990. Most of this share of industry (34.3 percent in 1991) is contributed by manufacturing (25.4 percent), construction (5 percent) and utilities (2.5 percent), all of which are import-dependent for equipment, fuel, other raw materials or component parts. Manufacturing of consumer goods accounts for an average of 55 percent in 1985-91, petroleum and coal processing 32.6 percent and local fabrication of imported basic metals, re-assembly or fringe-processing of manufactured components and repairs, 10.7 percent.

Eighty percent out of the 76,288 manufacturing firms surveyed recently employ on the average one to nine people and 800 large firms employing more than 200 people and above comprise only one percent and account for half of the total manufacturing labor force. Of the total value in manufacturing, 71.4 percent is over-concentrated in Metro Manila, Southern Tagalog and Central Luzon.

Employment in agriculture is supposed to have fallen from 61.2 percent in 1960 to only 45.2 percent in 1990 and the share of agriculture in the GNP is supposed to have decreased from 31.1 percent in 1960 to 23.2 percent in 1990. The service sector is supposed to have absorbed mainly the labor force shifting from agriculture, especially in the form of rural and urban odd-jobbers who are in fact unemployed or grossly underemployed. Anyhow, "employment" in the service sector is supposed to have risen from 23.5 percent in 1960 to 43 percent in 1993 and the share of the service sector in the GNP from 40.4 percent in 1960 to 43.9 percent in 1990. Surplus agricultural labor, which is the main object of misrepresentation by bourgeois statisticians, still consists mainly of seasonal low-paid farm workers.

The former "Left" and Right opportunists in the CPP who have become outright traitors to the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people have made so much out of their continuing false claim that the Philippines has become far more urbanized than Russia during the Bolshevik revolution or China during the protracted people's war of liberation in order to rationalize the erroneous line of shifting the focus of the revolutionary movement from the rural to the urban areas and basing themselves in the latter even while the people's war is still at the stage of the strategic defensive.

They produce the high figure of at least 40 percent urban population by adding up the population of Metro Manila, the provincial cities, provincial capitals and town centers. By the same measure, the proportion of the urban population in Russia in 1917 and China in 1949 should be far bigger than that in the Philippines. Russia and China have far longer histories of urbanization under feudalism and the development of handicrafts and manufacturing. Moreover, Russia was also radically different from semifeudal China by having basic industries and an industrial bourgeoisie which was strategically dominant in the economy but politically subordinated to the czarist autocracy.

Out of the total Philippine population of 27,088,000 in 1960, the population of Metro Manila and all provincial cities was 5,370,000 or 19.8 percent, with Metro Manila accounting for 2,460,000 or 9 percent. Out of the total Philippine population of 60,703,000 in 1990, the population of Metro Manila and all the provincial cities was 13,012,000 or 21 percent, with Metro Manila accounting for 7,928,000 or 13 percent.

The increase in city population from 19.8 percent of the total national population in 1960 to 21 percent in 1990 is not really big and does not necessarily mean either real urbanization or industrialization. Only a small portion of the urban population enjoys such amenities as piped-in water and electricity. In fact, the conditions of rural backwardness and poverty are brought into the cities by the huge reserve army of labor (unemployed) coming from the countryside.

Philippine cities are basically centers of operations of the comprador big bourgeoisie and not of an industrial

bourgeoisie. The prevalent kind of economic activity in Metro Manila is commercial rather than industrial and in provincial cities there is generally a small area as center of commercial activity. The population outside the small commercial centers in so-called provincial cities is actually rural. The provincial capitals and town centers which are not classified as cities have generally less commerce and less urban amenities than those classified as cities.

The same incorrigible opportunist elements who have unduly credited the Marcos regime for significantly "industrializing" and "urbanizing" the Philippines and who have faulted the CPP for refusing to accept this wrong view are still the same elements who have praised the Aquino regime for "economic recovery" and who have self-contradictorily declared that the Ramos regime is still in the process of making the agrarian Philippine economy a "newly-industrializing country" by the year 2000. Consistently, they wish the big comprador-landlord regime to industrialize the Philippines in the vain hope of liquidating soon the protracted people's war. Thus, they have shamelessly pushed the line of "seeking convergences" with the "development" program of the Ramos regime, pretending to criticize it up to a certain point but on the whole supporting it.

#### On the Question of Dictatorship and Democratization

In the upsurge of the broad popular struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1983 to 1986, after the outrageous assassination of Benigno Aquino and when the anti-Marcos reactionaries became emboldened to oppose the dictatorship, the "Left" opportunists exaggerated the possibility of winning total victory or taking a major share of political power in the offing through urban insurrections and premature regularization of the NPA and became unmindful of the conspicuous grave loss and weakening of the mass base in the rural areas, starting from 1984, and the occurrence of Kampanyang Apos in Mindanao, starting from 1985, due to the putschist line.

At the same time, the Right opportunists exaggerated the possibility of winning a major share of political power upon the condition that they prevailed with their bourgeois reformist line. They wished the revolutionary forces to tail after the leadership of the anti-Marcos reactionaries, engage solely or mainly in legal struggle and become mere footstool for the anti-Marcos reactionaries in their rise to power.

The most corrosive line that the Right opportunist elements (under the influence of the Filipino assets of US imperialism) pushed within the CPP was the one presuming that there would be "democratization" and a simple case of expanding the "democratic space" through legal struggle if the Marcos fascist dictatorship had been replaced by another big comprador-landlord clique, especially one headed by the widow of Aquino.

They claimed that with the end of the personal dictatorship or autocracy of Marcos, the ensuing "elite democracy" would still constitute "democratization" open to reform and to conversion into "popular democracy" through reformist legal struggle. The series of dichotomies between dictatorship and democratization and between "elite" and "popular" democracy was meant to obfuscate the persistence of the joint class dictatorship of the big compradors and landlords even after the fall of Marcos in the absence of a successful people's war.

After the fall of Marcos in the manner foretold by the earlier fall of Baby "Doc" Duvalier in Haiti and military juntas in Latin America, through the combination of a big split in the reactionary armed forces and a popular uprising, the Filipino assets of US imperialism and the "Left" and Right opportunists in the CPP combined to declare that the CPP had had nothing to do with the downfall of Marcos, had become marginalized and had suffered a strategic defeat because of its boycott policy in the 1986 snap presidential elections.

They misconstrued democracy as merely the "democratic space" for them within the ruling system in terms of civil and political liberties, claimed that there was no more ground for people's war and deliberately obfuscated the fact that the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and the open rule of terror was persistent, despite the flimsy and temporary liberal facade of the Aquino regime. In fact, the Aquino regime retained or made worse the anti-worker and anti-peasant decrees of Marcos and General Ramos intensified the military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces and the people.

The "Left" opportunist exponents of urban insurrectionism and military adventurism who had been responsible for the consequent grave damage to the rural mass base and for Kampanyang Apos in Mindanao as early as 1985 also joined the Filipino assets of US imperialism and the Right opportunists in recriminations against the Party for the boycott policy error and in making misrepresentations about the character, implications, magnitude and consequences of this error. Both "Left" and Right opportunists in effect asserted that the banned revolutionary forces should have participated in the Marcos-staged elections and considered the boycott policy as the Party's biggest error in its entire history.

The most blatant assets of US imperialism compared the Aquino regime to the Magsaysay regime as one



effectively undercutting the revolutionary movement by restoring "democratic institutions and processes" and seriously carrying out "land reform" under a US and World Bank-supported mini-Marshall plan. They boasted that the post-Marcos period was one of democratization through legal institutions and processes, rendering useless and outdated the armed revolution. Since then, they have ceaselessly prated about alternatives (including foreign-funded NGOism, job placements in the reactionary government, electoral politics and the like) to the armed revolution rather than to the oppressive and exploitative ruling system. They conveniently forget the fact that the CPP was reestablished in 1968 and built the NPA in 1969 when Marcos was the glittering display in Washington's "show window of democracy" in Asia and he too was threatening to carry out land reform.

The popdems, socdems, Bisig and the like were all happy to take a ride on the Aquino bandwagon. Even the old line pro-Soviet revisionists wanted to take the ride with them immediately after serving the Marcos regime for a long time. The Right opportunist line within the CPP described the Aquino regime as a "liberal democratic" regime worthy of critical support. The "Left" opportunists responsible for unprecedented damage to the revolutionary movement and for Kampanyang Aghos in Mindanao ceaselessly overstated the boycott policy error as the biggest error ever in the history of the CPP in order to cover up their far graver culpability in Mindanao and elsewhere in the country.

Amidst all the attempts at confusing the revolutionary forces, I delivered the series of lectures on Philippine crisis and revolution at the Asian Studies Center of the University of the Philippines from April to May 1986 in order to clarify the new situation and the big comprador-landlord class character of the US-Aquino regime and update Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution*. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPP subsequently adopted this series of lectures as basic study material for the Party in 1987 and was able to circulate and promote it in 1988, much to the chagrin of the incorrigible Right opportunists and the "Left" opportunists who were then on the path of turning into blatant Right opportunists, revisionists and even criminal gangsters from year to year.

It is of vital importance to publish again this series of lectures on the Philippine crisis and revolution to demonstrate that all along there has been a timely response to attempts of the agents of US imperialism and the incorrigible opportunists at confusing the ranks of the revolutionaries and the people about the post-Marcos period and to heighten the fighting consciousness of communists and all revolutionary militants.

This series of lectures has upheld the continuing validity and vitality of the national democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It has helped carry over the revolutionary cadres and the masses from the Marcos to the post-Marcos period along the general line of national democratic revolution and to foil the US imperialists, the local exploiting classes and their special agents to destroy or derail the armed revolution.

### ***The second great rectification movement***

The incorrigible "Left" and Right opportunists within the CPP have fully exposed themselves as counterrevolutionary opponents of Marxism-Leninism, the CPP and the national-democratic revolution. They are now shameless bootlickers of the US-Ramos regime and barefaced traitors to the revolutionary cause. Irony of all ironies, they have chosen to expose themselves and act viciously as counterrevolutionaries during the presidency of General Ramos, the continuity man in the open rule of terror under the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

After failing in their vicious attempt to liquidate the CPP from the inside, they continue to specialize in slandering the CPP and the entire revolutionary mass movement. In so many devious ways, they deny the persistence of the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class. They obscure the continuing rule of open terror under the Aquino and the Ramos regimes and claim that human rights violations have been on the decline, despite the brutalities of Lambat Bitag I, II and III and other military campaigns under the "total war" policy or "low-intensity conflict" directed by US imperialism. Having fully exposed themselves as special agents of psychological warfare, they have become more and more ineffective in their attempts to show confusion.

The conjuncture and convergence of the three sectors of neocolonialism (government, big business and foreign-fund- NGOs), the false promises of "Philippines 2000" and the escalation of the "total war" policy, the brutal military campaigns and intrigues of "low intensity conflict", the opportunist errors and crimes, the open betrayal by the incorrigible opportunists and revisionists and the anticommunist ideological and political offensive of the imperialists and their local lackeys in connection with the disintegration of the revisionist parties and regimes

abroad have failed to break or demoralize the forces of the national-democratic revolution.

Instead, the revolutionary forces have reaffirmed basic revolutionary principles, have drawn strength from their reservoir of ideological, political and organizational accomplishments, have repudiated the errors and crimes of the "Left" and Right opportunists and have raised the fighting will and capabilities of the people. The victory of the Second Great Rectification Movement cannot be fully understood without reading and studying the interview on the Philippine mode of production and the series of lectures on the Philippine crisis and revolution.

These countered the most devious and vicious attacks on the general line of the national democratic revolution in the '80s and laid the ground for the Second Great Rectification Movement. From year to year since 1988, the proletarian revolutionaries in the Central Committee of the CPP increasingly combated the "Left" and Right opportunist currents until the Second Great Rectification Movement was carried out in a comprehensive and deep-going way, starting in 1992.

# ***Mass Movement Must Surge Forward***

January 18, 2001

---

Acting through his fellow rogues in the Senate, Estrada has scuttled the Senate trial by suppressing vital evidence. He has in effect acquitted himself in advance of the previously scheduled February 12 judgment day.

The broad masses of the people are seething with just anger and are determined to remove Estrada from power through the exercise of their own democratic will outside the processes and mechanisms under the control of the Estrada ruling clique.

The mass movement to oust Estrada must surge forward under the policy of the broad united front. The patriotic and progressive forces must actively cooperate with their allies in carrying out immediately on a nationwide scale and in Metro Manila the largest possible mass actions in quick response to the shameless devilry of the ruling clique.

Converging at EDSA can be advantageous if this is the consensus of the broad united front and has the purpose of encouraging the active military and police officers to join in the mass uprising and shutting down the factories and offices served by the EDSA trunkline.

If necessary, the encirclement of the palace can be done eventually, with marches from several assembly points, including EDSA, Luneta, Liwasan and other points. There is time to develop the most effective way to oust Estrada. This can be accomplished within this month, within a few months or within the year.

The broad united front to oust Estrada or to compel his resignation includes the forces and personages of the national democratic movement, the opposition parties, respected institutions and organizations of various types and growing sections of the reactionary military and police.

Military and police personnel can play a positive role if they withdraw support from the Estrada ruling clique, shift to the side of the people, neutralize the rabid military and police running dogs of the ruling clique and do not seek to form any military or civilian-military junta.

The Estrada ruling clique is poised to further repress the people, assault mass actions and explode more bombs to kill and maim civilians. In this connection, the Communist Party of the Philippines has made a timely announcement that the New People's Army will intensify the people's war in the countryside and carry out precise commando operations against the most notorious plunderers and human rights violators belonging to the Estrada ruling clique.

The economic and political crisis of the ruling system of big compradors and landlords is daily worsening. The conditions are exceedingly favorable for the advance of the revolutionary mass movement and the overthrow of the Estrada ruling clique.

Everyday that this clique remains in power, the Filipino people becomes more resolute and militant in advancing the legal democratic mass movement and the revolutionary armed struggle as complementary and interacting forms of struggle on the road of new-democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

# ***Congratulations to the Filipino People,***

## ***Carry the Struggle Through to the End***

**Press Statement January 20, 2001**

---

Joseph Ejercito Estrada, alias Jose Velarde, was finished yesterday as president of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) as a result of the overwhelming mass actions of the Filipino people in Metro Manila and nationwide.

Terrified by the anticipated siege on the palace by at least a million people, key cabinet members and the top brass of the military and police have withdrawn support from him.

He has no choice but to resign and he is in no position to demand immunity from prosecution. Moreover, whether he formally resigns or not, vice president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo can take over the presidency.

I congratulate the entire Filipino people, all the patriotic and progressive forces and the broad united front for the brilliant victory in ousting Estrada and his ruling clique from power. I praise their courage and wisdom.

I admire the tenacity and militancy of the forces of the national democratic movement in seeking the overthrow of the Estrada regime since the beginning, well ahead of other forces in the broad united front.

I am glad to have foreseen as early as in 1998 that Estrada would not last long in power, like El Loco of Ecuador, because of his overweening arrogance, shameless rapacity, wanton brutality and unbridled servility to the foreign monopoly capitalists.

We are happy with our success in defeating an immoral, corrupt and repressive regime. But let us not indulge in euphoria and complacency. The struggle against the fallen ruling clique is not yet complete even as a new president comes to power. We must carry this struggle through to the end.

It can be completed only by arresting Estrada, his fellow plunderers and human rights violators, subjecting them to criminal proceedings and punishing them for their crimes. We must not let them go scot-free and enjoy the fruits of their crimes.

The people cannot tolerate any shady compromise deal between the outgoing and the incoming presidents. The change of president, from Estrada to Arroyo, should not be merely a change of chief oppressor and chief exploiter.

The people demand that criminal proceedings must be undertaken against Estrada and his cronies as well as the Marcoses and the big Marcos cronies, like Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan. All these must be held to account for their crime of plunder and compelled to surrender their loot to the people.

The forces of the national-democratic movement may continue its critical alliance with the new president, if immediately she does the following, among others:

1. Arrest and subject to criminal proceedings Estrada, the Marcoses and the big cronies and make them yield their ill-gotten wealth.
2. Reverse the anti-national and anti-people policy of liberalization, privatization and deregulation.
3. Repudiate the anti-peasant policy of misrepresenting land reform as voluntary sale of land or corporate shares by the landlords.
4. Give justice and indemnification to all the victims of human rights violations since the time of Marcos.
5. Release all political prisoners in the spirit of goodwill.
6. Revive all the bilateral agreements of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).
7. Resume the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations through which basic social, economic and political reforms can be discussed and agreed upon.
8. Cease the military campaigns of suppression against the people in the countryside.

The new GRP president should be mindful that the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system shall continue to worsen even after the fall of Estrada and to provide the fertile conditions for armed revolution.

The crisis is not due simply to the corruption and repressiveness of the Estrada ruling clique. These are in fact the consequences of imperialist domination. The crisis is due to the fundamentally oppressive and exploitative

workings of the ruling system of big compradors and landlords who are servile to foreign monopoly capitalism.

The evils of this system will continue to inflict suffering on the people and incite them to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary forces and people will continue the struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON EDUCATION, IMPERIALISM AND RESISTANCE  
Shih Hsin University, Taipei, Taiwan, August 10, 2009**

---

From the International Coordinating Committee and entirety of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all the educators and social activists now gathered. I express high appreciation to the ILPS Working Group on Teachers, Researchers and Other Educational Personnel for organizing this international conference on education, imperialism and resistance and to the International Center for Taiwan Social Studies for hosting it.

Thank you for affording me the honor and privilege of delivering this keynote address. The theme of your conference is urgent and of great importance to the educators, the youth and the people of the world. We need to underscore the decisive importance of education in the service of the people, to criticize and condemn the depredations of imperialism and all reaction and present the anti-imperialist and progressive perspectives of struggle for a new and better world. I keep in mind that the participants of this conference come from advanced industrial economies as well as from underdeveloped ones.

***1. The decisive importance of education***

The availability of formal education at the basic and higher levels to comparatively larger numbers of people differentiates the modern world of the bourgeoisie and working class from the ancient world of the slave masters and feudal lords. The wider extent of education is made possible by the larger amount of surplus product created by the modern forces of production and is required by the greater need for mass literacy, professional and technical skills to maintain as well as to advance the level of material and cultural development.

Every exploitative ruling class in modern society, be it the monopoly bourgeoisie in imperialist countries or the bourgeoisie in combination with the landlord class in the underdeveloped countries, always puts its class imprint on the character and content of education and lays stress on the preservation of the ruling system and continuing exploitation of the working people. In opposition, the revolutionary forces of the people lay stress on the transformative character and content of education for the purpose of national and social liberation, all-round development and the attainment of socialism.

In large historical terms, capitalism has outlived its progressive character in opposition to feudalism in the industrial capitalist countries. It has reached the stage of monopoly capitalism or modern imperialism since the beginning of the 20th century. It has been responsible for ever worsening levels of economic and financial crisis, state repression, fascism, colonial and neocolonial domination, inter-imperialist global wars, wars of aggression against independent countries, damage to the environment and the use of the most backward forms of reaction, including racial, religious and gender biases.

***Critique of imperialism***

You are absolutely correct in declaring that imperialism is at the root of the suffering and misery of billions of people throughout the world. Indeed, imperialist banks and corporations reap superprofits from the exploitation of the working people in both imperialist and underdeveloped countries and do so far more in the latter countries. The gap between rich and poor countries is ever widening. Widespread poverty and unemployment are deliberately maintained in order to keep ever available a large pool of cheap labor for super-exploitation. Concomitantly, environmental destruction proceeds unabated for the same purpose of extracting superprofits.

In recent decades, it has seemed as if capitalism and imperialism were perpetual and as if the cause of national liberation, people's democracy and socialism were hopeless in the face of the betrayal of socialism by the revisionists, the full-scale restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries and the imposition of "neoliberal globalization" on the world by the imperialist powers and their local puppets. With Russia having shifted from social-imperialism to rejoin the ranks of the traditional imperialist powers and with China aiming and trying hard to be a major imperialist power, the contradictions within the world capitalist system have intensified, such as those between the imperialist powers and the people of the world, among the imperialist powers themselves and between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the imperialist countries.

The slogan of "free market" or "neoliberal globalization" stands for the systematic attack by the monopoly

bourgeoisie on the working class and the rest of the people. It blames supposed wage inflation and social spending by government for the stagflation that surfaced in the imperialist countries in the 1970s and manifested the crisis of overproduction and the financial crisis in the imperialist economy. Since then, the imperialist countries headed by the US have gone on a rampage of pressing down the real wage level, cutting back on social spending for education, health and other social services and curtailing the rights and hard-earned social benefits of the working people.

The imperialist powers have pushed the underdeveloped countries to denationalize their economies, liberalize investments and trade in favor of the foreign monopolies, privatize state assets and social services and deregulate all previous restrictions on foreign monopoly capital and on the exploitation of the working people, women, children, migrants and the environment. The essence of the policy of "neoliberal globalization" is gobbleization of the world by the monopoly banks and corporations. It unleashes the insatiable greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Such monstrous policy has degraded and devastated education. Government spending for public education has been reduced. Teachers, researchers, and other education personnel suffer the consequences of stagnant and decreasing real salaries as these do not keep up with the rising costs of living. Large numbers of education personnel are laid off as governments close down schools and universities. As the academic and non-academic employees and the student masses become restive, they are subjected to repression by state authorities.

The imperialist powers keep on tightening their grip on education on a global scale. They use the WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) to treat education as a commodity for profit-making in the so-called free market and to push the privatization of public schools at all levels. The purpose, content and conduct of teaching and research are made to serve the interests of the imperialist powers and local reactionaries. These factors of mis-education design and produce the curricula, study materials, education and research programs and institutional structures. They use the combination of schools, mass media and other means of information and education as tools of imperialist domination in the cultural field as well as in the socioeconomic and political fields.

The adoption of higher technology in combination with the pushing down of the incomes of the working people in order to maximize corporate profits have engendered a series of worsening crises of overproduction under the policy of "neoliberal globalization". Every rise of production has been accompanied by the reduction of wage incomes and the shrinkage of the market. The attempt of monopoly capitalism to override the crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall through massive doses of debt financing, the creation of financial bubbles and the financialization of the economy have served to aggravate the crisis.

We are now faced with the worst financial and economic crisis of the world capitalist system since the Great Depression. If we look at the drastic fall of economic growth, unemployment and trade on the global scale since the second half of 2007, we can say that the current crisis follows a trajectory which is already worse than the Great Depression. But the officials and propagandists of the US obfuscate the severity of the crisis by calling it euphemistically as the Great Recession and merely focusing on some temporary effects of the huge bank bailouts in the US.

The downward trend of the US economy continues. It is most evident in the rise of unemployment and the concomitant decline in consumption. The Obama regime continues the neoliberal bias of the Bush regime for bailing out the banks and feeding the greed of the finance oligarchy. The funds that are supposed to stimulate the economy are channeled to certain monopoly corporations that use them to make profits rather than to expand production, create jobs and revive consumer demand. The US will continue to generate crisis in the world capitalist system, worsen the conditions of the working people and even the middle social strata, cause political turmoil within the ruling systems and incite the people to wage all forms of resistance.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system leads to the escalation of state terrorism and wars of aggression. The imperialist powers continue to band together to shift the burden of the crisis to the working people and the underdeveloped countries. But the broad masses of the people are bound to fight back for national and social liberation. The imperialist powers become ever more driven by greed as the financial and economic crisis constrains their profit-making. Their struggle for a re-division of the world is bound to intensify as they scramble for the sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. The worsening crisis, the rise of fascism and the imperialist propensity for war are driving the workers and the rest of the people to fight back and move for a radical change of social system in various countries.

### ***Struggle for a new and better world***

To be able to fight for a new and better world, the people need to be aroused, organized and mobilized by the revolutionary party and progressive alliances in every country. In this regard, the revolutionary party analyses the global and domestic situation and sets forth the general program of action and the strategy and tactics. The people must be aroused through information and education work. They must be organized on the basis of class or sectoral affinity as well as on the basis of major social issues. They must be mobilized through mass campaigns and through sectoral and multi-sectoral alliances.

The teachers and researchers play a crucial role in the struggle of the people for a new and better world. They must develop and utilize knowledge and research against the imperialist domination of these and for the liberation of the people from national and class oppression, for the realization of democracy, for all-rounded development in the service of the people, for world peace and the protection of the environment. They must promote and realize a new type of education and culture that is anti-imperialist, scientific and pro-people.

It is of urgent necessity that the teachers and researchers put forward a critique of imperialist ideology. Such a critique is an important instrument for defining the targets and tasks in the struggle for a radical transformation of society. We must be able to confront imperialist globalization and its terrorist complement of state repression and wars of aggression. In this regard, we must be able to build ever stronger the solidarity of the people of the world and advance their struggle to defend their rights and welfare, including the people's right to education, and advance in stages the struggle for a new and better world of greater freedom, justice, development and peace.

I am pleased to know that participants in this conference are urged to contribute to the critique of any aspect of imperialism and education and are encouraged to make interdisciplinary approaches to such concerns as access to education, the so-called neoliberal reforms in the education sector, the right to education and livelihood, the political economy of education, the politics and theories of knowledge, production and research, the impact of privatization and liberalization on educators and students and adverse effects of neoliberal reforms in education on societies.

The organizers of this conference guide well all the participants by setting forth certain tracks of discussion and calling for papers under each track. I look forward to the publication of the papers on education and imperialism, dealing with historical perspectives, the relation of imperialist globalization to the basic and higher levels of education and the relation of debt and so-called aid to education; to the papers on education and markets, dealing with the relations of education with industry and imperialist globalization, free trade agreements and transnational education; and to the papers on education, oppression and resistance, dealing with the relations of education to social movements, the cause of national liberation, the issues of race, ethnicity and gender and the rights and welfare of educators and related personnel.

The direction, scope and content of your conference are comprehensive and take up the most important issues and concerns. I wish you the utmost success. I am confident that your conference will be very successful not only in interpreting the world but also in proposing how to change it. Thank you.



# ***On the Task of Arousing, Organizing***

## ***and Mobilizing the Masses***

**Discussions with an Assembly  
of the Student Christian Movement**

**September 24, 2010**

---

1. *The work of AOM (arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses) today is a large part of the SCM campaign. On planning, the main considerations are national and local issues in the objective and framework at a given time. Propaganda and recruitment are based on the framework of the campaign to be designated. The "campaign to organize" has become the usual practice. Concretely when the members conduct propaganda, this is based on primers that discuss the major issues that are only stitched together by an appraisal of the semicolonial and semifeudal condition and its alternative, national democracy (ND), and sometimes that point is not even reached. The members seldom conduct propaganda and recruitment using the constitution, the articles in Struggle for National Democracy (SND) and documents directly explaining what is national democracy. With this kind of framework, when the issue wanes, there is a lull in organizing. This is also the result of not following AOM step by step.*

*Is this the correct method of planning for a definite period or is it more accurate to make organizing the pivotal issue by providing the constitutions of the mass organizations and the SND? How about making the organized forces as the source of mobilization and only periodically expand the fight when national and local issues arise?*

JMS: The tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses are interrelated and interdependent. But there should be a distinction and balancing of tasks. Let us trace the sequence of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses. Let us assume an initial number of members (small or large).

Based on this you can take on the task of arousing (agitation propaganda, forums and publications) on the national-demo-crat- line and outstanding issues. Even at the stage of arousing, the current members pay attention to those who can be persuaded and recruited and whom they know because they are their fellow students, friends and co-members in other organizations, co-believers in religion, hangout companions, etc.

As a result of prop-agit on any issue based on the national democratic line, two methods of solid organizing must be conducted. First, every member should fulfill the task of recruiting others one by one or by successive groups at any day or any definite period. Second, the organization can issue a call for a recruitment meeting every week or every month at which those interested to become members are invited to attend. In these two methods, recruitment is made within one or two hours of explanation, discussion, understanding and acceptance of the constitution and program of the organization. After new members are recruited (expansion), promptly put them through PADEPA or the school for national democracy as a step towards their consolidation.

The more you have aroused (A) and the more you have recruited to your organization (O), the bigger the capability of your organization to launch campaigns (M). A and M are alike in the sense that agit-prop and assembling of people beyond the number of members of the organization are conducted. A and M are different because the masses reached by M are bigger and wider and because M designates a longer period for fulfilling the objectives of a campaign.

The point about using campaigns to organize the machinery for campaigns is correct; assign tasks to members and prospective members of the organization and quickly recruit activists to the organization. If recruitment is not prompt, the prospective members are bound to disappear when the campaign ebbs. Recruitment of new members is easily forgotten while the campaign is advancing with many tasks related to it.

*By the way, is it not that when you say mobilize, the main issue is how after organizing and mobilizing, the members are not only expected to participate in mass actions but, more than this, to conduct mass work within the organization?*

JMS: Within the ranks of SCM or any progressive mass organization (MO), mass work should really be conducted (especially A and internal M) so that members are more ready, more steadfast and more effective in mobilizing bigger masses beyond the membership of the specific mass organization. In this sense M means reaching and mobilizing larger numbers of those not yet organized or of members of other organizations not quite as

developed as ND organizations. But while the campaign is going on, the organization or campaign machinery is also being built; and work in the committees, secretariat or groups is distributed. Because the ND members are conscious and solidly organized, they can easily work, act and lead; and know new rising activists to be invited to become members.

*Is it correct that in consideration of the concrete situation of not having full chapters, we must concentrate on the work of solid organizing and mobilizing based on our consolidated strength and not to rely on the principle that through vigorous campaigning without having to grasp the major issues in the organization one can expect to mobilize and expand?*

JMS: I do not understand why you do not have full chapters. You ought to have these, whether small or big; weak or strong. My former assumption was that the SCM has chapters in every school, especially in Christian schools or in secular schools having many Christian students. Look whether your constitution is adequate or inadequate. Amend it, if necessary. Sum up your experience and see whether errors and weaknesses are causing the absence or weakness of solid organizing. It is only natural to concentrate on the work of solid organizing when there are no chapters or these are weak. But do not neglect A and M because these facilitate O.

*Is our view also correct that the realization of the call for a patriotic, scientific and mass character of education and other aspects of the ND program are not yet the primary issues connected to such calls as the opposition to the government's budget cuts and decreasing subsidies; and demands for tactical gains but to the actual recruitment to mass organizations and to fully put into practice the call to study in PADEPA where they are taught to be patriotic, reject idealism and integrate with the basic masses by leaving the schools and organizing among them? This is because under current conditions, it appears that calls directed to the government and not to the people cannot be fully demonstrated as illusory under the existing government but can be put into practice within the framework of the new society.*

JMS: Attend to different issues at different times but every issue should be linked to the national democratic line and the line of patriotic, scientific and mass oriented education and culture. In every statement, show the connection of particular issues to the broader issues and in the context of the national democratic movement. It is correct to criticize the reactionary government and state what ought to be done. Your positions should be just and reasonable. It is correct to say that reforms are needed. But it is wrong to say that through sheer reforms fundamental change is achievable. It is correct for the student movement to maintain its character. But the students must link with the working classes and communities of the poor and participate in mass work among them, especially among the youth.

*How is the actual conduct when one says strengthen the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist campaign? Is this mainly linked to solid organizing and educating the masses or linking the particular issues manifested by these in the framework of the campaign relative to sweeping attacks compared to solid organizing? What is the objective of mass actions? What is the standard set for assessing whether this is victorious or not?*

JMS: Antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist are combative terms. It pertains to the national democratic movement. This line should permeate and be carried by A, O and M. Do not separate this from A, O and M.

*The principal weakness of SCM is its lack of chapters. This is why it cannot register a strong call even if it acts because its numbers are not significant. In this situation, is it not more fitting for us to take on the creation and strengthening of chapters as the main political task by AOM (emphasizing their sequence)? Set mobilization based on solid strength through intensive and step by step organizing as the main call and not quick campaigns and forced mobilizations expected to produce an atmosphere to push the masses to join the mass organization which in the end does not happen?*

JMS: It is correct for the SCM to attend to forming and strengthening chapters in different schools. The chapters can be formed when you can get members in the context of AOM and by focusing on solid organizing. When you have built a chapter in a university, continue to build chapters at the level of the colleges down to the departments. Do not put aside the task of mobilizing, instead use this to develop the task of organizing.

*Now also, unlike during the first quarter storm, work in communities and in schools are separate. It is only from time to time that the call made in schools is for school activists to link up and integrate with the basic masses and learn their basic issues. Is this division between the activists in the community and in the school, not at odds with the orientation that schools should become only the breeding ground for ND activists who in the end should focus primarily on places where the basic masses are?*

JMS: See whether within the framework of Anakbayan, you can conduct social investigation among the working

people and participate in community mass work, especially among the youth. Your members can also take the initiative to link with and work in urban poor communities because you have members residing there or near there.

*What are the principal tasks of national MO formations and alliances? What is the meaning of designating national formations of mass organizations to have the principal task of being the main machinery for campaigns?*

JMS: The leaderships of the national MOs should be comprehensively attending to AOM at the national level. The leaderships of alliances should attend to unity, coordination and mobilization of organizations within the alliances.

*During the FQS, how did you deal with the media? What is the correct attitude of treating them during mass actions?*

JMS: The big media have big bourgeois owners and are influenced by big foreign and local companies. But the majority of journalists have petty-bourgeois tendencies and have patriotic and progressive sympathy with ND mass organizations and the ND line. They like reasonable, intelligent and sharp statements as well as our massive and militant mass actions. On this basis you can learn how to deal with the media, especially the journalists. You should also be aware of the business interests, the press lords and their hatchetmen.

#### **Follow up Questions on the ND Line and AOM, October 5, 2010**

1. *On national formation of mass organizations: What the national formations of mass organizations and the alliances usually do is to launch media actions, writing press statements and other methods of relaying through the media our stand/position on issues. This is within the frame of the supposed stress on campaigns and introduction of the organization and taking a stand on the main national issues as the task of the national formations. There are instances when within a week media actions are made daily. We are puzzled by this method because in our view, like you said, comprehensive AOM work is the task of national MO formations and media action is only part of A but it is here that the formations spend all their time. It is also our view that when we say we wish to be nationally recognized, and as well the issues that we carry, these should not stop only at A but should develop to AOM in its fullness.*

*We also fear that we often think of kinds of actions that the media would bite (often popular fads) and not based on sharpness, size and militancy of our actions, in the end instead of drawing a sharp line, such method would be treated only as a spectacle of mass actions. There is the thinking that for the media to bite our statements, it is necessary to remove some analysis hewing to the ND line.*

JMS: The mass movement would be derailed if the only or the main national level (or whatever level) objective of the MO or alliance are press releases and spectacle, especially when the ND line is removed, dulled or dissipated. Statements and actions carrying the sharp ND line can be effective in calling the attention of the media and the masses. Without the ND line, the MOs would weaken and lose their reason for being.

2. *On highlighting the ND line in campaigns and mass struggles: Now under Philippine conditions, the masses are aware of the degree of their suffering under the ruling system. As subjective forces, what activists only need to do is direct these fragmented or separate views by highlighting the semicolonial and semifeudal analysis, puppet regimes, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism, and the alternatives within the frame of the ND program. However, we see two reasons why we are unable to do this: 1) the campaign line on which we unite to carry is insufficient, falling into tactical calls for reforms of the campaigns and mass struggles, so that when the mobilizations wane, no organizational gains are achieved, possibly also because the masses who participated were not satisfied with the analysis imparted to them in the process of the mas campaign. 2), AOM is not properly and comprehensively conducted, we fail to produce enough voices to influence a large number of the people to the ND analysis and calls.*

*Essentially, we are concerned about being able to make the political line of people's democratic revolution seep through the masses by AOM. Is our view not to be shy about recognizing ND as the broadest appeal acceptable to the masses and considering PDR as the political line guiding the calls to drum up even in urban areas? As we have earlier stated, this problem is probably related to two issues: 1) our consensus on narrow campaign lines, unconcretized in the context of political campaigns and mass struggles in the urban areas, and 2) unrealized objective to drum up ND analysis and calls due to our weaknesses and shortcomings in conducting AOM.*

JMS: You are correct about not shying away from recognizing, using and propagating the ND line. This responds to the people's problems. This is the line for solving such problems. If the MO is in the legal struggle, it is incorrect to directly call for armed struggle or people's war. But you can also say that we follow the will of the masses for AS or that AS or PW is there because many can no longer withstand or tolerate suffering. Remember two things: 1) Concrete demands should be clearly linked to the ND line, it becomes a problem when there are

errors and shortcomings regarding the line, and the ND line is clear in the orchestration of the general and specific slogans; and 2) nothing can be achieved if A, O and M are not carried out comprehensively and integrally (when one task is not carried out, other tasks are damaged or weakened).

3. *How can calls in mas campaigns and struggles with particular emphasis on economic problems become political and cultural? For example, like the general call for 125-peso across the board and problems among the student youth such as tuition and other fees?*

JMS: It is okay to present the economic problems as well as demands such as 125 pesos across the board and the lowering of tuition and other fees. But related to the political demands it is also necessary to present the oppressive and exploitative domination of the US and the rule of the local reactionary classes and to mention the need for the oppressed and exploited masses to struggle. When the economic and political aspects are clear, it is easy to depict their cultural aspect.

4. *On tactical calls for reform: Based on the principle that all outstanding issues must be linked to the wider issue and within the context of the national democratic movement (NDM), how should the campaign line be defined on issues related to the economic problems being denounced and opposed but demanding reforms. As an example, the demand for lowering tuition and other fees, 12-year high school extension program, etc. Do these issues not have an initial sweeping character and always the primary task, especially of ND mass organizations, is to lay a campaign line that is sharp and national democratic to direct the inherent hatred of the masses against the policies that emerge?*

JMS: Concrete demands are indeed necessary for concrete problems. Put these in the context of the ND program and actions. The ND line must denounce the whole and the parts of the semicolonial and semifeudal system and must present the solutions based on the mass movement for national liberation and democracy.

5. *On the concept of broadening: How is broadening of campaigns and mass struggles undertaken? Does this have to do with limiting the campaign line to accommodate the masses with backward views? Is it not that if this has basis for being done, should only be temporary and from the perspective of the general line of the campaign should be immediately raised by linking to the ND line?*

JMS: Broadening of the mass struggle means continuously strengthening the ranks of the advanced masses, attracting the middling masses and finding ways to free the backward masses from the control and influence of the reactionaries. We often refer to the broad united front. This means, principally trust the working masses, win over the middle strata and take advantage of splits among the reactionary classes (temporarily unite with the relatively better section of the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the most reactionary section or defeat the reactionaries one by one). The tactics of the broad united front is really for weakening the entire reactionary classes, attracting the masses influenced by these and strengthening the working masses.

## ***Interview by Ang Bayan***

**November 20, 2010**

---

It has been 40 years since the Central Publishing House of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) first published *Philippine Society and Revolution* (PSR). In the past 40 years, PSR has served as the CPP's principal reference and guide in laying down the basic principles of the two-stage revolution in the Philippines based on the analysis of concrete conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal system. To commemorate the anniversary of PSR and reaffirm the principles it laid down, *Ang Bayan* decided to interview Comrade Jose Ma. Sison who, as CPP founding chair Amado Guerrero, was the principal author of PSR.

1. *Can you relate to our readers certain historical facts about PSR? When did you start writing it? Who were involved in the research and writing? When was it first published and in what form? To your knowledge, how many times has the book been printed?*

JMS: I wrote it soon after the launching of the people's war and on the eve of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. I started and finished writing it in the third quarter of 1969. Some comrades in the EC/CC (Executive Committee of the Central Committee) like Charlie del Rosario and Monico Atienza brought me the reference materials that I needed. When I finished the rough draft around August 1969, I gave it to Julie de Lima and other individuals and some members of the Central Committee for suggestions and comments.

The first edition of PSR was published in mimeographed form in October 1969, of which copy was submitted for publication in the *Philippine Collegian* under the title *Philippine Crisis and Revolution* (this can be considered the second edition). Pulang Tala Publications published the third edition and Ta Kung Pao of Hongkong, the fourth edition in 1970. The fifth and sixth editions in English and Pilipino were mimeographed by the CPP Central Publishing House in 1971. In 1977, the Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino published the seventh edition in the US. This can be considered the fourth edition if the mimeographed editions are excluded. Other editions were released after my capture in 1977. There were even German and Turkish translations and a comics edition.

2. *PSR is one of the most important Marxist-Leninist theoretical works of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines. What theoretical challenges faced its writing? What do you think are the key contributions of PSR to the theory of revolution in the Philippines? Has it made any contribution to theory that is relevant beyond the practice of the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: The biggest theoretical challenge was the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to Philippine history and circumstances. It necessitated the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The key contributions of PSR are its characterization of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and the corresponding line of national and democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. In this regard, PSR specified the allied classes (workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie) and the class enemies (big compradors and landlords) in the new democratic revolution. It also laid down the principal task: national liberation and democratic revolution. It defined as well the stages of the Philippine revolution: people's new democracy and socialism.

3. *Before PSR, there were Struggle for National Democracy (SND) and the document "Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party" (RERP) which were among the first major theoretical works of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. Can you recount the history of the development of the theory of Philippine revolution up to the publication of PSR in 1970?*

JMS: The publication of SND and the RERP document was necessary and essential. SND paved the way for the exposition of the people's basic problems and the possible revolutionary solution in legal and persuasive language. It was in line with the tradition of the old democratic revolution of 1896 and the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. It was based on the prevailing conditions and needs of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses.

RERP was seminal in the analysis of the experience of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties. It exposed the errors and weaknesses which led to the failure of the revolution. It had therefore laid down

what must be done in order to realize the ideological, political and organizational requirements to rebuild the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army and the united front and to rekindle and advance the revolution towards victory.

4. *What was the biggest contribution of PSR to the course of the Philippine revolution in the past 40 years? What role did it play in the different stages of development of the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: PSR greatly strengthened the general line earlier laid down by the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Since the first year of the people's war up to the present, PSR has played a key role in shedding light about the history, the basic problems and the revolutionary solution of the Filipino people.

PSR has played such an important role in every stage of the revolution. PSR further enlightens with the help of recent writings based on the advances of the revolution and the worsening of the crisis of the rotten system. PSR has been an effective tool of the Party in raising the consciousness and fighting will of Party members and mass activists.

5. *The fourth edition of PSR included "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War" and "Our Urgent Tasks" which emphasized the theoretical importance of this document. What other theoretical works of the CPP do you think have equal weight and significance in terms of the development of the theory of revolution in the Philippines?*

JMS: The fourth edition (if the three mimeographed editions are not counted) indeed emphasized the theoretical importance of the two supplementary documents, which in turn further enhanced PSR. The documents of similar importance and significance in the development of the theory of revolution in the Philippines are "On the Mode of Production in the Philippines" (1983), "Philippine Crisis and Revolution" (1986), "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism" (1992) and "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify the Errors" (1992), the basic documents of the Second Great Rectification Movement, and basic documents against the policy of neoliberal globalization and other offensives of imperialism.

6. *It has been over 40 years since the PSR was first published. How would you compare Philippine society today to the conditions then? Do you think PSR remains an effective guide for the Philippine revolution? Do you see a need for a new edition, revision or supplement to PSR?*

JMS: The continuing semicolonial and semifeudal conditions are further worsening and deepening. Thus, PSR remains an effective guide for the Philippine national and democratic revolution. The Party continues to issue new editions of PSR and supplement it with new related documents. However, I am tempted to write a new edition with expanded text dealing with the past four decades.

7. *How can PSR further benefit the current stage of the revolution, especially in line with the CPP's call to achieve the strategic stalemate in five years? What do you think are the crucial issues that have to be studied by Philippine revolutionaries in order to further invigorate the different fields of struggle?*

JMS: Always review PSR and apply it to current circumstances and events. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (or Maoism), PSR explains why the people's war is necessary and how to advance it in stages: from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and from the strategic stalemate to the strategic offensive. PSR also laid down the need to fulfill the political requirements in order to advance the people's war from one stage to the next.

The Party must be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally. The people's army must be strengthened through armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base and organs of political power. There must be a united front policy involving certain types of alliances: the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the progressive classes and the national bourgeoisie and the temporary and unstable alliance with reactionaries fighting the enemy.

***Strengthen Communist Parties***  
***in the Worsening Global Capitalist Crisis***

Contribution to the 20<sup>th</sup> Brussels Communist Seminar  
May 13-15, 2011

---

On a global scale, the objective conditions for strengthening communist parties are favorable. The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening. And the broad masses of the people are rising up simultaneously in many countries in various continents to resist the dire consequences of the global crisis.

Communist parties have the opportunity to strengthen themselves in an all-round way: ideologically, politically and organizationally. The ever-worsening crisis exposes the bankruptcy and rottenness of the entire world capitalist system and points to the necessity of revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism under the leadership of the proletariat and its revolutionary party.

***1. Worsening crisis and aggressiveness of imperialism***

The economic and financial crisis that burst out in the US and spread throughout the world in 2008 has persisted and aggravated as a global depression. That is because the imperialist states have continued to cling to the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization. Under the auspices of this policy, the financial oligarchy and the rest of the monopoly bourgeoisie have continued to make profits in the real economy by pressing down the incomes and social benefits of the working people as well as in the financial markets by generating and manipulating speculative capital.

Public money has been used to bail out the big banks and corporations, improve their balance sheets and revive the stock market. Even the much-touted stimulus packages doled out to the favored corporations are subject to their labor-cost saving and profitmaking decisions. Thus, there is no real economic recovery. The general trend is for production and employment to stagnate and decline. Underconsumption and poverty are increasing as more people suffer unemployment, lower income and rising prices of basic commodities and services.

Public deficits and the public debt have soared because of tax cuts, subsidies, overpriced contracts and bailouts for the big bourgeoisie and quite conspicuously because of the mounting debt service and the rising expenditures for military production and for military intervention and aggression. But the public sector employees and the rest of the working people and even the decreasing level of government social spending are blamed for the soaring public deficits. They are all scapegoated for the adoption of austerity measures which pass further pass on the burden of crisis to the working people.

The imperialist powers are united in applying the anti-worker, antisocial and anti-environment bias of the neoliberal economic policy. But among them there are increasing contradictions regarding economic, financial and trade policies. There are growing trends of protectionism and the use of fiscal measures to stimulate demand and rebuild the infrastructure. Amidst the growing indecisiveness of the G8 and the G20 and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and the WTO, China, Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa are combining to develop their own position relative to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

In more than three decades of neoliberal economic policy, the chronic crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system was accelerated, deepened and aggravated. But it was made to appear that the crisis was always being solved or overcome by limitless debt financing at the level of the households, the corporations and the states. The constant creation of money, credit and derivatives was supposed to perpetuate a happy world of expanding production, up valuation of assets and speculative bubbles.

While the big bourgeoisie railed against supposed wage inflation and big social spending by government, they had no compunction about pouring public funds into military production and deployment of military forces abroad. The military-industrial complex profited from the overpriced contracts with the state. These are considered to have buoyed up the US economy since the Reagan high-speed spending for hightech military production in the 1980s, down to the military Keynesianism of Bush junior and the continuing rising military expenditures for military production and wars of aggression.

The ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is driving the imperialist powers headed by the US to

increase military production and launch wars of aggression. The end of the Cold War upon the implosion of the Soviet Union has served to embolden the US and its NATO allies to engage in wars of aggression such as those against Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. The increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist powers is driven by the domestic profit-seeking of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its scheme to expand economic territory abroad, as cheap sources of labor, oil and other raw materials, as markets and fields of investment and as spheres of influence.

The imperialist powers are united against the oppressed peoples and nations and underdeveloped countries that assert national independence. But among themselves they are increasingly beset by contradictions as they struggle for a redivision of the world. Certain countries that collaborated with the US and NATO in the aggression against Iraq subsequently became wary and formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Most recently, China, Russia, India, Brazil and even Germany would not support the aggression on Libya.

## **2. Growing peoples' resistance**

In the imperialist countries, there is widespread discontent among the people because of the high rate of unemployment, the erosion of hard-won social benefits, the curtailment of trade union and other democratic rights and the austerity measures being adopted against the working class and the people in general. There are outbursts of general strikes and militant mass protests by the workers, youth and students, women and other sectors of society. The public sector workers, the migrant workers, the youth and women are often in the forefront of mass protests in the streets.

The strikes and mass protests break out in countries more often where crisis conditions and austerity measures are most severe, where the authorities are most reactionary and repressive and where there are communist parties, mass organizations or coordinating centers that call for concerted actions on the burning issues. In most imperialist countries, there is still political inertia due to the absence of a strong communist party and a strong mass movement of the working class, youth, women and other sectors.

At the same time, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been quite adept at using the mass media, the political parties and the schools in propagating anti-communist ideas and prejudices and playing up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, war hysteria and fascism to divide the people, to divert public sentiment and to obscure the roots of the crisis in the world capitalist system. Elections are being used to absorb the swings of political moods from Right to Left and from Left to Right and to keep them within the frame of the capitalist ruling system.

Nevertheless, the crisis conditions persist and provide the opportunities for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and grow in strength. The communist parties and mass organizations under their leadership are manifesting various degrees of success in developing their strength. They are conscious that a principled and effective communist party generates a strong mass movement and in turn the latter provides the base for increasing the ranks of communists.

In the underdeveloped countries, the people are carrying out and intensifying various forms of resistance against the imperialist powers and the local reactionary forces. The people wage armed resistance against imperialist aggression and occupation as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Palestine. They do likewise in civil wars against repressive ruling systems as in India, the Philippines, Colombia, Peru, Turkey and elsewhere. Whether they wage armed resistance or not, the people engage in mass movements for national and social liberation and intensify these against the ever rising level of oppression and exploitation.

The people who wage armed revolutions for new democracy and wars of national liberation against foreign aggression and occupation have the best chances of seizing political power and establishing a state with an anti-imperialist and democratic character.

Legal mass movements and mass uprisings without arms, as in North Africa and the Middle East recently, cannot by themselves change the reactionary ruling system even if they succeed, with the direct or indirect support of the reactionary military, in overthrowing autocrats or authoritarian regimes. But they can assist existing armed revolutions or engender these as a subsequent development.

The protraction of the global depression since 2008 has set the stage for great disorder and upheavals in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The rise of new democratic revolutions through people's wars in the underdeveloped countries can inspire and stimulate revolutionary mass movements in the developed countries. The more imperialist countries engage in military intervention or aggression against other countries the more they take the risk of undermining political and economic stability in their home grounds.



The growing contradictions among imperialist countries can result in the general weakening of the hold of the most repulsive imperialist powers like the US on the underdeveloped countries and in wider room for underdeveloped countries in asserting national independence and anti-imperialist and democratic mass movements to surge forward. The inter-imperialist contradictions involve imperialist powers backing different governments in underdeveloped countries and in exchanging provocations and threats of igniting national, regional or global wars.

### ***3. Strengthening communist parties amidst the worsening global crisis***

In the last three decades, the imperialist powers headed by the US have blamed the working class and government social spending for the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s and have relentlessly pursued a ruthless class war to press down wage levels and attack the rights of the working class in order to enable the monopoly bourgeoisie to accumulate more capital and enjoy the widest opportunities for profitmaking under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

And in the last more than two decades, the imperialist powers have also gloated over the revisionist betrayal of socialism, the fall of revisionist regimes and the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries and described these as proof that the history of mankind does not go farther than capitalism and liberal democracy. With the obvious intention of perpetuating capitalism and further burying socialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie has intensified ideological, political, economic and military offensives against the working class and all anti-imperialist forces.

But the evils of capitalism and imperialism are once more totally exposed upon the bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization. This policy is inflicting horrendous conditions of exploitation and oppression on the broad masses of the people and is inciting them to engage in various forms of resistance. The conditions are favorable for waging revolutionary struggles and demand that communist parties take the lead in the struggles of the people and to strengthen themselves for the purpose.

#### ***Ideological strengthening***

Communist parties must strengthen themselves ideologically. They must uphold Marxism-Leninism as the universal theory of the proletariat and apply it on the history and current circumstances of the people's struggle for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction. Ideological building is the first requisite in building the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Without theory, there can be no revolutionary party and no revolutionary movement.

We now hear from an increasing number of serious-minded people, who are not even communists, of the need to read and study Marx in the face of the grave crisis and depression of the world capitalist system. They are disgusted with the bourgeois subjectivism and the dogma of personal greed that have been pushed by the monopoly bourgeoisie in the anti-communist and anti-socialist ideological offensive and that have resulted in grave harm to the broad masses of the people under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

To make a living and useful study of Marxism-Leninism, we must focus on the current dire circumstances as a result of the laws of motion and internal contradictions of the capitalist system. We must apply the theory not only to critique and interpret the decadent system but more importantly to adopt an outlook, methodology and plan for overthrowing it and replacing it with a new system through the revolutionary process.

We must reaffirm the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the historical victories in their application. But we must avoid dogmatism by going into the concrete analysis of concrete conditions in accordance with materialist dialectics. We must also shun empiricism, which deprives us of revolutionary direction in the welter of facts and impressions. We must continue to be most vigilant and active against reformism and revisionism, which have been the most lethal to communist parties that have been in power or not yet in power.

Communist parties must strengthen their ranks ideologically through definite courses of study and through the revolutionary application of the principles and lessons learned. A general level of understanding materialist dialectics and class struggle must be ensured among the rank and file. They must be able to carry out a resolute and vigorous ideological offensive against the ideological trends generated by imperialism and all reaction.

The propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the Party rank and file and among the mass activists should be faster than ever before with the use of various electronic media.

The monopoly bourgeoisie still owns and controls the major mass media. But the reality reflected in the electronic media used by the proletarian revolutionaries can in the long run speak louder than the false ideas and

claims of the imperialists and reactionaries.

Communist parties must grasp the new factors in the new situation. In the first instance, the monopoly bourgeoisie owns and controls the high technology for production, distribution and communications. But this accelerates the profitmaking, the concentration of capital, the crisis of overproduction, the abuse of finance capital, the global depression and the people's resistance. In fact, high technology is suitable to socialism and not to capitalism in terms of knowing and satisfying human needs and demands.

### ***Political strengthening***

Communist parties must strengthen themselves politically by drawing correctly the general line of the people's revolutionary struggle on the basis of concrete conditions and steadfastly pursuing this line until complete victory is obtained with the seizure of political power and establishment of the new revolutionary state system. In semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions, communist parties must pursue the line of bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type. In industrial capitalist conditions, they must pursue the line of socialist revolution, taking into account the necessity of democratic struggle against the threat or reality of fascism.

The revolutionary struggle of the people must be led by the working class through the Communist Party as its advanced detachment. The working class must be the leading class because it is the most productive and most progressive force. It is the agency for supplanting the bourgeois ownership and management of the means of production and for bringing about socialism. It has the vantage point of recognizing the need for the liberation of all working people and for leading the process of overthrowing the reactionary state and establishing the revolutionary state.

In political struggle, communist parties must avoid the pitfalls of Right and "Left" opportunism. Right opportunism usually takes the form of reformism and revisionism, keeping the struggle for reforms always within the confines of the reactionary state and going so far as to revise and depart from the fundamental principle of overthrowing the reactionary state. "Left" opportunism means calling for violent actions that are not yet justified by the ongoing conditions and putting the revolutionary forces and people in a losing position. Adventurism is "Left" in form but Rightist in content because it spells defeat for the revolution.

What principal form of struggle to pursue, whether violent or nonviolent, depends on the concrete conditions. In certain semicolonial and semifeudal countries, where the peasants are the most numerous class, it is possible to wage a protracted people's war in order to accumulate armed strength for the ultimate overthrow of the reactionary state. But in industrial capitalist countries, it is impossible to wage such a protracted people's war in which a people's army and its areas of operation grow in stages in the countryside. Under conditions when it is not yet possible to transform an imperialist war into a civil war, it is possible to learn the teachings of the great communist leaders on state and revolution, to build self-defense units against the fascist disrupters of strikes and protest mass actions and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to engage in giant marches and rallies.

In any given period, a communist party can only have a certain number of members, always limited in relation to the total number of the exploited and oppressed people. It cannot make revolution or any kind of political progress without leading a mass movement. It must build the mass organizations of various classes and sectors: workers (trade unions), peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, professionals, cultural activists, and so on. It must also build mass organizations focused on important issues of popular or multisectoral interest.

Communist parties must have a united front policy, engage in united front work and build various types of united front or alliances formally and informally in order to amplify, extend and maximize the strength and influence of communists and the masses that they have organized. Communist parties must constantly seek to reach the masses that are unorganized or that belong to other parties, mass organizations and institutions. They can do so through multisectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances. Success in united front can verify whether the general line of the Party is valid and acceptable to the people.

Communist parties must avail of both the traditional and new methods for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. The traditional forms of communications, such as speaking without any amplifier, handwriting and printing on hard copy, are indispensable and basic. But the new forms of communications made available by high technology should be used in order to accelerate, intensify and expand the agitation and education, mass organizing and mobilization of the people.

We are confronted by the forces of imperialism which exploit and oppress the working class and the people on a global scale and use all sorts of instruments, including the multinational firms and banks, agencies of political

and cultural subversion and military forces. It is absolutely necessary to uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism among communist and workers' parties and to build solidarity movements of the proletariat and people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

### ***Organizational strengthening***

Communist parties must strengthen themselves organizationally by following the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. Leading organs of the Party at all levels are elected and responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them. After free and thorough discussion of issues, decisions are taken and implemented, giving due respect to the following: the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and the National Congress.

The Party should combat the opposite extremes of bureaucratism or top-down commandism and ultra-democracy or anarchism. Leading organs should always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and the masses of Party members and constantly study concrete experiences and give prompt guidance and assistance in the solution of problems. Lower Party organizations should give regular and timely reports about their work to the organization above them and request instructions concerning problems that require the decision of a higher Party organization. All Party organizations must follow the principle of collective leadership and all important decisions must be decided collectively.

At the beginning, a communist party may be built by recruiting a few Party members from Marxist study circles and from the ranks of trade unions and other forms of mass organizations. But no matter how still small in size, the Party strives to build a nationwide structure and take deeper roots among the toiling masses. The opportunities for building a Party that is nationwide and deeply-rooted among the masses become wider when the crisis of the ruling system worsens and the Party leads a growing mass movement. From this the Party can recruit a far greater number of Party members than before.

Amidst current conditions of global capitalist crisis and depression, it should be easier than ever before to build communist parties where there are none, to rebuild those previously destroyed by the enemy or degenerated by revisionism and to strengthen those that have persevered under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Communist parties must take the lead of the mass movement in protesting and making demands against the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. From this growing mass movement, they can and must recruit an increasing number of Party members.

In living up to its character as the revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party in an industrial capitalist country or in an underdeveloped country must have as top priority the recruitment of members from the ranks of the workers. The period of candidature for workers may be as short as six months in order to ensure the predominance of workers in the Party and one year for those coming from the petty bourgeoisie. In the underdeveloped countries, where the bourgeois democratic revolution is going on, the poor peasants and farm workers may have a six-month period of candidature like the workers.

It is best for communist parties to have in their ranks cadres and ordinary members. Cadres are those capable of leading a committee or any other collective unit of work. They are trained and developed within the Party in the course of struggle. They may also be previously leaders in the mass organizations from which they are recruited. Limiting the Party membership to cadres slows the growth of the Party. The Party must have a fast growing number of ordinary members in order to carry out tasks that require mass strength and in order to have within the Party a wide base for developing cadres.

Communist parties must build and strengthen themselves self-reliantly. To do so, they must learn from their own study of Marxism-Leninism and their experiences and set the tasks for advancing and winning greater victories. They must also learn from the teachings and successful experiences of communist leaders and parties on an international scale. In this regard, they can benefit from exchanges of ideas and experiences with other parties through publications, bilateral meetings, multilateral meetings and practical cooperation.

At the moment, several international conferences of communist and workers' parties wish to establish and develop a new Communist International. Communist parties can contribute their ideas and proposals and learn a lot that is helpful from the debates and documentary output of conferences that uphold Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism. But it is still too difficult or even impossible to single out which of these conferences is already

on the way to being the new Communist International or the new center of the world proletarian revolution.

The advance of a communist party in any country does not depend on the claims of any international conference as the new center of the world revolution. It depends on the line that the party correctly adopts and implements. It is better to look forward to communist parties victorious in revolution initiating a new Communist International than to expect any of the current international conferences to directly lead to the new Communist International or enable specific parties to win revolution in their respective countries.

# ***Contribution to Literary Interrelations: Conference in Celebration of the Centennial of the UP Department of English and Comparative Literature***

(Made as Bachelor of Arts, Major In English-  
Creative Writing and Journalism, 1959)  
May 28, 2011

---

Dear Prof. Lucero, colleagues, distinguished guests and friends,

First of all, let me thank the UP Department of English and Comparative Literature (DECL) for inviting me to participate in this conference titled Literary Interrelations. I feel highly privileged as I am aware that this conference is a major activity in the celebration of the centennial of the department and is in honor of the late UP President Salvador P. Lopez on his centenary and in celebration of the 81st anniversary of his work, Literature and Society.

## ***Literature and politics in general***

1. To be serious and significant, literature draws content from the economic, political and cultural aspects of society and processes such content to present a concise and concentrated expression of social life through the contexting and interactions of a cast of fictional characters. All great and major works of literature in ancient and modern times are similar in this regard. The great epics of ancient times contained a great amount of knowledge. So have the great novels of modern times.

2. Even in slave-owning and feudal times, when they had no sustained theory of classes and class struggle to go by, the creative writers observed and studied the mode of production in the concrete and learned how the various groups of people were differentiated by property ownership, the need to work and the unequal distribution of the social product. They had to know how society ran even if their works seldom focused on the antagonism between the exploiting and exploited class.

3. Ancient literature was always linked to politics. The creative writers were obeisant to the rulers, to the entire ruling political system and to the God or gods that had supposedly preordained them. But the literary masterpieces of ancient times have the most lasting value when the theme is the struggle for freedom and justice against the tyranny and oppression by rulers who usurp authority or who lose their mandate from heaven or by invaders who have an overreaching political and economic interest and different system of religious belief.

4. Literature resides in the cultural sphere of society and has a vantage point over the political and economic aspects of society. It derives certain benefits from being in the same neighborhood as the other components of culture. On top of his observation of daily life or any focused social investigation, the creative writer can gain erudition and profundity by the reading and study of philosophy, sacred theology, mythology, earlier works of literature, the natural and social sciences, law and so on.

5. The theory of classes and class struggle were first put forward by French revolutionary democrats during the French revolution. It spread fast and motivated the rise of the social-conscious novels in the 19th century in Europe. These were sharply critical of the exploitative conditions of bourgeois society, the proletarianization of the peasantry, the long and harsh working hours and the conspicuous poverty of working class families in the urban areas. Rizal was definitely influenced by some 19th century European novels.

6. Marx adopted the theory of classes and class struggle and extended it to the theory of the class dictatorship of the proletariat. Related to this was the development of materialist dialectics in philosophy, the critique of the capitalist political economy and the theory of scientific socialism. Eventually, literature guided by Marxism would emerge vigorously under the banner of social realism. This would flourish in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

7. A further major development in the theory of literature and art in the 20th century would be Mao's Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art. This has widespread influence among the creative writers of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. Mao answers a series of questions. For whom is literature? How related is it to the classes and class struggle in society? Who are the heroes? Should we not learn from the masses first? What is the relationship of popularization and aesthetic standards?

## ***Literature and revolutionary politics in the Philippines***

1. The prototype of patriotic Filipino literature was provided by Francisco Balagtas' Florante at Laura, written in 1838. It is a long poem in the main about the romantic relationship of the Christian lovers Florante and Laura

being oppressed in Albania and about the Muslim lovers Aladdin and Flerida from Persia. Florante was tied to a tree in the forest and was about to be devoured by lions when Aladdin rescued him. The utterances of Florante against social and political conditions and against the tyrant tormenting him and coveting Laura may be interpreted as directed against the rulers in the Philippines. The story ends like a comedia with the Muslim lovers converting to Christianity.

2. The novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* of Dr. Jose Rizal may be considered the great literature of the old democratic revolution. They were the best and long-lasting literary contributions of Rizal to the Philippine revolution, despite his refusal to join the leadership of that revolution. The *Noli* gives us a penetrating criticism of the Spanish colonial system, especially the domineering friars and their pliant indio collaborators like Capitan Tiago, and explores reforms as advocated by Crisostomo Ibarra who is ultimately frustrated. In the *Fili*, he becomes Simoun the jeweler who takes the stance of the anarchist, keynotes the denunciation of the entire colonial system and seeks to overthrow it but fails. The poems of Rizal (*La Ultima Adios*) and Andres Bonifacio (*Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa*) and many other patriots are gems of patriotism and revolutionary politics.

3. The best known theatrical play against US imperialism in its first decade of dominating the Philippines was *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* (*Larawan ng Inang Bayan*) written by Aurelio Tolentino in 1903. It unfolds the triumph of Inang Bayan over her tormentors, Haring Bata (China), Halimaw (the Spanish friars who continued to control the church and influence local politics), Dilat na Bulag (Spain) and Bagong Sibol (US the new colonial power). The main scene is the liberation of Taga-Ilog or Juan de la Cruz who at the beginning of the play is shackled and in prison. In this scene, he throws the American flag to the ground and tramples upon it until it is torn and he breaks the shackles and opens the jail, while all characters of the play shout, "Long live freedom! Long live the Motherland!"

4. The novel *Banaag at Sikat* written by Lope K. Santos in 1906 let its characters talk explicitly about the great divide between the rich and the poor, the work of the associations of workers, capitalism and socialism. It tells of the story of Delfin in love with daughter of a landlord. Delfin is a socialist who wishes to spread the principles of socialism among the people and believes in change through peaceful means. His friend Felipe is an anarchist who believes in the violent overthrow of the rulers and the end of the cruelty of the landlords. Lope K. Santos has a naive understanding of socialism and appears not to have studied scientific socialism. He also glosses over the issue of national independence. The conflicts among characters in the novel do not manifest class struggle but merely the cruel and exploitative behavior of rich persons towards certain individuals within their ambit.

5. Many more works (novels, plays and collections of poems) may be subjected to analysis and literary criticism in order to determine whether they belong to the old democratic revolution or to the new democratic revolution or neither or whether they may be considered as being on the road to the new democratic revolution even if they do not suggest revolution, because they expose and denounce enough of the exploitativeness and oppressiveness of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. We must also take into account that some creative writers fall short of indicating or espousing the new democratic revolution because of repressive laws and censorship by popular publications or because of inability to break free from their petty bourgeois mode of thinking.

6. The novels and poetic works of Amado V. Hernandez are definitely literature of the new democratic revolution. They include *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* (1969) and *Luha ng Buwaya* (1972) and his collection of poetry, *Isang Dipang Langit*. The works of Hernandez are based on his experiences as a resistance fighter, as a labor leader and as a political detainee. His socio-political novels and poems expose and denounce the exploitative and oppressive conditions of the ruling system, point to the need for revolution by the working class and the people and actually call for revolutionary change. The works of Hernandez and Mao's Talks at the Yen'an Forum inspired the young creative writers in the 1960s to write in the service of the people and the new democratic revolution.

7. Since the 1960s, a great deal of creative writing has been done along the line of the new democratic revolution, in the countryside, in the urban underground and even quite openly. This includes novels, short stories, plays and poems. The quantity and quality of the output are high and are already more formidable than the output of those creative writers in the short-lived old democratic revolution. But the output of the revolutionary creative writers is still small relative to the abundant material offered by more than 50 years of the people's legal mass movement and more than 40 years of armed revolution. I leave to others interested in literary history and literary criticism to keep on surveying the literary field and appraising the literary output of the revolutionary writers.

8. I am confident that the revolutionary creative writers will keep on surpassing themselves and producing

more literary works of higher quality, because the revolutionary practice keeps on expanding as possible material for creating the literature of the new democratic revolution.

Thank you.

# *The Way Forward for the Filipino People*

Interview by Bill Fletcher, Jr., November 25, 2011

---

*1. Most people in the USA know little about the Philippines, its history, and/or its relationship to the USA. What do you believe are the reasons for this ignorance?*

JMS: The US mass media are most responsible for informing, dis-informing or simply keeping the American people ignorant about a country like the Philippines. I presume that most people in the USA become most aware of a country when the mass media are blaring out a certain extended course of sensational events of great interest to the US officialdom and the ruling class.

I am sure that in the past there were times of long duration when the mass media called the attention of the American public to the Philippines, like when the US was justifying and carrying out its war of aggression against the Filipino people from 1899 onward, when the Japanese fascists pushed the US out of the Philippines at the start of World War II and the US reconquered the Philippines in 1945 and when the US-propped Marcos fascist dictatorship was in the process of being overthrown.

When the extraordinary or sensational subsides, the mass media pay less attention to the country and do not say much about the protracted reality of US colonial rule in the Philippines in most of the first half of the 20th century or the US semicolonial domination of the Philippines since 1946. The ruling system in the US does not allow the Americans who know the truth about the Philippines to impart their knowledge to the public promptly, widely and sustainedly through the mass media or any other means.

*2. Given what you are saying, do you think that the US media has consciously mis-characterized the situation in the Philippines by focusing on groups like Abu Sayyaf?*

JMS: Yes, the US media drum up US policy and corporate interests and consciously misrepresent the Philippine situation, as in the focusing on the Abu Sayyaf. This small bandit gang, whose origin can be traced to the CIA and intelligence operatives of the Philippine army who organized and used it against the Moro revolutionaries (MNLF and then MILF), is magnified as an extension of Al Qaida in order to serve the false claim of Bush that the Philippines is the second front of a global war on terror as well as to rationalize state terrorism and US military intervention in the Philippines. Through the mass media, the US has spread the scare about terrorism in order to justify a whole range of actions: the curtailment of democratic rights in the US and on a global scale, the stepping up of war production to please the military-industrial complex and the unleashing of wars of aggression.

*3. Would you sum up the situation in the Philippines, particularly the state of negotiations between the NDFP and the government; the situation facing workers and farmers; the overall economy; and fighting that may be taking place?*

JMS: The Philippines is severely stricken by crisis because of the rotting semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the growing impact of the crisis of the US and global capitalist system. The prices of the raw materials and semi-manufactures produced for export by the Philippines are depressed and foreign loans to cover the trade deficits and debt service are becoming more onerous than before. There is now less demand for overseas contract workers and thus their remittances are decreasing. The global economic and financial crisis is hitting hard the Philippines. The growing public deficits (budgetary and trade) and the public debt are growing and exposing the bankruptcy of the big comprador-landlord state.

Various forms of popular resistance, including people's war, are ever-growing because of the extreme and ever-worsening conditions of exploitation and oppression of more than 90 percent of the people, the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Like preceding regimes, the Aquino regime wants to destroy the armed revolutionary movement. It is implementing the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan, which is the same dog as Arroyo's Oplan Bantay Laya but which tries to be different by dressing up brutal military operations as peace and development operations and maintaining human rights desks in the reactionary army and national police for the purpose of shifting the blame for human rights violations to the revolutionaries. On the other hand, the New People's Army led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is carrying out a five-year plan to advance from the strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war, increasing the number of guerrilla fronts from 120 to 180.

While their respective armed forces continue to fight, the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are supposed to engage in peace negotiations in order to



address the roots of the armed conflict by forging agreements on social, economic and political reforms. But the GPH has paralyzed the peace negotiations by refusing to release a few political prisoners who are NDFP consultants in the negotiations and thus violating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). The GPH is also grossly violating the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) by refusing to release more than 350 political prisoners who are imprisoned on false charges of common crimes.

4. *You have described the Philippines as semi-capitalist/semifeudal. Please explain what this means in practical terms. We are in the early years of the 21st century. How could there be a semifeudal situation in the Philippines? The Philippines seems, for all intents and purposes, to be tied into global capitalism.*

JMS: You can say bluntly that the Philippines is capitalist and has long been capitalist since the 19th century if you mean that the commodity system of production and exchange through money has come on top of the natural economy of feudalism when local communities could subsist on a diversified agriculture and engage mainly in barter. The specialization in crops for domestic food (rice and corn) and for export (tobacco, hemp and sugar) and the import of a certain amount of manufactures from Europe for consumption pushed the domestic commodity system of production as well as integration with global capitalism through colonialism as a part of the primitive accumulation of capital in Europe and subsequently under the banner of colonial free trade.

But it is utterly wrong to say that the Philippines is industrial capitalist or even semi-industrial capitalist. The Philippines does not have an industrial foundation. Its floating kind of industry consists of imported equipment paid for by the export of raw materials and by foreign loans necessitated by the chronic trade deficits. It is most precise to describe the Philippine economy as semifeudal to denote the persistence of the large vestiges of feudalism in the form of disguised and undisguised landlord-tenant relations and usury at the base of the economy, the peasant class constituting 75 percent of the population and the combination of the big compradors and landlords as the main exploiting classes. The big compradors are the chief financial and trading agents of the foreign monopolies and are often big landlords themselves, especially on land producing crops for export.

Global capitalism under the neoliberal policy of “free trade” globalization has not changed but has aggravated and deepened the pre-industrial and underdeveloped semifeudal character of the Philippine economy. The share of manufacturing with the use of imported equipment and raw materials under the policy of low-value added export-oriented manufacturing in the last three decades has decreased in comparison to that share under the previous policy of import substitution. The illusion of industrial development has been conjured by excessive foreign borrowing for consumption of foreign manufactures, by conspicuous private construction projects and by the sweatshops that engage in the fringe processing of imported manufactured components and yield little net export income.

Neither the series of bogus land reform programs since decades ago nor the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization has broken up feudalism completely and given way to a well-founded industrialization. The backward agrarian and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy is now increasingly exposed by its depression and ruination due to the decreasing demand for its type of exports, the closure of many sweatshops of semi-manufacturing for export, the tightening international credit and the decrease of remittances by overseas contract workers in the current prolonged global economic and financial crisis in this 21st century of desperate, barbaric and imploding global capitalism. The conditions have become more fertile for people’s war in the Philippines.

In the 1980s, certain elements in the Philippines pushed the notion that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal but semi-capitalist or semi-industrial capitalist in order to glorify the Marcos fascist dictatorship as having industrialized the Philippines. This notion also aimed to undercut the Communist Party’s strategic line of protracted people’s war involving the encirclement of the cities from the countryside by the armed revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants until such time that they have accumulated enough politico-military strength to seize the cities on a nationwide scale in a strategic offensive.

The bureaucrat big comprador Ferdinand Marcos conjured the illusion of industrial development by borrowing heavily from abroad and by importing consumption goods and luxuries and construction equipment and structural steel in order to build roads, bridges, hotels and other tourist facilities. The profligate spending of foreign loans only served to maintain the agrarian and pre-industrial character of the Philippine economy. Cognizant of the persistent semifeudal reality, the New People’s Army under CPP leadership has been able to wage people’s war successfully with the main support of the peasantry and under the class leadership of the working class.

5. *When one talks of the Philippine working class, what are the main sectors in which it is found and how is neoliberalism affecting it?*

JMS: The Philippine working class is found in such main sectors as the following: food and beverages, hotels and restaurants, public utilities (power generation, water and sewage system), mining and quarrying, metal fabrication (imported metals), car assembly, ship assembly, transportation, communications, mass media, assembly of electronic and electrical products, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, oil refining, construction, construction materials (cement and wood), banks and other financial institutions and public sector services (education, health, etc).

In the Philippines, the neoliberal policy has favored certain enterprises away from industrial development and has expanded employment in such enterprises during boom periods. The favored enterprises include those in mining and export-crop plantations, the assembly of electronic and electrical products, the semi-manufacturing of garments, shoes and other low-value added products for reexport, car assembly, construction of office and residential towers, cement production, hotels and restaurants, business call centers and financial services. They are vulnerable to the ups and downs characteristic of global capitalism under the neoliberal policy and now to the worst crisis since the Great Depression. Closures and reduction of production have resulted in a high rate of unemployment and the further immiseration of the people.

Under the neoliberal policy, the working class has been subjected to wage freezes and reductions, loss of job security, flexibilization or casualization (reducing the number of regular employees and increasing the number of temporaries or casuals), systematic prevention or break up of workers' unions and ceaseless attacks on union rights and other democratic rights. The kinds of enterprises generated by the neoliberal policy involve cheap labor and the most tiring and health-damaging processes and conditions. They also limit the number of regular employees and expand the ranks of the casuals subjected to a series of short-term employment contracts in order to circumvent the law on regular employment. The scarcity of employment opportunities in the Philippines has compelled nearly 10 percent of the population to seek employment abroad as overseas contract workers and undocumented workers with practically no rights. This fact proves the lack of national industrial development.

6. *You mention that certain elements in the Philippines had a different view than yours (and the CPP) on how to characterize the Philippines today. What were/are the practical implications of these differences? Do the differences preclude any degree of unity or are there strategic differences that are irreconcilable?*

JMS: Certain elements in the revolutionary movement put forward the subjectivist notion in the early 1980s that Marcos had truly carried out land reform, industrialized the Philippines and raised its urbanization to the level of 40 percent. They subjectively concluded that it was already wrong to call the Philippines semifeudal and to pursue the strategic line of protracted people's war by way of accumulating strength in the countryside before seizing the cities. The subjectivist notion gave rise to two opportunist currents, Right and ultra-Left, both grounded on rejecting the line of protracted people's war but taking two different directions, one along the line of legalism and parliamentarianism and the other along the line of military adventurism.

The ultra-Left opportunists adopted the line of speeding up the regularization of the people's army or the premature formation of absolutely concentrated companies and battalions supposedly to catch up with the expected development of urban insurrections as the lead factor in the revolution. The prematurely enlarged military formations were unsustainable, became divorced from the masses and were easy for the enemy to locate and attack. When they incurred heavy losses, the ultra-Left opportunists engaged in scapegoating and blamed so-called deep penetration agents as the cause of their disasters.

Meanwhile, the Right opportunists called for making legal struggle the main form of struggle against the dictatorship and for taking out working class leadership from the National Democratic Front of the Philippines supposedly to attract more people. After Marcos fell in 1986, they wanted to join the Corazon Aquino government and some of them succeeded in joining the new reactionary government. After failing to swing the Communist Party to a line of reformism, they fragmented into various groups and adopted various lines, including Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, social democracy, neorevisionism and even neoliberalism.

The most notorious and most aggressive of the Right and ultra-Left opportunists have found jobs in the regimes of Cory Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Noyon Aquino and the very worst of them have even joined even the intelligence agencies. They would be most hostile to any suggestion of reconciliation or unity with the CPP. But many of those they have misled are known to have returned to the revolutionary movement or have dropped out to mind their own private lives.

*7. What have been the chief obstacles to a negotiated settlement between the NDFP and the government?*

JMS: The Manila government and NDFP have their respective constitutions, governments and armies. To lay the ground for peace negotiations, they issued The Hague Joint Declaration to define the framework for peace negotiations. They agreed to address the roots of the armed conflict or the civil war by negotiating and forging agreements on human rights and international humanitarian law and on social, economic and political reforms. They also agreed that they are guided by the mutually acceptable principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice and that no precondition shall be made by any side to negate the inherent character and purpose of peace negotiations, i.e., no side can demand the surrender of the other side.

Under the current Aquino regime, his presidential adviser and his negotiating panel want to undermine and nullify the aforesaid declaration by asserting that it is a document of perpetual division. They are practically demanding the immediate surrender of the revolutionary movement. They do not respect the agreement on the sequence, formation and operationalization of the reciprocal working committees that are to negotiate and work out the agreements on reforms. The question of what kind of authority will be formed to implement the comprehensive agreements on reforms shall be settled when the time comes for negotiating the political and constitutional reforms.

The Benigno Aquino III regime has shown no respect for and has in fact violated the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) by refusing to release some 14 political prisoners who are NDFP negotiating personnel and are therefore JASIG-protected. It has not called to account those military and police personnel who have abducted, tortured and murdered NDFP consultants who are JASIG-protected. Also, it has violated the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law by condoning violations of human rights of suspected revolutionaries and sympathizers by the Arroyo regime and by his own troops and by refusing to release 350 political prisoners who are unjustly imprisoned on trumped-up charges of common crimes.

The regime keeps on demanding ceasefire in order to distract public attention from the agreements to address the roots of the civil war through basic reforms. The NDFP has offered truce and alliance on the basis of a general declaration on common intent on ten points, including the assertion of national independence, empowerment of the working people, land reform and national industrialization, immediate assistance and employment for the impoverished and unemployed, promotion of a patriotic, scientific and popular culture, self-determination of national minorities and independent foreign policy for peace and development.

The biggest obstacle to the peace negotiations is US political and military intervention. The US has upset the peace negotiations by unjustly designating the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant as terrorists. It has dictated upon the Aquino regime to draw up Oplan Bayanihan under the US Counterinsurgency Guide, which considers peace negotiations as a mere psy-war device for outwitting, isolating and destroying the revolutionary movement. Oplan Bayanihan is a campaign plan of military suppression. But it masquerades as a peace and development plan. It regards peace negotiations only as a means to enhance the triad of psy-war, intelligence gathering and combat operations. Many people think that the US does not allow the puppet regime to make the overall agreement for a just and lasting peace with the NDFP.

*8. Optimally what would a settlement between the NDFP and the government look like? What is the vision of the NDFP for a future Philippines?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines have declared that their line in the peace negotiations is no different from their line of struggle for national liberation and democracy in the people's war, whose ultimate goal is a just and lasting peace. Through peace negotiations, they seek to forge agreements with the Manila government on social, economic and political reforms in order to pave the way for a just and lasting peace.

The NDFP is desirous of a settlement in which the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and territorial integrity of the Philippines are upheld and unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with foreign powers are done away with. The workers and peasants who compose the majority of the people must be empowered in order to have real democracy. Land reform and national industrialization must be carried out in order to have real development and realize just social relations. A national, scientific and mass culture and system of education and information must be promoted. An independent policy must be carried out in order to promote development and world peace.

The vision of the NDFP is for the Filipino people to enjoy far better conditions when they have national independence, democracy, economic development and social justice. They can aspire for still better conditions in a socialist society. The protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism is resulting in the resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement as well as the socialist movement. An increasing number of people are saying that it is not enough to fight against capitalism and imperialism. It is necessary to fight for socialism.

*9. Are you optimistic that negotiations can result in a just settlement?*

JMS: Frankly speaking, I am not optimistic that negotiations can result in a just settlement. Like its predecessors, the Aquino regime is too servile to US imperialism and stands as the current chief representative of the local exploiting classes, the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord classes. It has shown no inclination to assert national independence and undo unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements that keep the Philippines semi-colonial. It also has shown no inclination to realize democracy through significant representation of workers and peasants in government and through land reform and national industrialization.

It has become clear that the reactionary government is not seriously interested in peace negotiations as a way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict through agreements on basic reforms. Especially under the Aquino regime, the negotiators are always trying to lay aside the substantive agenda and to push the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification. Failing to accomplish their vile objective, they paralyze the peace negotiations by refusing to comply with obligations under the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees.

*10. What has been the role of the USA? And, have US policies towards the Philippines changed under President Obama? If so, how? What is your overall assessment of the Obama administration?*

JMS: The USA has not been helpful to the peace negotiations. In fact, it has obstructed these. The US designation of the CPP, NPA and myself (the NDFP chief political consultant) as terrorists is meant to intimidate and put pressure on the NDFP in the peace negotiations. The US Counterinsurgency Guide actually tells the Philippine reactionary government that peace negotiations are dispensable but are useful only for purposes of psy-war to mislead the people, possibly split the revolutionary forces and make the reactionary killing machine more efficient. But the US policy against peace negotiations with the NDFP has served to make the revolutionary forces and people more vigilant and more resolute in opposing US intervention in the internal affairs of the Philippines.

From the Bush II to the Obama regime, there has been no change in US policy towards the Philippines. Obama continues the policy of serving the interests of the US imperialists in the economic, political, military and cultural fields, collaborating with the big compradors and landlords, manipulating the puppet regime and its military forces, preventing land reform and national industrialization, controlling the fundamentals and direction of the Philippine cultural and educational system and stationing US troops in the Philippines and maintaining a permanent relay of US military forces under the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact and the Visiting Forces Agreement. Obama is a good servant of US imperialism. He used his glibness to make himself look better than the brazenly brutal Bush. But he is using the same glibness to cover many acts as bad as or even worse than those that made Bush infamous.

*11. How did the CPP and NPA end up on a list of terrorist organizations? How did you end up on a list of supporters of terrorism? What steps are being taken to remove this label from you, the CPP and the NPA?*

JMS: During the November 2001 visit of then Philippine president Gloria M. Arroyo to Washington, she requested then US President Bush to have the US agencies (State Department and the Office of Foreign Asset Control of the Treasury Department) designate the CPP, NPA and myself as “terrorists.” When US state secretary Colin Powell visited the Philippines in the early days of August 2002, he was reminded of the request and he assured Arroyo that he would act on it immediately upon his return to the US. Indeed, within August 2002 the CPP, NPA and I were designated as “terrorists.”

The Philippine and US governments connived to take advantage of the terrorism scare that followed 9/11. They themselves engaged in terrorism by deciding to undertake harmful actions against the CPP, NPA and myself. The designation of the CPP and NPA as “terrorist” is absolutely absurd because they have carried out revolutionary actions strictly within the Philippines, have not engaged in any cross-border attacks against the US and up to now have not been discovered to keep bank accounts in the US or anywhere else outside of the Philippines.

In my case, I have been falsely accused of being the current CPP chairman and being responsible for the alleged terrorist acts, in fact the revolutionary actions, of the NPA despite the fact that I have been out of the Philippines since 1986 when I was released from nearly a decade of detention under the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The

malicious intention of the US and Philippine governments is to pressure the entire NDFP negotiating panel and me as its chief political consultant.

Like the Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime uses the terrorist designation as a kind of lever against the NDFP in the peace negotiations. It is impossible for the CPP, NPA or myself to begin any legal process for undoing the terrorist designation in the US or in any other country tailing after the US in the so-called war on terror, without proving first the legal personality and material interest of the plaintiff. In my case, I could take legal action against the Dutch government for putting me in the terrorist list because I live in The Netherlands. After my administrative complaint, the Dutch government repealed its decision to put me in its terrorist list but took the initiative in having me put in the terrorist list of the European Union in October 2002. I went to the European Court of Justice and I succeeded in having my name removed from the EU terrorist list in December 2010 after eight years of legal struggle.

*12. Has the “terrorism” designation made it difficult for NDFP supporters in the Philippines and in other parts of the world? If so, how? Have civilian political activists faced increased government-inspired violence as a result of this terrorism designation?*

JMS: The “terrorism” designation is an incitation to hatred and violence and various forms of discrimination and harassment against known or suspected NDFP supporters in the Philippines and other parts of the world. Although the NDFP is not designated as terrorist, everyone knows that the CPP and NPA are the most important components of the NDFP. In the Philippines, the incitation to hatred and violence is quite deadly because the military, police and their death squads are emboldened to go on terrorist-hunting and are assured that they can abduct, torture and kill people with impunity.

Abroad, the EU, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have followed the US in labeling the CPP and NPA as terrorists and there are adverse consequences to Filipinos who oppose imperialism and the puppet government in the Philippines. The overseas Filipinos are vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, non-renewal of work contracts and denial of residence permits.

The Dutch authorities have advised the Norwegian government not to give any assistance to the NDFP negotiating panel for maintaining office and staff in The Netherlands on the claim that such assistance would be for building the infrastructure of “terrorists.” They have also raided the NDFP office and houses of NDFP panelists and consultants and seized documents and equipment needed in the peace negotiations.

*13. Periodically the US media discuss alleged Muslim fundamentalist terrorism in the Philippines. What is the situation? In Mindanao there have been efforts at autonomy and self-determination. What has been the stand of the NDFP on these efforts? What is your take on allegations of Muslim terrorism?*

JMS: The NDFP supports the Moro people’s struggle for self-determination, including the right to secede from an oppressive state or opt for regional autonomy in a non-oppressive political system. The Moro people have long been oppressed by the Manila government and by local reactionary agents. They are not free in their own homeland and are victims of Christian chauvinism and discrimination. They have been deprived of their ancestral domain. They have been robbed of agricultural land as well as forest, mineral and marine resources.

The Moro people have all the right to fight for national and social liberation. The NDFP has therefore found common ground for alliance with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and subsequently with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) after the MNLF capitulated to the Ramos regime in 1996. By fighting well against their common enemy, the NDFP and the MILF gain better conditions for growing in strength and advancing in their respective struggles.

The US government and the US media exaggerate the threat of Muslim fundamentalist terrorism because they wish to promote the entry of US corporations for the purpose of plundering the rich natural resources of Mindanao, especially oil, gold and deuterium. They also wish to justify the current stationing of US military forces and eventually the basing of larger US military forces for the purpose of strategic control over Islamic countries in Southeast Asia and strategic countervailing of China and the DPRK in Northeast Asia.

Like Al Qaida, Abu Sayyaf was originally a creature of the CIA and the intelligence agency of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to counteract the MNLF. It has become a bandit gang since the capitulation of the MNLF. It has also been convenient for the US and Manila government to depict the Abu Sayyaf as a Muslim fundamentalist group and as an extension of the Al Qaida, since 2001 when Bush declared Moro land as the second front in the so-called global war on terror. There are indications that the US and Philippine governments continue to arm and

finance the Abu Sayyaf in order to block the advance of the MILF in Sulu and to provide the pretext for US military intervention in the Philippines.

*14. In the 1990s there were several splits from the CPP. There were charges and counter-charges regarding sectarianism and militarism. Some who split seemed to have chosen to engage primarily in electoral politics. Some former CPP members have suggested that the CPP/ NPA has attempted to kill/silence political opponents. Please give us your take on this and on these allegations.*

JMS: In answer to a previous question, I discussed the subjectivist ideological line that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal. Such line emerged in 1981 and induced the political currents of ultra-Left and Right opportunism among a few members of the CPP. Eventually in the early 1990s, there would be splinters, not big splits, initiated by grouplets who opposed the Rectification Movement which was launched by the Central Committee of the CPP in early 1992.

The rectification movement was an educational movement inside the CPP to repudiate, criticize and rectify the major errors of ultra-Left and Right opportunism that had caused serious damage to the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement since 1981. But there were elements, whose connections with enemy intelligence were eventually exposed, who stridently attacked the rectification movement as a bloody scheme of “Stalinist purge” and who tried to spread the fear that those found in error would be terribly punished.

The rectification movement was undertaken precisely to rectify the sectarian and military adventurist line of the ultra-Left opportunists who tried to accelerate ill-prepared tactical offensives and the unsustainable formation of companies and battalions supposedly to back up the impending urban uprisings of the armed city partisans and spontaneous masses as the leading force. No such armed urban uprisings ever occurred. But mass work in the countryside was neglected and the rural mass base had decreased by 15 percent in 1988 and by 60 percent in 1991.

Under the influence of the ultra-Left opportunists, CPP cadres in the urban underground (Davao City and Cagayan de Oro) also exposed themselves in the early 1980s to the enemy through mass actions which did not use the mantle of protection from the broad united front. When the ultra-Left line was resulting in effective enemy offensives, the ultra-Left opportunists did not look into their wrong line but instead engaged in scapegoating and in a bloody witch-hunt for presumed deep penetration agents and saboteurs.

By 1988, the ultra-Left opportunists were already a spent force, especially after the failure of the so-called nationally coordinated NPA operations, which resulted in a big loss of ammunition, without any gain in rifles. Frustrated, they swung to the Right and joined the longstanding Right opportunists. But certain ultra-Left opportunists who were captured by the enemy were recruited into the intelligence service. They were used to attack the CPP line of new democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. And they tried to discredit the rectification movement and they collaborated with the Right opportunists in doing so. At any rate, the Right opportunists became a relatively wider array of grouplets than the ultra-Leftists.

Since the 1989-91 fall of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and disintegration of the Soviet Union, which they revered as socialist, the incorrigible Right opportunists have shed off their communist pretenses and have become bitterly anti-communist. They have joined the ruling system by getting employment in the bureaucracy and corporate offices, operating imperialist-funded NGOs or attaching their grouplets to major reactionary parties. Those who have chosen to engage in electoral politics have limited success because they are divorced from the masses and do not have a substantial mass base like the CPP, NPA and NDFP and the electoral parties being Red-baited as proxies of the CPP. A handful of them have been appointed to high positions by the Aquino regime.

The so-called ex-communists are the worst anti-communists. At one time, they misrepresented a political map of pseudo-progressive groups published in the organ of the CPP’s Central Committee, Ang Bayan (The People), showing how the opportunists of the past have divided and subdivided, as a hit list for NPA assassination teams in order to slander the CPP and Red-bait progressive legal mass activists. The psy-war attack by the ex-communists emboldened the death squads of the reactionary government to abduct, torture and kill suspected communists and to cover their criminal deeds by claiming that communists were killing each other.

*15. We are in a tumultuous global situation with a convergence of economic and environmental crises. In this conjuncture, what do you see as the prospects for socialism? In many parts of the Muslim World so-called political Islam seems to be a leading force. Is this political tendency outpacing socialism (and the Left)? Are there viable left-wing alternatives or are we still grappling with the implications of the crisis of socialism?*

JMS: The prospects for socialism are bright precisely because of the convergence of the grave economic and environmental crises which point to monopoly capitalism as the culprit and cause of the crises. This is the criminal force that plunders labor power in the economy and the material resources in the environment all for the sake of profit-making and capital accumulation. The identification of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy as the class enemy that captivates and plunders nature and society points to the working class as the opposite force capable of leading the entire people towards liberation in a revolutionary process.

The epochal struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie involves zigs and zags and ups and downs. On the 150th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto in 1998, I traced the alternation of great advances and retreats of the working class in periods of from three to five decades. It is about time that the working class rises again from a deep trough and moves forward from the disintegration of socialist societies due to revisionist betrayal by degenerated ruling communist parties. The crisis conditions comparable to those of the Great Depression are again favorable for the rise of communist and workers' parties and the resurgence of anti-imperialist and socialist movements. In the last three decades, the CPP has been proud to call itself a torch bearer in a relatively dark period for the world proletarian revolution.

For some three decades under the neoliberal policy, the greediest of capitalist relations of production thrived on the adoption of higher technology which facilitated production, distribution and abuse of finance capital as well as powered the system of education and information to serve the purposes of monopoly capitalism. But the higher social character of production made possible by higher technology contradicts the capitalist character of the relations of production and demands the socialist revolution to remove production from the clutches of the monopoly bourgeoisie. But it takes decades before the communist and workers' parties can take power again through the revolutionary process.

In the meantime, political Islam can arise and grow in certain Muslim countries against imperialism and against the most reactionary currents. But we cannot foreclose the possibility that Muslims, bourgeois nationalists and Marxists in Muslim countries can unite on the common ground of anti-imperialism and democracy to form secular states that assert national independence and aspire for socialism. There may also be viable Left-wing alternatives arising from the petty bourgeoisie or from a mix of workers and petty bourgeoisie. At the moment, they may be grappling with the petty bourgeois modes of thinking as well as with the implications of the defeats of the socialist cause. But we can be confident that in the long run communist and workers' parties will re-emerge and resurge and will come to united front and united actions with other anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

*16. Do the experiences of the 20th century with attempts at socialism, particularly socialism as articulated by Stalin, still hang over the leads of the revolutionary Left? Do you think that the crisis of socialism tells the radical Left something about a different vision that it needs for the 21st century?*

JMS: We should recognize the great victories won by the proletariat and the rest of the people in building socialism in the 20th century. In the countries where socialism was built, especially in the Soviet Union and China, imperialist domination was ended and the exploiting classes were overthrown. The workers' socialist state was established. Socialist revolution and socialist construction were carried forward. Science and technology and proletarian culture flourished. Fascism was defeated. A powerful system of defense was established and the US and its imperialist allies were deterred from launching aggression against the socialist countries during the Cold War. It was modern revisionism (bourgeois degeneration of the party and state bureaucracy), not the US or Stalin, that corroded and ultimately brought down socialism in both the Soviet Union and China.

The imperialists and petty bourgeois anti-communists of various types have been demonizing Stalin and Mao as responsible for the defeat of socialism in the Soviet Union and China, respectively. The cause of socialism cannot be carried forward by those who simplistically scapegoat the longest-time builders of socialism Stalin and Mao for the defeat of socialism and the restoration of capitalism. These two great leaders had their share of achievements and shortcomings, with Mao correcting and improving on Stalin in certain important respects. We should be able to learn a lot of positive and negative lessons from the class struggles in the socialist countries and the comprehensive experiences of building socialism in the 20th century. By learning such lessons, we have the advantage of knowing what principles, policies and methods we can carry over into the 21<sup>st</sup> century and what major errors we should avoid.

In 1992 the CPP issued a long document, Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism, as a major document of the rectification movement and as a counter to all the attacks on the socialist cause churned out by the

imperialists and the petty bourgeois anti-communists in the aftermath of the rapid full restoration of capitalism in the revisionist-ruled countries. For the purpose of building socialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the CPP restated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, pointed to the positive and negative lessons from the socialist past, made proposals among others for the development of democracy, legality and restrictions on leading organs within the socialist framework, the mass line in every type of social activity, the well-balanced economy in the service of the people, the various aspects of cultural revolution and the use of science and higher technology for material and cultural progress and for promoting democracy.

*17. You are generally identified as a Maoist. First, in light of various analyses of China during the time of Mao's rule, do you see any limitations or weaknesses in Maoism? What is your sense of other left-wing tendencies (globally)? Do you see the chances for global and local strategic collaboration between differing left-wing tendencies? If so, do you have any examples from the Philippines or elsewhere? What role does Maoism have to play in the renewal of the Left?*

JMS: I am aware of various analyses of China during the time of Mao's leadership in China. But despite my overall favorable view of Mao in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and so on, I do not think that Maoism is some kind of final perfection in theory and practice. It is a further development of Marxism-Leninism and goes as far as the theory and practice of cultural revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidation of socialism. But soon after Mao died, the Dengist capitalist counter-revolution prevailed in China. It means to say that even as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution prevailed for ten years there must be reasons for its defeat. The lessons can be learned as in the earlier case of the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871 which held power for some two months. The Paris Commune would serve as the prototype of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917.

I have my grounding in Maoism. It is my guide to action. But I am open to all Left tendencies on the ground of anti-imperialism and common struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The CPP is not confined in any exclusive club of Maoist parties. It has publicly declared that it avails of bilateral and multilateral ways to exchange ideas and information, debate ideological and political issues, raise the level of common understanding through resolutions and arrive at various forms of practical cooperation. The protraction, worsening and deepening of the crisis of the world capitalist system inflicts intolerable suffering on the people but it also generates favorable conditions for the resurgence of the revolutionary mass movement and for the strategic collaboration and united front of various Left-wing tendencies.

There are various multi-sectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances of anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the Philippines. Maoism can play a major role in the renewal of the Left because it is concerned not only with the ideological building of the Maoist party but it is also concerned with political work, such as arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses for the revolution and availing of the united front and united actions of various parties and groups in order to reach and militate the masses in their millions in the quickest possible manner. Maoist parties are waging people's war in a number of countries and have gained the respect of many people in the world for daring to answer the central question of revolution in the appropriate conditions. They are expected to increase in number as the crisis of global capitalism protracts and worsens. Thus, they will be more inspiring to all Left forces and the people on a global scale. They will also need broad international support.

*18. Let's focus, for a minute, on this matter of Stalin. Nationalities were expelled from their homelands; the leadership of the CPSU was largely annihilated; anti-Semitism was promoted after World War II; and it is difficult to identify any real mechanisms of worker control that were built during the Stalin period. What does the experience of the USSR and, in a different way, the PR of China, say about a vision for socialism for the 21st century? You speak about modern revisionism bringing down these various systems, but for our readers who have observed undemocratic systems that have called themselves "socialist," what would you say? What lessons have been taken from these experiences?*

JMS: To say the least, despite all the allegations against him, Stalin must have made significant achievements with regard to keeping the Soviet Union as a state of various nationalities, with regard to maintaining the CPSU as the lead force in socialist revolution and socialist construction, with regard to letting Jews excel in Soviet society and defending them and the rest of the people against the racism of Nazi Germany and with regard to workers' control in factories and collective farms through the party and the workers' courts.

I think that is inaccurate and unfair to make a complete negation of Stalin and/or Mao or to simply dismiss them as anti-socialist and anti-democratic. It is even more unfair and unjust to use allegations against them as a way of burdening or denigrating non-Soviet and non-Chinese communist parties and leaders or later generations



of fighters for socialism, who must be assessed and evaluated according to their own history and circumstances in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and related experiences. I need not clutter my answer with trying to cover what you sweep as undemocratic systems that have called themselves as “socialist.”

Let me underscore that Stalin and Mao and their respective parties had remarkable merits and demerits. In studying their theory and practice, we must be as sober and fair as when we do not condemn and totally negate the French Revolution, the Jacobins and the liberal democratic revolution just because the French Revolution was followed by the Reign of Terror, the Thermidorean reaction and the monarchical restorations in France. We can learn valuable lessons, positive and negative, from the experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the 20th century, for the purpose of fighting for and building socialism in the 21st century.

I have earlier referred to some lessons and proposals in this regard. Let me stress one of them: In the course of uniting the people for fighting imperialism and the persistent reaction and building socialism, let us ensure that democratic rights are respected and the state, the leading organs and leaders are prevented from abusing their power. We do so as a matter of principle as well as a matter of practical wisdom in view of the new means of communications which allow people to speak out to the whole world.

*19. Did you ever think that the struggle would be this long? This is a question I have wondered for a while. When you and others formed the CPP and when the struggle started, did you ever conceive that it would be going on for this long?*

JMS: At the founding of the CPP, I thought that the armed struggle to seize power would be protracted, perhaps ten to 20 years. I did not think that it would take this long, more than 42 years already. It is even longer if you start counting from 1942 when the People’s Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) was formed or from the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule when more than 200 armed uprisings occurred before the Philippine Revolution could come into force in 1896. The people’s struggle for national liberation and democracy will go on for as long as imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords continue to oppress and exploit the people.

*20. When the People Power uprising took place against Marcos, it appeared that the CPP and much of the Left was taken by surprise. What are your reflections on that period and lessons learned? I thought about this in light of the Occupy movement that we are seeing taking place in the USA and elsewhere and the role/place of the Left in it.*

JMS: The CPP was not taken by surprise. The course of events was too clear. In fact, soon after the Marcos dictatorship cheated in the February 1986 presidential snap election, the CPP leadership issued a call for all-out people’s resistance to overthrow the regime in concert with the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines which condemned the illegitimate and immoral foundation of the Marcos regime and Cory Aquino who called for civil disobedience. The legal organizations of the national democratic movement were at the forefront of the open mass struggles to overthrow the fascist regime along EDSA highway and in front of the presidential palace and in the provinces in all the days before Marcos was flown out of the Philippines by the US. The biographical books, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader’s View*, which I co-wrote with the German social scientist Dr. Rainer Werning in 1988, and *At Home in the World: Portrait of a Filipino Revolutionary*, which I co-wrote with the Filipino novelist Ninotchka Rosca in 2004, describe the significant participation of the CPP and the patriotic and progressive forces, which are often Red-baited as organizations of the CPP. Their participation in large numbers was not only in Metro Manila but also in major provincial cities and towns. These organizations played a key role in starting the mass uprising and in providing a conscious and disciplined force, a hard core, for the mass uprising at EDSA and elsewhere.

What detractors of the CPP misrepresent as failure of the CPP to join the so-called EDSA revolution is actually the boycott policy adopted by the CPP leadership, in particular Chairman Rodolfo Salas and the Executive Committee, against the presidential snap election. The CPP leadership correctly stated that Marcos would use the election to keep himself in power but failed to see that, as in what was then a recent example in the Haiti of Duvalier, the US and the anti-Marcos forces would discredit and seek to oust Marcos on the charge of electoral cheating. Afflicted by sectarianism, the CPP leadership went to great lengths in disciplining CPP cadres in Metro Manila who opted for participation in the election and it failed to complement its boycott policy with a deployment of secret Party cadres and alternative legal formations to join the pro-Aquino electoral alliance. For sectarianism and inflexibility in the boycott policy, Salas himself would be removed from his position in May 1986.

I think that unarmed mass uprisings to confront those in power and seek their ouster are an important part of the revolutionary process. At a given time, such unarmed uprisings may not result in the overthrow of the entire

ruling system but only the ouster of a corrupt and despotic regime and the adoption of some significant reforms. At any rate, they are part of a chain of events that can lead to the overhaul or overthrow of the ruling system. In this connection, I take a positive view of the Occupy movement in the US and elsewhere whoever are the initiators at Wall Street. I appreciate the role that Left forces are taking in this movement. As chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I have expressed solidarity with and support for the movement and have called on the more than 300 member-organizations of the ILPS and their allies in more than 40 countries to expand and intensify the Occupy movement.

# ***Expand and Strengthen the Christians for National Liberation***

**In Celebrating your 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary**

**May 17, 2012**

---

I wholeheartedly convey revolutionary greetings and solidarity to the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) on its 40<sup>th</sup> foundation anniversary. The CNL has gained many victories in serving the Filipino people while practicing Christian belief.

The victories are the fruition of intense struggle and sacrifices. It is but fitting to honor the entire CNL and the martyrs and heroes who strengthened and advanced the spirit and aims of the CNL in revolutionary practice of love for others, especially for the exploited and oppressed under the oppressive system of the big comprador and landlord adherents of US imperialism.

The CNL plays a very important historical role among the ranks of church people in advancing the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are fortunate to be associated with the CNL in the framework of cooperating and serving the oppressed and exploited masses.

Since the beginning, the CNL aligned itself with the patriotic and progressive forces. They valiantly and enthusiastically joined the fight against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They persistently worked to arouse the common church people, the nuns, priests, pastors and bishops to defend human rights and defeat the purpose of the reactionaries to use the institution of the church as an instrument of imperialism and the exploiting classes against the working people, including the Bangsamoro.

CNL helps us in spreading the movement for national and social liberation in the cities and countryside. The CNL played a big and decisive role within the National Democratic Front. After the downfall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the CNL continued to work within the framework of the NDF and on the path of revolution against the entire system and the succeeding reactionary regimes.

During my time, the CNL contributed in helping the revolutionary forces take root on a nationwide scale. After the National Liaison Committee was disabled, the revolutionary priests and nuns helped in communication and in producing and moving a lot of things. Among so many that the church people did, I can mention only a few of their contributions. Many comrades and the people can testify to the many contributions of the CNL to the revolution.

I agree with the theme of the celebration of the 40th anniversary: "Expand and consolidate the Christians for National Liberation as an underground national democratic movement of the church people. Actively join the armed struggle. The CNL must raise the level of their fighting will and capability to further help in advancing the revolution."

In celebrating the anniversary, it is vitally important for the National Council of the CNL, its chapter in various regions in the country and abroad to remember and refresh the experiences of CNL in order to draw lessons and plan for the coming years in advancing the revolution.

I am glad that you are able to publish reading materials, hold forums and cultural performances, produce a video on the history of the CNL and to honor the martyrs and heroes. It is gratifying to have a new song for the anniversary.

It is meaningful that members of the CNL who have joined the New People's Army or performed underground revolutionary tasks have each sent messages to inspire the members of the CNL to continue living revolutionary principles and militantly participate in the revolution. It is praiseworthy that you were able to hold regional assemblies and sum up the development of the CNL during the past 12 years. You identified your victories in relating to the church hierarchy. You also explained the problems and weaknesses you need to overcome

Your 40th anniversary celebration is a favorable opportunity during which you can make resolutions and plans for expanding the ranks of the CNL and developing your links with the masses and other revolutionary forces. My confidence is strong that the CNL will strengthen itself and enlarge its contributions to the advance of the Philippine revolution.

Long live the Christians for National Liberation!

Advance the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

# ***On the Immediate Tasks of Communists***

## ***and their Struggle for Socialism***

**Contribution to the International Communist Seminar in Brussels,  
Belgium, May 18 to 20, 2012**

---

### ***Immediate ideological tasks***

The constant task of every revolutionary party of the proletariat is to propagate the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and to apply this on the history and concrete circumstances of the people and the concrete practice of revolution in every country. Ideological work is the first requisite for building the Marxist-Leninist party.

Through ideological work the Party rank and file acquire a clear materialist and scientific outlook and materialist-dialectical method of thinking, analysis and action. Marxism-Leninism is the guide to action of the Party in leading the revolution on the basis of the current situation towards the goal of socialism and communism.

The immediacy of ideological work is underscored by the fact that such basic components of Marxism as philosophy, political economy and social science and all subsequent great developments in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism have been obscured and vilified by the imperialist powers and their camp followers since the fall of revisionist regimes, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries in the years from 1989 to 1991, following decades of the dominance of modern revisionism.

For a long while, despite the recurrence and worsening of the crisis of capitalism, the imperialist powers headed by the US kept boasting that humankind could no longer go beyond capitalism and liberal democracy and that socialism was dead forever. With the most unrestrained air of triumphalism, they embarked on all kinds of offensives: ideological, political, economic, military and cultural. These coincided with the conspicuous use of high technology in production, commerce, finance, communications and war.

All forms of bourgeois subjectivism and idealism ran rampant in philosophy amidst mass consumerism induced by debt financing. By political insinuation, the bourgeoisie associated and even equated communism and revolutionary movements with terrorism to set them up for repression. The neoliberal economic policy gave free reign to bourgeois greed and the denial of the working people as the real creators of social wealth. The US and NATO promoted state terrorism worldwide and launched wars of aggression at a rapid rate. Consumer products with the US brand spearheaded the imperialist cultural offensive.

The ranks of communists and the broad masses of the people are clamoring for the explanation of the root causes and consequences of the current grave crisis and more importantly for what is to be done in order to confront the crisis and carry forward the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle towards socialism. The most important ideological task of the communist and workers' parties at the moment is to explain the crisis and clarify and set forth the tasks for advancing the revolutionary struggle.

Under the neoliberal economic policy, the expansion of global capitalism seemed limitless as huge amounts of debt financing were poured on the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction to propel finance capitalism as the platform for conjuring the illusion of economic growth. Financial bubbles were launched only to burst one after another, dumping mountains of debt on the real economies of the imperialist countries in 2008. Since then the financial and economic crisis has resulted in a global depression.

The imperialist powers have failed to solve the crisis because they cling to the neoliberal dogma that the state is only good for helping the monopoly bourgeoisie to accumulate capital and maximize profits. Thus they have pushed down the wage level, cut back on social services, provided tax cuts, gold-plated contracts and subsidies to the corporations and conceded everything else to the big bourgeoisie under the terms of investment and trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation and denationalization of the less developed capitalist countries and the big mass of underdeveloped countries.

Under conditions of economic and financial collapse, the state has provided the bailouts to the big banks and corporations. It incurs higher deficits because of the bailouts, the tax cutbacks for the corporations and lessened tax revenues due to the stagnant economy. Thus, it goes into a public debt crisis, which becomes the basis for

austerity measures at the expense of the people. All the while the monopoly bourgeoisie discourages the state from employing the unemployed and from engaging in any enterprise to expand production.

The imperialist powers keep on adopting measures that aggravate the crisis. They are finding it increasingly hard to abstain from Keynesian-type measures or all-out protectionism against each other in economic production. For the moment, they still find it easier to unite on shifting the burden of crisis to the proletariat and the people of the world. Nevertheless, the crisis is generating inter-imperialist contradictions in the contest to secure sources of strategic raw materials, especially oil, expand markets and sell weapons under the stimulus of the wars of aggression, civil wars and other localized or regional wars.

At any rate, the crisis is worsening and is hitting hard both the imperialist countries and the dominated countries, with the latter countries continuing to suffer the crisis more than the former. It is already comparable to the Great Depression in terms of the massive destruction of productive forces, widespread social degradation, the growth of ultra-reactionary currents, the increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist powers and the rise of both organized and spontaneous popular resistance.

While the crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening, the science of Marxism-Leninism stands as a beacon for us to understand the problems brought about by the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy and to provide the revolutionary solution that the working class and its advanced detachment can adopt and develop, together with the rest of the exploited and oppressed people.

With the aid of Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolutionaries of today are answering the questions regarding the course of advance for the socialist cause, how to overthrow the bourgeois state and how to establish and develop the socialist state. The questions and answers cover the historical experience and new circumstances of the proletariat and people and extend to how to build socialism, strengthen it and consolidate it, combat opportunism and revisionism and move steadfastly towards the ultimate goal of communism.

### ***Immediate political tasks***

The immediate political tasks of all communist and workers' parties involve arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses on current issues generated by the global and domestic crisis of capitalism. Issues that immediately have a political character involve the demands for anti-imperialist and class struggle, the violations of human rights, brutal acts of repression and wars of aggression.

Issues such as unemployment, wage freeze, homelessness, soaring prices of basic goods and services, deteriorating social services, and so on arise at first as economic issues. But they can easily become political issues when the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the people raise them as issues in the anti-imperialist and class struggle. The imperialists, the ruling class and the state are held responsible for the people's economic suffering and become the targets of the people's outrage. The exploiters themselves unwittingly incite the people to rise up when they oppress them by vilifying and suppressing the mass protests. In the course of the political struggle, both tactical demands for basic reforms and the strategic call for revolutionary change are made.

Whatever is the state of economic and political development in a country and whatever is the corresponding character of the revolutionary movement, the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the people must win the battle for democracy by taking the mass line. This involves arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in their millions according to their interests, trusting and relying on them, asserting and exercising their democratic rights and opposing political repression by the state and exploitation by the ruling classes.

In the course of fighting for immediate demands and aiming for socialism in the industrial capitalist countries, the revolutionary forces and the people must be vigilant and militant against the attempts to suppress the mass movement. The monopoly bourgeoisie does not hesitate to employ fascism against those who aim for socialism. In a clever way, it also imposes violence on the people by accelerating the recruitment of military troops, police and intelligence agents from the ranks of the people, especially the unemployed, for the purpose of so-called homeland security, civil war or wars of aggression.

In an underdeveloped country like the Philippines, the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords are ever active in using both persuasive and violent means of the reactionary state to suppress the people's movement for a new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. The battle for democracy here entails not only the political mobilization of the people by asserting and exercising democratic rights but also emphatically by struggling for the liberation of the millions of peasants from feudal and semifeudal conditions.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the

Philippines are distinct from each other and are at the same time closely interrelated. The Philippine ruling system has its own frailties due to its under-development but is so dependent on the world capitalist system, especially the US, that the current crisis of global capitalism impacts violently on the Philippines from the outside and at the same times aggravates the chronic crisis that is due to its underdevelopment.

The Philippine economy is so dependent on the production of raw materials (agricultural and mineral) and the semi-manufacture of certain consumer products for export as well as the export of cheap labor in the form of overseas contract workers. It goes awry and goes into deeper crisis as a result of lesser demand and lower prices for such exports upon the worsening of the crisis of global capitalism. The worsening of the Philippine crisis results in great suffering for the Filipino people and at the same in the intensification of contradictions among the reactionaries themselves and between the people and the ruling system.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has set the general line of new democratic revolution at the current stage of the Philippine revolution in order to take into account and oppose the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. The current stage of democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class is preparation for the subsequent stage of socialist revolution, which begins upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution through the nationwide seizure of political war as a result of the protracted people's war.

The general line of new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective sets the direction of the Philippine revolution and guides the Party and the masses in sorting out the welter of economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and moral issues that arise from oppression and exploitation and their aggravation as a result of crisis. The working class is the leading class in the revolution for being the most advanced productive and political force. It relies mainly on its basic alliance with the peasantry, wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a major ally, further wins over the middle bourgeoisie and takes advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy one enemy after another.

At every given time, the enemy is the worst of the reactionaries, acting as chief puppet of the imperialists and as chief representative of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. It wages a vicious counterrevolutionary war against the people and the revolutionary forces. In the light of international law, it can be said that a civil war is going on in the Philippines. But the US is increasing its military intervention because it is driven by the aggressive character and grave crisis of imperialism and its current scheme to refocus its attention on East Asia. The possibility looms for the civil war to become a national war of liberation against foreign aggression.

In times of grave crisis, the issues abound for the Filipino people to take up in accordance with national and class interests along the general line of new democratic revolution. There are several types of mass organizations that must be developed in order to solidify the mass of patriotic and progressive activists. The larger the membership of the mass organizations, the easier it becomes to reach and mobilize the people in their millions.

The patriotic and progressive legal mass organizations can arise and grow by asserting and exercising their democratic rights against the exploitation and oppression of the people and against both the blatant and subtle acts of suppression by regimes that hypocritically claim to be democratic and different from the fallen Marcos fascist dictatorship. The working class has trade unions, with the Kilusang Mayo Uno [May First Movement] as the strongest labor center. The peasants and farm workers have the Pambansang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas [National Farmers of the Philippines]; the fisherfolk, the Pamalakaya [Trawl]; and the government employees, COURAGE, to cite only the major mass formations of the toiling masses.

There are various types of sectoral mass organizations, like those of students, teachers, health workers, lawyers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, progressive religious, patriotic businessmen and so on. There are also mass organizations based on such concerns and causes as national independence, democracy, human rights, land reform and national industrialization, indigenous people, labor rights, youth rights, women's rights, children's rights, patriotic and progressive culture, environment, just and lasting peace, international solidarity against imperialist plunder and war, and so on.

By way of employing the policy of the united front, the patriotic and progressive mass organizations have developed sectoral alliances (within classes and occupational categories) and the multi-sectoral alliances like the BAYAN (New Patriotic Alliance) which is the largest of its kind. These alliances have served to augment, amplify and expand the strength and influence of the national democratic movement in campaigns and various kinds of activities on major longstanding issues as well as on burning issues of the day.

The legal mass organizations and alliances make it a point to assert their independence from the Communist

Party of the Philippines and the illegal revolutionary mass organizations. They do so obviously to counter the anti-communist witch-hunts, that have become more vicious than ever under the so-called anti-terrorism law. They are closely related to progressive partylist groups that participate in electoral struggles within the ruling system.

Of course, the Communist Party of the Philippines has developed various types of illegal mass organizations. The most important of these in terms of waging the protracted people's war is the New People's Army. It is led by the Party and the working class and most of the Red commanders and fighters come from the peasantry. At the moment, the NPA is engaged in the five-year strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

There is a comprehensive array of underground mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural workers, lawyers, scientists and technologies. And there are underground alliances of the peoples of the Cordillera, Moros and the Lumads and the progressive religious, especially the Christians for National Liberation. All the aforesaid underground revolutionary forces are dedicated to the people's war. Together with the CPP and NPA, they belong to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

The NDFP is a revolutionary united front organization, with its own program of people's democratic revolution and constitution harmonious with those of the CPP. The NDFP consists of the mass formations of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie. But it is ever ready to broaden the united front so as to include the middle bourgeoisie and even the temporary and unreliable allies from among the ranks of the reactionaries who oppose the worst of the reactionaries as the enemy.

The NDFP has gone so far as to engage in peace negotiations with a series of reactionary regimes in order to assert its status of belligerency under international law and to demand that the roots of the armed conflict be addressed to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. To avert confusion among the revolutionaries and people, the CPP and NDFP have always made it clear that the line for a just and lasting peace is no different from the line of the new democratic revolution. The reactionary regimes have failed to come to an agreement on a just and lasting peace because of their extreme subservience to US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The patriotic and progressive mass organizations and alliances have been responsible for well-sustained campaigns on highly significant issues and for huge mass mobilizations that have resulted in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the corrupt Estrada regime. They generate the campaigns and activities that carry the general line of new democratic revolution and express the protests and demands of the people. In turn, they are strengthened by these acts of mass mobilizations which bring forward mass activists on a large scale.

The strategic line of protracted people's war in the Philippines is now greatly favored by the terrible conditions of oppression and exploitation generated by the crisis of the world capitalist system. All forms of people's resistance, including general strikes and mass protest rallies and armed revolutionary movements, are spreading and growing in strength.

The Philippine revolutionary movement is contributing what it can in order to expand and intensify the revolutionary movements of the people of the world against imperialism and for national liberation, democracy and socialism. At the same time, it is benefited by the expansion and intensification of revolutionary movements abroad.

The imperialist powers can be dizzied and weakened by the great number of what they consider as trouble spots. In all continents and in so many countries, including the imperialist countries, the grave all-round crisis has resulted in an upsurge of mass movements. The entire world is in ferment. We are on the eve of great social upheavals and revolutionary advances.

Thanks to the use of higher technology, the monopoly bourgeoisie has accelerated not only the accumulation of capital and profit-making but also the recurrence and worsening of the crisis of overproduction and the abuse of monopoly finance capital. It has produced the rapid means of communications that the revolutionary forces can also avail of.

Revolutionary propaganda and agitation, the organization of people in various types of mass formations and mass mobilizations have been facilitated and accelerated by use of the internet, cellphone, audio-visuals and social networks. But of course, we presume that the revolutionary forces use these means very intelligently and effectively, mindful that the enemy uses the same means against the revolutionary movement.

---



### ***Immediate organizational tasks***

The Communist Party of the Philippines is guided by democratic centralism as its basic organizational principle. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. It is an effective way of giving full play to democratic debates and taking decisions at every level and from the lowest level to the highest and concentrating promptly the will of the entire Party in the Central Committee.

At the base of the Party are the Party branches and groups or fractions within mass organizations and institutions. On the basis of facts and discussions, they give reports and recommendations to the section committee. Section committees make reports and recommendations to the district committee; the district committees to the provincial committee; the provincial committees to the regional committee; and the regional committees to the Central Committee. Decisions of the Central Committee go down from level to level.

The individual Party members are subordinate to the entire Party and the Central Committee. At any level, decisions are taken by majority vote or consensus after full discussion of an issue. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The essence of centralized leadership is upholding Marxism-Leninism as guide to action and applying it on concrete issues and circumstances. In the first place, the Party is constituted as a Marxist-Leninist party and its members are educated, trained and act as Marxist-Leninists.

The Party recruits its members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists. These are considered advanced because they have a relatively high level of political consciousness, are militant and conscientiously perform their tasks. Most important of all, they are willing to join the Party. They enter the Party first as candidate members. The period of candidature for workers and peasants is six months and for the urban petty bourgeoisie, one year.

The mass movement is growing fast because of the severity and protraction of the economic, social and political crisis and because the Party and the mass organizations are intensifying propaganda and agitation, mass organizing of various types and mass mobilizations on the burning issues. On the basis of the fast growing mass movement, the Party can recruit fast and carry out the policy of expanding the Party boldly without letting in a single undesirable element. The honesty of every applicant for Party membership is of crucial importance and is verified.

The rapid expansion of the Party is required by the worsening crisis and by the need of the Party to strengthen itself for its current strategic plan of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war. The Party is resolved to make an accelerated advance on the basis of more than 43 years of building the Party, the mass organizations in both urban and rural areas and the organs of political power in the countryside.

The cadres of the Party are in leading organs of the Party itself as well as in those of the New People's Army, the mass organizations and the people's government. They have developed into cadres by virtue of their ability to lead ideological, political and organizational work and to accomplish the expansion and consolidation of the Party organizations to which they are assigned. The rapid expansion of the Party that is now being carried out is expected to result in the rapid development of cadres.

All Party cadres and members are acutely conscious of the need to fulfill the central task of the revolution, which is to seize political power, and of the decisive role of the Party in leading the revolutionary process. The Party serves as the coordinator of the forces of the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the various forms of struggle in both the urban and rural areas.

Party cadres and members in the urban areas are conscious of developing the legal mass movement in order to support and complement the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and they encourage the workers and educated youth to join the people's army. Those in the rural areas, especially in the people's army, are conscious of advancing the people's war in order to bring about ultimately the nationwide seizure of political power.

The broad masses of the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of the Philippines are confident of completing the stage of the new democratic revolution and proceeding to the stage of socialist revolution. Their confidence is based on adherence to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, awareness of the chronic crisis and losing course of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, learning lessons from the experiences of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines and abroad and undertaking all the necessary hard work and struggle to advance the revolution from one stage to another.

# ***The Second Great Rectification Movement***

December 13, 2012

---

## ***Introduction***

Rectification movement. It is a sustained mass campaign of ideological and political education within the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA), the National Democratic Front (NDF) and other revolutionary forces to criticize, repudiate and rectify major errors and shortcomings in ideology, politics and organization in order to strengthen and advance the Philippine revolution. Because it deals with grave errors of long duration and with grave consequences for the entire Party and the revolutionary movement, it is of wider scope and longer duration than the criticism and self-criticism normally undertaken to rectify errors and improve work and style of work.

The First Great Rectification Movement (FGRM) was launched in 1967 by the Provisional Political Bureau to criticize, repudiate and rectify the major errors of the leadership of the Merger Party of the Communist and Socialist Parties: Right Opportunism under Vicente Lava 1942-46, "Left" Opportunism under Jose Lava 1948-1950, Right Opportunism under Jesus Lava; and Gangsterism under Taruc-Sumulong 1964-70. The FGRM laid the ground for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in 1968.

The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) was announced in 1991 and undertaken in earnest from 1992 to 1998 by the CPP Central Committee to criticize, repudiate and rectify the major errors of subjectivism, "Left" and Right opportunism which had been committed from 1981 to 1991 by certain elements in high positions in the CPP. If allowed to pass, such major errors would have been fatal to the CPP. The SGRM overcame those who opposed it. Thus, it saved and revitalized the CPP.

---

## ***I. Major errors confronted***

### ***A. Errors of subjectivism***

1. *Notion of the Philippine economy being no longer semifeudal.* The worst and the most sustained subjectivism sprang in 1979 from the notion that the Philippine economy is no longer semifeudal. The presumption is that Marcos had industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to the extent that this is no longer semifeudal but semicapitalist or even industrial-capitalist. It became the basis of the “Left” opportunist line that armed urban insurrection in conjunction with a “regularized army” is the lead factor for winning the revolution quickly and it denigrated or even rejected the decisive importance of the strategic line of protracted people’s war.

From this same notion also sprang the Right opportunist line of equalizing the importance of the legal and the armed struggle, if not giving more importance to the former. Further on, it laid the basis for the line of replacing the leadership of the Party with that of the united front or the proposed Bagong Katipunan.

2. *Combination of NPA regularization and insurrection.* The subjectivism that started at the Central Committee in 1979-80 consisted of the notion that the NPA had already reached the advanced sub-stage or phase of the strategic defensive despite the fact that it had no more than 2,000 high-powered rifles and was thus still in the early phase but with high potential for moving on to the middle phase of the strategic defensive. This dogmatic disrespect for facts stirred up the spirit of haste and over-reaching. It was linked with the wishful thinking that the people’s army would be aided by people’s uprisings in the town centers and cities.

*Combination of army regularization and insurrectionism.* The so-called line of strategic counter-offensive (SCO) and that of Red Area-White Area (RAWA) coincided with the notion of hastening the advance or victory of the revolution through the combination of army regularization and urban insurrection.

*Neglect of education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM).* The Party education department was dissolved in 1982 and education in MLM was abandoned. The eclectic subjectivists denigrated the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideological line and the political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. Some withdrew from criticizing modern revisionism and social imperialism in their desire to get military aid from the Soviet Union, some adhered to the theory of dependent capitalism, some wanted to mimic the model of armed insurrection in Central America, some continued to be influenced by the Trotskyite underrating of the peasants and some were carried away by Gorbachov’s “new thinking.”

### ***B. Errors of “Left” opportunism: strategic counteroffensive***

The Party central leadership put forward the “Left” opportunist line in 1980 that “the strategic counteroffensive (SCO),” which it considered the last phase of the strategic defensive, was at hand. It proposed to maximize guerrilla warfare, develop regular mobile warfare and regularize the people’s army. This ignored the need to fully develop the early phase of the strategic defensive and also leaped over a probable middle phase. It did not develop nationwide guerrilla platoons as strike forces with a sound mass base, as demonstrated in Samar as early as 1976 onward.

*Regularization and Verticalization.* Not to be outdone in hastiness and overreaching, the Mindanao Commission decided to verticalize and regularize the guerrilla forces (previously divided into main guerrilla units of platoons and oversized platoons and secondary guerrilla units of platoons, squads and armed propaganda teams) into 15 or more concentrated guerrilla companies under several layers of command and staff. This was done despite the earlier decision of the CC to dissuade the Eastern Visayas Party Committee from forming companies and battalions in 1980.

*RAWA Strategic Line.* The so-called Red Area-White Area (RAWA) strategic line misled the Party in Mindanao. It called for the armed city partisans, the urban-based mass organizations and the spontaneous masses to undertake a series of people’s strikes and eventually carry out the urban armed uprising as the politico-military lead factor of the revolution. The NPA was regarded as a purely military force secondary in importance to the armed city uprising. Popoy Lagman also advocated armed urban insurrection but obscured it by paying lip service to people’s war until he left the Party in 1992 by declaring autonomy.

*1985 CC Plenum’s full support of SCO.* The SCO continued to fuel the impatient desire to overreach and disregard objective conditions until it was repudiated by the central leadership in 1990. There was no prompt and correct handling of the wrong line of RAWA which led to failures and the Apos Campaign. The formula of regularization and insurrection was even allowed to proliferate to various regions.

*The 1986 election boycott.* This was a “Left” opportunist error as it presumed that the Party itself was involved

in the issue of boycott or participation; and it made no distinction between the Party and the legal democratic forces and the masses in the antifascist movement. The Party has always boycotted or has not participated in reactionary elections; but in line with the united front policy, it does not prevent progressive forces from using elections to conduct propaganda and alliances with other forces. It was erroneous for the Party to separate itself from the majority of the masses in the antifascist movement and totally concede them to the yellow group of Aquino. The boycott policy was merely a tactical error; not strategic because it did not last and did not bring about great damage on the revolutionary movement, unlike RAWA and the Aghos campaign.

*Continuing desire for insurrection.* After the fall of Marcos in 1986, the insurrectionists in the Manila-Rizal Party Committee, a member of the Political Bureau and the bearers of the RAWA line continued to hope for another EDSA-like uprising. Popoy Lagman always insisted that making enough provocation could ignite a massive uprising. Ric Reyes made autonomous decisions in spreading such reformist ideas and schemes as the people's agenda of the so-called multi-sectoral peace advocates; and multi-lateral peace negotiations that upon Aquino's rejection would ignite an insurrection. The mimickers of the Central American insurrection model did not stop dreaming of igniting insurrection.

*Urban basing.* Some Party central organs and the so-called general command of the NPA took to urban-basing supposedly because of the facility of communications as well as of the need to monitor the contradictions among the reactionary factions and also the masses; and the need to wait for the eruption of an insurrection. These notions and practices led to frequent arrests in the national capital region from 1988 to 1990.

*Setbacks and the Aghos Campaign in Mindanao.* Until three to five full companies were built in Mindanao, the NPA made successful tactical offensives against the enemy from 1981 to 1983. But after more companies were formed, the problems of being divorced from the masses, erosion of the mass base, depletion of supplies, basing of leading organs in urban centers up to Cebu City outside the region. As a result, enemy attacks against them were successful both in the countryside and the urban centers. Instead of analyzing and correcting their errors, the Party and NPA leadership blamed "deep penetration agents" as the cause of setbacks and carried out the Aghos campaign from 1985 to 1987.

*Setbacks and witch hunts elsewhere.* In other parts of the country at various times, from the 1980s up to 1991, errors of "Left" opportunism arose and bore debacles and often in witch hunts and suspicions of deep-penetration agents (DPAs) causing these. Not as widespread as in Mindanao, these occurred in some parts of Negros and Leyte in 1985-87, Manila-Rizal (the so-called June breakthrough and Olympia) in 1988, Southern Tagalog (Oplan Missing Link) also in 1988, the Cordilleras (base defense policy) and Ilocos ("expansion by fire") both in 1988-89, Cagayan Valley in 1991 and Central Luzon ("play to win" strategy) also in 1991.

In Negros and Leyte, the forces became over-stretched in a few offensives and when the enemy launched effective counteroffensives, the leadership launched an anti-informer campaign. The Popoy Lagman leadership made armed provocations during mass actions and in communities. When the enemy retaliated and its effects were felt, Popoy made hysterical accusations against DPAs allegedly among the ranks. At the same time, hysteria occurred in the regions of Manila-Rizal and Southern Tagalog due to the capture of the members of the NPA general command in Metro Manila in 1988-89. Simultaneous to this was the desire of the Southern Tagalog Party leadership to ferret out the informers that wrought damage to the region since the 1970s. The failure of the "base defense" and "expansion by fire" policies in Northern Luzon eventually turned into accusations and the search for informers. The "Left" "play to win" decision of the Central Luzon leadership was overtaken by the Rectification Movement.

### **C. Errors of right opportunism**

*New Katipunan Concept.* The Right opportunist concept of New Katipunan was put forward in 1980 mainly by those who would later call themselves "popular democrats." It was embodied in a proposed new draft of the NDFP program in 1982. It sought to liquidate or take out the leading role of the working class and the Party in the united front, supposedly in order to attract more people to the NDFP. It proposed the recycling of the old democratic revolution and the rejection of the vanguard role of the Party. Some "Left" opportunists also proposed making the united front the vanguard force, as practiced by some movements in Central America.

*Electoral Boycott Policy.* The Right opportunists and the New Katipunan concept had little or no ground at all in the Party while the people's war raged against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. But after the fall of Marcos in 1986, the Right opportunists insisted on the electoral boycott policy of 1986 as a strategic error brought about by Leftism to justify their legalist and reformist line. To cover up their far more grievous erroneous line and resultant

crimes in Mindanao, the “Left” opportunists agreed with the Right opportunists to castigate the electoral boycott policy as the worst error ever in CPP history. This was their stepping stone to swing to the Right.

*Swing from “Left” to Right.* The strong swing of the “Left” opportunists to the Right came with their dismay over the futility of the nationally coordinated offensives of mere harassment operations in 1987, the failure to import weapons and the arrest of their key leaders. They swung towards the Right as the Right opportunists accepted and cheered the anti-communist policies of Gorbachov from 1988 onward. The Right opportunists banded together grouplets calling themselves popular democrats, liberal communists (revisionists) and democratic socialists (Trotskyites) who used Left phrasemongering against the CPP to justify their Rightist position. They used certain NGOs and foreign funding for their own purposes.

*Negotiations and agreement on ceasefire.* In June 1986, the Party decided to have a ceasefire should Aquino make a declaration to end the US military bases. Although Aquino made no such declaration, the negotiations and agreement on ceasefire that were riddled both with errors and Rightist provisions still proceeded due to the insistence of pro-Right members of the Political Bureau (Ric Reyes and Benjie de Vera). De Vera claimed that the national ceasefire was the solution to the enemy offensives in Mindanao that in fact became effective only because of the earlier Left opportunist line.

*Ultra-reformist scheme of Ric Reyes.* In 1990 Reyes made decisions all by himself in the name of the Political Bureau to put the NDF under what he called the anti-imperialist democratic front. He wished to band into this the NDF, the legal progressive forces and some reactionary forces supposedly to challenge Aquino to agree to a people’s agenda and if not, an uprising larger than that of EDSA in 1986 would occur. He campaigned further to have multilateral negotiations between the Aquino government and all its opponents. He wished to mix the NDF with the MNLF, RAM and others.

*Gorbachovism in Ang Bayan.* In 1990 Ric Reyes and his colleagues brought out a few editions of Ang Bayan praising Gorbachov and his supposed new thinking. This was the period when Gorbachov already became openly an anti-communist, and he wished to turn the revisionist party and other revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe into social-democratic ones. This was already the period of the complete restoration of capitalism.

*Grouplets of hardcore opportunists banded to oppose the SGRM.* Despite their varied positions and groupings, the grouplets of Right opportunists united against the Party and declared themselves rejectionists against the Second Great Rectification Movement, which was launched by the Party on December 26, 1991. They were in turn called contras by the proletarian revolutionaries. They intensified their wrecking operations within the Party and sought to use the bourgeois mass media against the Party. They called the Party Stalinist in order to capitalize on the wave of anti-communism as a result of the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries.

#### **D. Organizational errors**

*Bureaucratism.* While in certain leading positions in the Party during the 1980-1991 period, the “Left” opportunists and the Right opportunists both violated the principle of democratic centralism by practicing bureaucratism (all centralism without democracy) and lording over independent kingdoms. The “Left” opportunists were commandists inside and outside of the people’s army and non-army organizations which they lorded over. As they created staffs and departments, they considered these as machinery independent of the Party.

The Right opportunists created staffs and NGOs and acted like bosses to employees. They operated through so-called political officers who lorded over mass organizations and discouraged initiative and growth of Party membership at the grassroots level.

*Ultra-Democracy.* But the opportunists practiced ultra-democracy (anarchy or democracy without centralism) when they opposed the ideological and political line of the Party, the Central Committee and other leading organs and put forward their erroneous lines. They advocated the freedom of factions within the Party and said they did not recognize the authority of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee because they were waiting for the next Party Congress to come.

*Liquidationism.* The opportunists engaged in liquidationism. They wanted to liquidate the ideological, political and organizational line and therefore the entire existence of the Party. They took away from the Party personnel, properties and certain organizational units and turned them against the Party. They did the worst in the national capital region, in Negros island and in Central Mindanao.

#### **II. The second great rectification movement**

To criticize, repudiate and rectify the errors from 1980 to 1992, the Second Great Rectification Movement

reaffirmed ten principles concerning 1. the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, 2. the anti-revisionist line, 3. the character of Philippine society, 4. the general line of the revolution, 5. the Party as vanguard, 6. the people's war, 7. the united front, 8. democratic centralism, 9. the socialist future and 10. proletarian internationalism.

1. *Uphold the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.* To combat subjectivism of the dogmatic empiricist type, the Party promoted the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method through the study and application of the materialist-scientific outlook, materialist dialectics and class analysis. These are applied in the study of Philippine history and current circumstances, in social investigation and in the assessment and evaluation of work and mass struggle. They are applied in the formal study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels, which are being promoted by the Party.

2. *Pursue the anti-revisionist line consistently.* The Party had to refresh the minds of the Party rank and file about modern revisionism and to renew the anti-revisionist struggle because the "Left" opportunists wished since the early 1980s to cast away the criticism of Soviet revisionism and social imperialism in the hope of getting military assistance, because the Right opportunists were impressed by the Dengist and Gorbachovite counter-revolutions and because the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries in the years of 1989-1991 required an explanation.

3. *Confront the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society.* The Party clarified that it is one thing to say that the capitalist commodity mode of production had prevailed in Philippine economy since the 19th century and another thing to say or insinuate that the Philippines is already industrial-capitalist and has no need for the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in protracted people's war. The Philippines is still agrarian and semifeudal economically and is under the indirect rule of the US politically.

4. *Carry out the general line of new democratic revolution.* The Party stressed the general line of new democratic revolution in order to fight and defeat the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The toiling masses of the people and the middle social strata are the motive forces of the revolution and the big compradors and landlords and their imperialist masters are their adversaries.

5. *Build the Party as the vanguard force of the proletariat and people.* The Party must be built as the vanguard or leading force of the proletariat and people in the Philippine revolution. It represents the working class as the leading class. In the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, the working class is the leading class and no longer the bourgeoisie even if the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie can still be revolutionary allies.

6. *Wage the protracted people's war and carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever-widening and deepening mass base.* Build the people's army and wage the protracted people's war in order to smash the reactionary state with the people's democratic state. The people's war is carried out in stages. At present, intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare is carried out on the basis of an ever-widening and deepening mass base.

7. *Pursue the revolutionary class line in the united front.* Under the leadership of the working class and its Party, the basic alliance in the revolution is that of the working class and peasantry which comprise more than 90 percent of the people. Add to this alliance the urban petty bourgeoisie in order to make the alliance of progressive forces. Add to this progressive alliance the middle bourgeoisie in order to make the alliance of the patriotic forces. Take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. A broad united front may be formed to include some of the reactionaries against the worst ones or against a foreign aggressor.

8. *Follow the line of democratic centralism.* This is the organizational principle of the Party: centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. The essence of the principle is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong. This guides the procedural rules, such as the individual being subordinate to the collective, the minority to the majority and the lower organ and organization to the higher one. There is both discipline and freedom within the Party. Bureaucratism, ultra-democracy, factionalism and liquidationism are not allowed.

9. *Look forward to the socialist revolution.* Upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the socialist revolution can commence under the continuing leadership of the working class and the Party. It becomes possible because proletarian dictatorship is at the core of the people's democratic state and because the commanding heights of the economy, politics and culture are already in the hands of the working class as the agency for socialist revolution and construction in transition to communism.

10. *Carry out the Philippine revolution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.* Every stage of the Philippine revolution is carried out not only to serve the Filipino working class and people but also to serve the working class and entire people of the world. The Party, the proletariat and people must always strive to contribute what it can to the strengthening and advance of the anti-imperialist struggles of the people and the world proletarian revolution.

### **III. Revitalization of the party and the revolutionary movement**

*Revitalization of the Party and Revolutionary Movement.* The Second Great Rectification Movement saved the Party and the revolutionary movement from the damage wrought by the major ideological, political and organizational errors since 1980 and from the wrecking operations done by the incorrigible opportunists and renegades when they opposed the SGRM. Consequently, the Party and the revolutionary forces became revitalized when the unhealthy elements were removed or dropped out. The Party became stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally.

*NPA Reoriented, Reorganized and Redeployed.* The Party reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the New People's Army. The people's army renewed its resolve to carry out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever-widening and deepening mass base. The minimum and maximum programs were according to the circumstances. The greatly eroded mass base was expanded by forming the organs of political power and the mass organizations and mobilizing the masses for their own benefit.

*United Front Strengthened.* The antifeudal united front in the countryside was strengthened to serve as the base of the national united front. All types of alliances were strengthened: the basic alliance of workers and peasants, the alliance of progressive forces, the alliance of patriotic forces and the broad united front to include unstable allies against the enemy. Under the united front policy, the Party was able to arouse and mobilize the people in their millions from year to year.

### **IV. Further degeneration of the contras**

What happened to the incorrigible opportunists and renegades? They degenerated further.

“Left” opportunists

1. *Rolly Kintanar.* He was regarded as overall military leader of the contras. He joined the Intelligence Service of the AFP through his general uncle. He was able to get gun permits from the Philippine National Police for a private security agency to act as guards of government buildings and as bodyguards and contract killers for reactionary politicians in Cebu and Mindanao. He openly swore allegiance to the Lakas-NUCD party before the 1998 presidential elections and became exposed as a double agent after the elections when he emerged as an appointee to the TESDA by incoming president Estrada from the opposition.

2. *Popoy Lagman and ABB (Alex Boncayao Brigade).* He surrendered to the Ramos regime through Navy intelligence in 1994. The ABB continued to be known as the armed gang of Bukluran ng mga Manggagawang Pilipino [Alliance of Filipino Workers] and Sanlakas [United Strength] but operated as a criminal gang in the hire of reactionary politicians. It came completely under the control of Nilo de la Cruz after his split with Popoy Lagman over the Amari real estate company payola (bribe) for the eviction of the urban poor on Freedom Island. Popoy Lagman was executed by the ABB according to ABB insiders.

3. *Tabara and RPA.* The RPA became a rabid anti-NPA force in Negros island and became practically a private army of Danding Cojuangco to guard his haciendas. The chieftain Arturo Tabara had joined the ISAFP as early as 1988. In 1999 he and Nilo de la Cruz appeared on TV with Estrada to announce their sham peace (surrender) agreement with the reactionary government. Their armed group openly became a paramilitary group in the pay of the reactionary state.

4. *Popular Democrats.* They supported the presidential team of Salonga and Estrada in the elections of 1992. They used as their base the foreign-funded PRRM and maintained close relations with Estrada who was elected vice president in 1992 and president in 1998.

5. *Liberal “Communists” and Gorbachovites.* Those who called themselves “liberal communists” in 1992 (sometimes called Gorbachovites by others) formed Siglaya. They pose as anti-imperialists in the first half of their articles and then in the second half asks for compromise and reforms from the imperialists and their puppets. They engage in NGO racketeering and discredit other NGOs as controlled by a “Stalinist” party. The worst of them have been saying since the time of Ramos that the issue of national sovereignty is passe in view of “free market” globalization. They struck it rich when they formed the Akbayan with the clerico-fascists who call themselves social democrats. They are now in high positions in the Aquino regime and are wallowing in corruption in the

Anti-Poverty Commission, Human Rights Commission and other offices.

6. *Trotskyites*. The hardcore Trotskyites have been hyperactive in mass movements to oppose an incumbent president like Arroyo. But so far they have failed to get any high position from the Aquino regime. Their own liberal and neoliberal allies badmouth them as cranks without any mass following.

7. *Urban Insurrectionists*. While they were still in the Party, the advocates of the RAWA line of armed urban insurrection and the crypto-Trotskyite idea of armed insurrection in Manila never produced any urban armed insurrection. After being driven out of the Party, they never made such an insurrection but instead happily joined the ruling system. The same thing happened to those who advocated other types of insurrection, like Taning.

#### ***V. Current outlook of the CPP and the revolutionary movement***

*CPP Outlook and Strategic Plan*. The CPP is confident of overcoming the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan with the use of revolutionary armed struggle and the united front as weapons. It has a comprehensive strategic plan to advance the strategic defense to the strategic stalemate. The plan includes raising the Party membership to 250,000, the number of NPA fighters with high-powered rifles to 25,000, the eventual coverage of all rural congressional districts by 180 guerrilla fronts and the further growth of the organs of political power and mass organizations.





The struggle against modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union since the 1950s and bred subsequently in the Philippines by the Lava revisionist renegades was a crucial component of the process of rebuilding the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The lead document in the struggle is the "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," which is incorporated in *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution, 1968-72*. It is further developed in this book, *Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism, 1969 to 1974*, which criticizes and repudiates the revisionist line of the Lava group and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

*Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism* is the direct and inseparable companion book of *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*. It focuses on the revisionism of the Lava group and its most ebullient agent William Pomeroy. It further deals with the reformism and opportunism of other groups.

The period covered is from 1969 to 1974, the year when the Lava revisionist renegades openly capitulated to the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Members of the Lava family determined the ideological and political line of the revisionist party even when they were not formally the principal leaders.

With their open capitulation to Marcos in 1974, the Lava revisionist renegades and their party practically committed political suicide and became totally discredited. The capitulation actually occurred secretly as early as 1971 when the revisionist party and the Marcos fascist regime made a deal to collaborate and effect the release of Lavaite political prisoners. For the duration of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the Lavaite revisionist party justified its collaboration with the fascist regime by claiming that this was a representative of the national bourgeoisie seeking "national industrialization" against US-led "neocolonial industrialization." It also praised as "progressive" the regime's opening of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

In fact, it was the US that instigated and propped up the Marcos fascist dictatorship, a rule of open terror by a clique of bureaucrat capitalists and their big comprador partners. These engaged mainly in graft-ridden infrastructure projects, financed through foreign loans and supplied by multinational firms with construction equipment and structural steel. The US allowed its puppets to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and to access oil therefrom when the global "oil crisis" was running high.

The struggle against revisionism, reformism and opportunism resulted in great revolutionary victories, such as the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the subsequent continuous growth in strength and advance of the people's democratic revolution through people's war.

The deep-seated anti-revisionist education of the Filipino proletarian revolutionaries served to protect the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement from discouragement when the Chinese Communist Party no less turned revisionist and took the capitalist road in the Dengist counter-revolution against the Maoists in the latter half of the 1970s.

Out of disgust for the Dengists in China in the early 1980s, certain cadres of the CPP were impressed with the advance of Soviet military strength and with Soviet support for national liberation movements in Africa and wished to avail of direct and indirect Soviet military assistance.

But because of their deep-seated anti-revisionist education, the most mature leaders of the CPP never lost sight of the fact that the Philippine revisionist party had preempted party-to-party relations with the Soviet Union and were mindful also of the fact that relations with the Soviet party did not make the Philippine revisionist party revolutionary but even more counterrevolutionary and rabidly opposed to the people's war.

The attempt to avail of Soviet military assistance for the Philippine revolution through the National Democratic Front of the Philippines did not succeed and was overtaken by the events of 1989 to 1991 which saw social turmoil in China, the disintegration of revisionist regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Since then, the deep-seated education against revisionism, reformism and opportunism has once more fortified the CPP and the revolutionary movement against the powerful propaganda offensive of the imperialist powers and various types of petty bourgeois anti-communists declaring the cause of scientific socialism as hopeless and that history cannot go any farther than capitalism and liberal democracy.

After more than three decades of dominance since the 1980s, the neoliberal economic policy propagated by the US and other imperialist powers is now totally bankrupt and is generating an ever worsening crisis of global capitalism. The broad masses of the people are resisting the escalation of exploitation and oppression in both the imperialist and non-imperialist countries.

The crisis is comparable to the Great Depression of the 1930s in terms of the severity of social costs, the intensification of major contradictions in the world, the growing propensity of the imperialist powers for aggression, the rise of revolutionary wars and resurgence of the movements of peoples and nations for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

*Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism* is instructive both for historical study and for enhancing the current revolutionary struggles of the people against imperialism and all reaction. Continuous education against revisionism, reformism and opportunism firms up the revolutionary resolve and invigorates the revolutionary militancy of the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the working class, and the rest of the people.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
July 30, 2013

# ***Celebrate the Historic Leadership of the Working Class in the Philippine Revolution***

December 26, 2013

---

For a long time, since the emergence of the working class in some industries in the second half of the 19th century, we can celebrate many victories of this class stemming from their work, struggle and sacrifices. However due to the limited time in this forum, I can only narrate briefly the development of the working class. My advice to all who would like to further study the history of the working class democracy is for them to read my article on it in the book *Struggle for National Democracy*, Manila, Amado V. Hernandez Foundation, 2001, p.89-104; and also its link with the Communist International in the development of the Communist Party in the book *Crisis of Imperialism and People's Resistance*, Aklat ng Bayan, 2009, p.236-59.

## ***1. Short history of the working class***

The industrial workers started from the status of individuals offering their labor power to capitalists that bought this at values pressed down and thus increase their profit.

The payment or wage set by the capitalist is a small part of the entire value of the commodity created by the workers. A far greater part of the value of the newly created commodity is appropriated by the capitalist to extract profit and pay the land rent and interest on bank loans.

To fight for the improvement of their wage and living conditions in an organized way, the workers learned to form unions for economic struggle at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1930, they reached the stage of forming a party upholding the leadership of the working class and aiming to change the ruling social system through political struggle against the exploitative capitalist class.

This was the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands. It did not take long before the US colonial government suppressed this Party. It was made illegal on the accusation of sedition and its leaders punished. The Party operated secretly and the related unions took caution. However, the Socialist Party operated legally based on the masses of peasants and farm workers. The Communist Party was made legal in 1937 when the Commonwealth government due to the need for the Popular Front against fascism. The US government acceded.

In 1938, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party merged. This strengthened the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. With the Japanese fascist aggression in 1941-42, the merger party formed the Anti-Japanese People's Army (Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon/Hukbalahap) on March 29, 1942. The inter-imperialist war became a good opportunity for strengthening the workers' party. The people's army and the mass organizations and organs of political power. However, the merger party leadership committed a series of serious errors.

The Right opportunist line of retreat for defense was implemented. The squadrons were divided up into small teams thus slowing the advance of the people's army. This was followed by the line of friendly welcome for the return of US imperialism for this to fulfill the promise to grant national independence to the Philippines. This was indeed granted but it was fake; the Philippines was made a neocolony and US dominance over the puppet government remained in the economic, political, military and cultural fields.

The US and its puppets violently took back the lands of the landlords from the peasants who took these over during the war. The masses wished to rebel. However, the leaders of the party rode on this by implementing the "Left" opportunist line of all-out offensive against the enemy to win victory merely within two months; failing to take into account the necessity of protracted people's war that attends not only to military offensives but also to the agrarian revolution and building the mass base in the countryside.

After the series of people's army offensives in August 1949, the enemy countered with offensives in the countryside and the city. The people's army camps in the Sierra Madre were isolated and the party leadership in Manila was captured in October. The armed struggle took a slide until the enemy broke its spine. The leadership that took over from the previous one carried a Right opportunist line that resulted in its orders to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the Party branches and organs under a hiding Party general secretary in 1957.

Apart from/Independent of the old party, the proletarian revolutionaries started to form study groups on Marxism-Leninism in 1959 and undertake propaganda and mass actions among the students and workers. In 1961,

they launched a huge mass action against anticommunism. In 1962, a few of them joined the old party. They discovered that the Party had no branches and organs. Nonetheless, I was immediately included in the executive committee considered as the seed for renewed party building.

The proletarian revolutionaries were the ones who produced new cadres and members for the old party and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, and youth. Within the expanded executive committee, the conflict between the proletarian revolutionaries and the revisionists; and both sides expelled each other in 1966. In May 1967, the proletarian revolutionaries issued a declaration expelling the revisionists.

## ***II. Victories of the working class in leading the Philippine revolution***

The separation of the revisionist party was a big victory for the working class. A thoroughgoing rectification movement was undertaken to criticize and repudiate new revisionism and subjectivist and opportunist errors of the revisionists since the latter part of 1942. Today we call this the First Great Rectification Movement. It stressed the building of the revolutionary party, the people's army and the revolutionary united front. It opened the way for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968.

Simultaneous to the rectification movement was the framing of the Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. The writing of the book *Philippine Society and Revolution* followed in 1969. These documents clarified and set the leadership of the working class in the Philippine revolution in the current period. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was applied on the history and circumstances of the Filipino people. The Party proved itself as the advanced detachment of the working class and as the most productive and progressive class in society.

The Party set the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Its objective is to win and complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords. Thus, would the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions be ended and the road to socialist revolution and construction be opened. At every opportunity and in various ways, the Party and other revolutionary forces arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people.

The Party successfully implemented the leadership of the working class in the democratic revolution in firm alliance with the peasantry through the revolutionary armed struggle, implementation of genuine land reform and expansion and consolidation of the mass base in the countryside. Under the leadership of the working class and its party, the New People's Army grew in number and strength from almost nothing and from being weak in 1969. The agrarian revolution in two stages (minimum and maximum) was undertaken.

With the leadership of the working class through the Party, the National Democratic Front (NDF) was established in 1973. It is a framework for uniting the organizations of the working class and peasantry with various organizations of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the multisectoral organizations of the people. While the NDF is a united front of progressive forces, it is always open to patriotic alliance with the national or middle bourgeoisie. It is also prepared to go into temporary and unstable alliance with parts of the reactionary classes to hasten the isolation and defeat of the enemy, the worst reactionaries.

The working class and its Party are able to advance the revolution by carrying the program of national freedom and democratic power of the toiling masses, genuine land reform and national industrialization; social justice; national, scientific and mass culture; proletarian internationalism and solidarity with peoples of all countries. This is the program of the Filipino people against the enemy state that is the instrument of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The ruling classes still prevail through violence and deception; and the support of US imperialism. Marcos imposed fascist dictatorship in the country for a long time. But the revolutionary movement further strengthened itself. The Filipino working classes and people prevailed upon and overthrew the dictatorship. Regimes pretending to be democratic but in fact similar to the Marcos regime followed. These still use violence against the toiling masses. In spite of all these, the people's revolutionary movement continued to grow under the leadership of the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. At another turn in 2001, one regime was overthrown and the succeeding regime was almost overthrown.

In the years 1989-91, the revisionist ruled countries ran into trouble. These countries became openly and thoroughly capitalist and the Soviet Union collapsed. The imperialists and their puppets gloated that socialism is dead and the revolutionary movement in the Philippines would also wither away supposedly due to lack of support

from abroad. The Philippine revolutionaries laughed off the claims of the counterrevolutionaries; for the fact is the CPP was reestablished and remained firm on the line of struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The revolutionary movement is deeply rooted among the toiling masses and remain seriously in their struggle.

The Right and “Left” opportunists also attempted to liquidate the Party and the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-ism. They secretly attempted to do so since 1988 and exposed themselves completely from 1992 onward. As early as 1980, they united on the subjectivist position that the Philippines is no longer semifeudal supposedly because fascist Marcos had industrialized it. They committed grievous errors in line throughout the decade of the 1980s. The “Left” opportunists sought to “regularize” the people’s army and follow urban insurrectionism, contrary to the line of protracted people’s war. The Right opportunists sought to liquidate the leadership of the working class and to simply ride on the line of the anti-Marcos reactionaries. The Party launched the Second Great Rectification Movement in 1992. It fought for the line of people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. It defeated the subjectivists and opportunists. Eventually the most rabid of these exposed themselves as agents of counter-revolution and the reactionary parties.

In 45 years of revolutionary struggle under working class leadership, the Party strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. From 80 members and candidate members in 1968, the Party today counts more than a hundred thousand members covering almost all provinces and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. The New People’s Army from a few Red fighters with nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior guns has grown to thousands of Red fighters armed with powerful guns and is supported by tens of thousands of militia forces and hundreds of thousands self-defense unit membership. The NPA today cover more than 110 guerrilla fronts covering wide swathes of 71 provinces.

The NDF is led by the working class through its Party. It ranges over 17 revolutionary forces. These include the Party, the New People’s Army, the Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions, National Association of Peasants, Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth), Cordillera People’s Democratic Front, Christians for National Liberation, Association of Patriotic Teachers, Patriotic Government Employees, Patriotic Health Association, League of Scientists for the People, Federation of Labor Organizations, Council of Lawyers for the People, Moro Revolutionary Organization for Liberation, Revolutionary Organization of Lumads, and Compatriots.

The People’s Democratic Government exists in all guerrilla fronts. It is the totality of local organs of democratic power. It is led by the Party and the working class. It is supported by mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and children. Assisting the local organs of democratic power are the committees on organization, education, land reform, production, health, defense, culture and others. The committees ensure that tasks and campaigns are launched for the welfare of the people.

Currently, the Party is pursuing the plan to advance the people’s war from the strategic defensive towards the strategic stalemate. It is carrying out the political, military and socioeconomic requirements such as: expanding Party membership to 250,000; increasing Red fighters to 25,000, increasing guerrilla fronts to 180; and the number of mass organization membership into millions upon millions with bigger numbers of the masses covered by the organs of democratic power; implementation of the agrarian revolution and improvements on production, livelihood, health and culture.

### ***III. Favorable conditions for the advance of the Philippine revolution***

The crisis of the world capitalist system protracts and worsens. Proven totally bankrupt is the neoliberal economic policy that sped up the accumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy. The imperialist powers cannot solve the crisis of overproduction and overaccumulation of capital because they refuse to get rid of the neoliberal policy and because they continue to grab huge profits by passing on the burden of the intensifying crisis on to the toiling classes and the third world countries.

Depression is deepening throughout the world. The degree of exploitation and oppression continues to escalate. The suffering of the toiling people and the middle social strata continues to intensify. The people’s suffering is a bad thing. But this is what moves them to fight their exploiters and oppressors. The ruling classes are themselves pushing the toilers to wage revolutions.

Now, we can say that the crisis favorable for the revolution. Explosions of mass protests and strikes are widening and more frequent, the anti-imperialist and socialist movement is being enlivened and the numbers of those desiring revolution, especially in under-developed and poor countries, are increasing. The imperialists and their puppets can no longer boast that revolution and socialism are dead as a result of their claimed effective

cure—that is the neoliberal policy—to economic and social problems.

Focusing on the Philippines, income from exports of raw materials and semimanufactures are down, while expenses for imports of manufactures and semimanufactures are up. Mining and other extractive industries proliferate but the real quantity of the minerals mined is not revealed and smuggled out. The government budget and external trade deficits are increasing, thus the debt burden is also increasing. Taxes and the price of social services are rising. But these come with the wastage and embezzlement of the people's national wealth in nonproductive and ineffective programs and projects, in corruption through the pork barrel system, in huge military spending and growing debt interest and amortization.

Despite all these, the Aquino regime boasts of growth in the Philippine economy. But the supposed economic growth come from so-called hot money or portfolio investments that come and go to and from the stock market and the money markets and pushes speculation in private construction and consumerism among the tiny upper rung of the population. Due to the absence of genuine land reform and national industrialization, the Philippines remain underdeveloped and poor. Unemployment, wage decreases and rising prices of basic commodities and services are worsening rapidly.

Due to the global capitalist crisis, there is a big employment downturn for migrant labor in other countries. The permanent crisis of the Philippines has worsened due to the global capitalist crisis. The ground for revolution is certainly growing ever more fertile in the Philippines. The organized forces of the revolution need only excel at strengthening themselves and fighting imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The Filipino people are very capable of winning the national-democratic stage of the Philippine revolution with the leadership of the working class. Thus, the socialist revolution can follow when the working class hold state power and much more capable of leading the Filipino people in socialist revolution and construction.

# ***The New Democratic Revolution through Protracted People's War***

**Lecture at the Forum for Liberation Theology, Center for Liberation Theologies, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium**

**May 15, 2014**

---

I thank the Center for Liberation Theologies for inviting me to this Forum for Liberation Theology to speak on the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It is an honor and pleasure for me to interface and dialogue with theologians and others who are seriously interested in knowing the nature and development of the Philippine revolution, and the relationship of Christians with the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation.

I wish to present my subject by using the following outline: 1. the old democratic revolution against Spanish colonialism and feudalism; 2. the new democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system; 3. the Christians for National Liberation; 4. the continuance of the new democratic revolution to the present.

## ***1. Old democratic revolution***

Spain was motivated by mercantilism and the desire to spread the Catholic Christian faith in imposing colonialism by force of arms on the people of the Philippine archipelago, effectively starting in 1565 after the expedition of Magellan in 1521. It used the sword and the cross to pacify the people. The conquistadores brutally suppressed those who resisted. The missionaries worked persuasively to bring the people under the bells of the Catholic church.

The Spanish colonialists could apply the divide and rule policy on a people that generally had pre-feudal autonomous small communities. The Islamic sultanates covered a small part of the archipelago, particularly in southwest Mindanao. The Muslims traded in other parts and began to spread their faith. But the success of Spanish colonialism cut them off from most of the archipelago.

The Spanish king rewarded the conquistadores by granting to them the encomiendas, large areas of land, which they were supposed to administer to make sure that the natives got their Christian catechism and paid tribute. The encomienda system, which involved slavery and all its brutal features previously denounced by Bartolome de las Casas in the Americas, would last for almost a century, and morphed into the system of feudal ownership of land by the friars and the native principales.

Spanish colonialism succeeded in maintaining a colonial system of government centralized in the walled city of Manila. It was enough to control entire municipalities with the use of Spanish friars in charge of the parishes and the Spanish military officer in charge of the civil guards. However, the people were never a totally conquered and pacified. The Moros in the south, Igorots in the north, and many hill tribes resisted subjugation until the end of Spanish colonialism. More than 200 revolts of varying scopes and intensity occurred in supposedly pacified provinces in more than 300 years preceding the Philippine revolution of 1896.

In the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade which lasted until 1815, the Spanish religious orders had a share of the boletas, cargo spaces in the ship, which the friars rented out to merchants. The income was supposedly for obras pias (pious works) but was large enough to capitalize the establishment of a bank, the Monte de Piedad. The galleon trade was basically trade between Chinese porcelain and silk, and Mexican silver, with the Chinese buying Philippine rice and cotton.

When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, the direct trade between the Philippines and Europe accelerated and expanded. The Spanish religious orders expanded their landholdings arbitrarily, especially in the Tagalog areas of Luzon, in order to produce export crops, including sugar, copra, cocoa, tobacco, and hemp. Landholdings of native landlords for the production of staple food crops also expanded. The dispossessed peasants nationwide became restless.

Since the middle of the 19th century, a big number of native secular priests had been produced by the seminaries. They eventually demanded that they take over the parishes from the foreign missionaries, and that the latter stay in the convents of their religious orders. What arose as a secularization movement among secular priests



was condemned by the Spanish regular orders and the colonial government. A theocracy practically existed in the Philippines, with the church often more powerful than the governor generals who came and went in rapid succession.

When the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 occurred in a Spanish naval stockyard, the colonial and religious officials framed up and tried as instigators of the mutiny the known leaders of the secularization movement, secular priests Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora. They were sentenced to death by garrote and were executed in 1872. Their martyrdom galvanized for the first time the national sentiment of the Filipino people against the Spanish colonial authorities and the Spanish religious orders.

Before the 1880s, Filipino students in various professional courses (medical, legal, engineering, etc.) increased. Some of them who resented the authoritarian system in the Catholic schools left for Spain. They imbibed the influences of the French revolution and the Spanish enlightenment. They formed in Madrid the Propaganda Movement in the 1880s advocating such reforms as making the Philippines a regular province of Spain and letting the people enjoy democratic rights.

La Liga Filipina was established in Manila in 1892 to pursue the reforms advocated by the Propaganda Movement. The Spanish authorities arrested and exiled the leader Dr. Jose Rizal. The crackdown on La Liga Filipina inspired the formation of the Katipunan which vowed to rise up in arms for national independence from Spain. The Katipunan, led by Andres Bonifacio, launched a series of armed uprisings in Manila and its environs in 1896. Thus the Philippine democratic revolution started.

The guiding ideology was bourgeois liberal democratic. It called for national independence from Spanish colonialism and the end of feudalism, especially the dissolution of the friar estates. It was espoused by patriots and progressives among the workers, peasants, and the university-educated youth. They were strongly anti-clerical and were most averse to the friars of the religious orders and to the colonial officials. But they generally considered themselves Christians and called for a Filipino church. It may be said therefore that the Christians were on the opposing sides of revolution and counterrevolution.

The old democratic revolution of 1896 achieved national independence from Spanish colonialism in 1898. The Malolos Constitution of 1899 followed the template of the liberal democratic constitution. It provided for the separation of Church and State. But national independence was short-lived as US imperialism intervened and launched a war of aggression on 4 February 1899. The Constitutional provision on Church-State separation was then suspended for the duration of the war by the cabinet of the revolutionary government on the argument that the Filipino priests of the Catholic church were the most effective collectors of financial and other material resources for the revolution.

The revolutionary government had its own vicar general Rev. Gregorio Aglipay. He had been sent by the Spanish Bishop Nozaleda to offer a peace settlement to the revolutionary government. But instead he declared loyalty to the Philippine revolution and was appointed the vicar general. He considered the Philippine revolution a just war against colonial oppression and social injustice. He led a guerrilla force in his home province of Ilocos Norte to assault the US military garrison in Laoag. All Filipino secular priests in areas governed by the revolutionary forces declared their independence from the Spanish religious authorities, and of course from the colonial government.

As soon as they conquered the Philippines, the US colonial authorities moved to persuade the Catholic Church and the religious orders to replace the Spanish friars with Filipino secular priests in parishes, and to phase out gradually the Spanish friars in religious orders and schools with American or Irish priests. The Catholic church has remained dominant, with 85 percent of the population baptized by it.

The priests who followed the leadership of Aglipay established the Philippine Independent Church in 1902. This covers some 4 percent of the population. To this day, it is the largest Christian church outside of the Roman Catholic church. The US colonial period opened the way to the entry of various Protestant denominations that share among them some 5 percent of the population.

## ***II. New democratic revolution***

The US imperialists defeated the old democratic revolution mainly with the use of superior arms and extreme brutality. They massacred 10 percent or 700,000 of the Philippine population during the Filipino-American War which formally ended in 1902. They continued to inflict on the Filipino people another 800,000 death casualties up to 1915.

US imperialism had also a high capacity for deception. In the course of its war of aggression, it proclaimed a policy of benevolent assimilation to the revolutionary leaders and the people. It declared that it had no other aim but to further civilize and Christianize the people, and to teach them democracy for the purpose of self-rule. It used the language of bourgeois liberalism to co-opt the leadership of the revolution. The US established a colonial rule different from the old style colonialism of Spain involving sheer plunder. It represented a new kind of colonialism involving the extraction of superprofits through investments. It had the resources and the needs of monopoly capitalism. It expanded the plantations for export crops, opened the mines, and engaged in a limited amount of manufacturing. It established the public school system and improved the infrastructure for expanding domestic and foreign trade.

It has developed a semifeudal economic system among the natives since the first decade of the 20th century. The urban-based big compradors and the rural-based landlords have served as the ruling classes. They comprise fractions of 1 percent of the population. The size of the middle bourgeoisie has stagnated as a fraction of 1 percent and the urban petty bourgeoisie has grown to 8 percent. The industrial proletariat has risen from a small percentage to some 16-17 percent. The peasantry has gone down from a high of 90 percent to 75 percent.

The growth of the proletariat and the trade union movement paved the way for the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism in 1930. The US colonial regime tried to suppress this party as soon as it was established by imprisoning and exiling the leaders. But the Great Depression and the ever worsening social conditions goaded the workers and peasants to undertake strikes and mass protests.

After World War II broke out, the merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties and the mass movement built a people's army and local organs of political power, carried out land reform, and fought the Japanese invaders. After the war, the US and the local exploiting classes unleashed violent actions against the communists, the people's army, and the people, compelling them to fight back and declare an armed revolution.

In 1946, the US gave up direct colonial rule, granted nominal independence to the Philippines, and passed on functions of national administration to the politicians of competing factions of the local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords. Thus, the Philippines became a semicolony, with the US retaining its military bases, the property rights of its citizens and corporations, and its strategic dominance over the Philippine state, its economy, politics, culture, defense, and international relations.

The semifeudal economy persisted characterized by the exploitation of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, production of raw materials for export and import of manufactures mainly for consumption. Politics remained a revolving game for factions of the local exploiting classes. The dominant culture was a mixture and compromise of cultural imperialism and Christianity of the reactionary kind. The Philippine military continued its dependence on US indoctrination, planning, intelligence, and supply of war materiel. The Philippine government robotically followed US policy.

In the 1960s, the crisis of the Philippine ruling system worsened, with the exhaustion of the land frontier for peasant resettlement and the lack of industrial development causing mass unemployment and widespread poverty. The broad masses of the people called for fundamental social change to lift them from poverty and misery. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass movement grew. The Marcos regime became more violent in suppressing the mass movement and saw the conditions opportune for a fascist dictatorship.

The proletarian revolutionaries recognized the worsening social conditions and the need for an armed revolution. They separated from the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties in April 1966. They criticized, repudiated, and rectified the errors of this party. They reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines on 26 December 1968 under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They proclaimed the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. They organized the New People's Army on 29 March 1969 with the aim of overthrowing the big comprador-landlord government, and replacing it with a people's democratic government.

The Communist Party of the Philippines constituted itself as the advanced detachment of the proletariat — the leading class in the new democratic revolution and the consequent socialist revolution. It recruited its cadres and members from the ranks of workers and progressive youth activists who wished to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries. It deployed the proletarian revolutionaries to the countryside to arouse, organize and mobilize the peasantry as the main force of the revolution and as the inexhaustible support for the people's war. It

regarded the urban petty bourgeoisie a basic revolutionary force but no longer as the leading force as in the old democratic revolution. It also sought to win over the middle bourgeoisie on grounds of patriotism, despite the latter's distrust for the toiling masses.

The program of the new democratic revolution holds US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords as responsible for the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. In the political field, it demands national independence and democratic rights, including respect for civil liberties, the solution of the land problem, and the empowerment of the workers and peasants. In the economic field, it demands social justice and economic development through land reform and national industrialization. In the cultural field, it demands a patriotic, scientific, and pro-people system of education and culture. In foreign relations, it seeks solidarity and cooperation with all peoples and countries for peace and development.

All the demands in the program of the new democratic revolution uphold, defend and promote the national and democratic rights and interests of the entire Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, irrespective of their religious beliefs, their ethno-linguistic affinity, ancestry, color of skin, and gender. For emphasis, let me state that Christians and other religious believers, have the fundamental right to freedom of thought and belief. This right is clearly enshrined in the revolutionary constitution, the Guide to Establishing the People's Democratic Government.

The strategic line of protracted people's war, which involves encircling the cities by the revolutionary forces in the countryside, and accumulating strength here until conditions are ripe for seizing the cities, has been adopted by the CPP and the NPA for two reasons. First, it gives full play to the role of the peasants as main force of the democratic revolution. Second, it is the way to enable the people's army to grow from small to big and from weak to strong, and avoid being decisively destroyed in one uprising or one battle by a far superior enemy military force.

All forces of the new democratic revolution, including the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the revolutionary mass organizations, and the organs of democratic power, recognize that more than 90 percent of the population are Christians, and that the new democratic revolution cannot be won without the participation and support of the Christians. Thus, the Christians for National Liberation has been initiated to engage the Christians as such, and give full play to their participation and support in the Philippine revolution.

The CNL has played a highly significant role in promoting ecumenism by uniting within the revolutionary movement the faithfuls of the Roman Catholic Church, the Philippine Independent Church, and various Protestant denominations; by developing mutual understanding between Christians and Muslims; by opposing Christian chauvinism so-called and other un-Christian phenomena engendered by colonial history and continuing bigotry; and by realizing the dialogue and cooperation between religious believers and nonbelievers.

While guided by dialectical and historical materialism in their revolutionary practice, the communists in the Philippines have a high level of discipline, and code of social behavior. They respect freedom of conscience and do not impose their ideology on others. When others differ from them in opinion, they prefer to listen and learn first, and then patiently explain their side for the purpose of mutual understanding and cooperation.

They avoid deflection of the issues of national and social liberation towards a heated debate of religious issues above the social needs and demands of the people. But they happily welcome and agree with any attempt to develop the dialogue and cooperation between them and the Christians in their obedience to the second great commandment to love and serve the people in consonance with their love of God above all.

### ***III. Christians for National Liberation***

The Christians for National Liberation (CNL) was founded at the worship room of the Sampaloc University Center in Manila on 17 February, 1972 on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Fathers Gomez, Burgos and Zamora. Seventy-two revolutionary disciples of Christ gathered to bear the "cross of sacrifice" and raise the "red banner of revolution." They described themselves as a revolutionary organization of church people who had been challenged by social realities and their Christian faith to take part in the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and in accordance with the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. They adopted the battle cry, "Love your neighbor. Serve the people."

The founding process extended to the general assembly that was held at the Assumption Convent in Herran, Manila on 19-20 August 1972, a full month before the Marcos regime declared martial law and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. The nearly 250 delegates included priests, nuns, pastors, seminarians,

novices, and church militants involved in social action projects in urban and rural communities. They elected the National Executive Board of the CNL.

The CNL officers and members arose from and developed in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal or national democratic movement from the late 1960s to 1972. They were motivated by a high sense of patriotism sharpened by renewed studies of the Philippine revolution of 1896, the current dismal conditions, and the urgent need for continuing the Philippine revolution. They wanted to end the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. They wanted national and social liberation from the evils of foreign domination, domestic feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism. Like the rest of Filipino patriots and progressives, they were also inspired by the revolutionary resistance of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese people against the US war of aggression.

They were appalled and challenged by the ever worsening social crisis, the increasing violence of the Marcos regime towards mass protests, and apparent scheme of the regime to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. They deemed it necessary to fight for democracy not only in the sense of upholding civil and political liberties but also in realizing the substance of democracy through land reform for the benefit of the peasant majority of the people. They desired the end of the conditions of underdevelopment and the start of genuine development through land reform and national industrialization.

The Catholics, the members of the Philippine Independent Church, and the Protestants all used the Bible as the source of inspiration. They had their respective theological authorities to support their commitment to the cause of national and social liberation. Certainly, the Catholics found wider new ground in the documents of the Second Vatican Council. The book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paolo Freire became available in English translation in 1970, and influenced those who became members of the CNL. It was well ahead of the book *A Theology of Liberation* by Gustavo Gutierrez which was published in English by Orbis only in 1973. The book *Rules for Radicals* of Saul Alinsky also influenced those Christians who engaged in community work. The Filipino Redemptorist, Fr. Luis Hechanova advocated the *Theology of Struggle* and wrote a pamphlet on this.

The CNL departed from the conservative tradition and position of the institutional church and hierarchy. It called for the church of the people, especially for the poor, deprived, and oppressed. It propagated conscientization and preferential option for the poor. The lower clergy joined the CNL and consciously distanced themselves from the mindset and actuations of an institutional church that owns substantial land and stocks in major corporations, and that provides services mainly to the exploiting classes. In the shift from the Spanish to the US colonial period, the Catholic Church retained their property rights and gained capital for corporate investments from the sale of friar estates which came under the US-instituted land reform program.

The religious and church workers that comprised the CNL also differentiated themselves from the reformist tradition cultivated by the American Jesuits since the 1930s to propagate the social encyclicals of the church, advocate social reforms, and carry out social action with the objective of improving upon and preserving the ruling system, and preventing the communists from winning the people and taking power. The American Jesuit, Fr. Walter Hogan became prominent in the Philippines for establishing the Institute of Social Order, which trained the organizers of the Federation of Free Workers and the Federation of Free Farmers starting in the 1950s, in order to seize the initiative as the state cracked down on the suspected communist organizations of workers and peasants. They also pushed for the enactment of the Anti-Subversion Law to target suspected communists.

Special mention must be made of the Student Christian Movement of the Philippines, based in the state-owned University of the Philippines, in the university belt in Manila and the Protestant colleges and universities. It studied and published articles against US domination and the unjust social system in the Philippines. The Khi Rho, a militant Catholic youth and student organization, declared itself a national democratic organization. It promoted the line of the new democratic revolution not only in the Catholic schools and the National Union of Students of the Philippines but also worked to win over to the line such organizations as the Federation of Free Workers and Federation of Free Farmers. It actively opposed the rabid anti-communist line of Fr. Jose Blanco, S.J.

The officers and members of the CNL studied the documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines, especially the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and Amado Guerrero's Philippine Society and Revolution, and engaged the communists in dialogues for mutual understanding and cooperation in the social, economic, political, and cultural fields. The Christian side did not oblige the Communists to study Christian theology. Neither did the Communists oblige the Christians to study Marxism-Leninism. But certainly in the course of ever continuing dialogue, each side took interest in studying the principles of the other side, in appreciating the desire of

the other side to join the cause of national and social liberation, and in creating the bridge of cooperation.

The Communists learned more deeply than ever about the faith and good works of the Christians. They distinguished the good Christians from the bad ones among the exploiting classes, who used religion as an opium to delude themselves and the people. On the other hand, the Christians learned to appreciate materialist dialectics and class analysis as tools for understanding and solving social problems and for changing society. Many do so without having to give up their religious faith. Some priest friends of mine also said that they accepted historical materialism but not dialectical materialism.

When Marcos declared martial law on 21 September 1972, the CNL played an important role in opposing the fascist dictatorship and in providing refuge and facilities to many people, especially the activists, who were targeted for arrest and detention. They also helped families in asking the military for the whereabouts of people arrested and detained, and in providing humanitarian aid and legal counsel to those in need. They did so even as then Cardinal Rufino Santos supported the proclamation of martial law and declared that it be given a chance to carry out reforms.

The CNL joined the National Democratic Front of the Philippines when it was established on 24 April 1973 as a united front of patriotic and progressive forces committed to work for the unity of the broad masses of the Filipino people in fighting the US-directed Marcos fascist dictatorship. It cooperated with the organizations that sought its help. It deployed CNL members to strengthen the urban underground. It played a key role in encouraging and supporting the La Tondeña workers' strike in 1975, and the consequent nationwide wave of workers' strikes in 300 workplaces that extended up to 1976.

It authorized CNL members to work in the countryside in order to do religious work and mass work, or join the New People's Army and become spokespersons or communicators to the people. Many priests, nuns, pastors and seminarians became communists and even joined the NPA in the course of working with communists and Red fighters in serving the people and fighting the enemy. There is a long list of martyrs and heroes who were religious and chose to become revolutionary fighters. There is also long list of religious who became political prisoners.

In the broad united front of the religious promoted by the CNL, the secular priests in the Philippine Priests Incorporated and the Association of Major Religious Superiors made significant contributions to the people's struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Many social action centers of the Catholic Church adopted the national democratic orientation and enjoyed the support of Bishop Julio X. Labayen and Fr. Luis Hechanova, head and executive director of the National Secretariat of Social Action (NASSA). Bishop Labayen inspired and supported the Basic Christian Communities-Community Organizing which became targets of propaganda and physical attacks by the military minions of the fascist dictatorship.

Archbishop Jaime Sin took over the archdiocese of Manila when Cardinal Santos died in 1973. By then, human rights violations had become rampant and more bloody, with forced disappearances, torture, and extrajudicial killings victimizing oppositionists, trade unionists, and peasant leaders, who were affiliated with the church and who were not at all connected to the revolutionary movement. The CNL played a significant role in persuading Cardinal Sin and the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines to criticize the fascist regime and demand justice for the victims of human rights violations.

However, Cardinal Sin would only proclaim a policy of critical collaboration towards the Marcos fascist regime. This policy would come to an end only on 13 February 1986 when the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines issued a pastoral letter declaring the regime illegitimate and immoral after the farcical snap presidential election of 1986.

In accordance with their own respective reasons, the Catholic and other Christian churches, the conservative opposition forces, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the US, sections of the reactionary armed forces, the chambers of commerce and industry, and other forces, converged on the decision to overthrow the Marcos regime. The broad masses of the people carried out gigantic mass actions in the national capital region and in the provinces to put the fascist dictatorship to an end.

#### ***IV. Continuance of the new democratic revolution and people's war***

The downfall of the Marcos dictatorship did not result in the national and social liberation of the Filipino people. The ruling system of big compradors and landlords under US hegemony remained intact. From the monopoly of political power and bureaucratic loot, there was a swing back with a vengeance to the oligarchy of factions

competing for power and wealth, and masquerading as democracy. Every post-Marcos regime has been characterized by puppetry to US imperialism, collaboration with foreign and local exploiters, bureaucratic corruption, brutality, and gross human rights violations. It is therefore not surprising that the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces have persevered in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war, and that every post-Marcos regime has failed to destroy the armed revolutionary movement.

In the course of the struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship, a broad range of opposition forces had an understanding that, immediately after the overthrow of Marcos, there would be a peace agreement between the Manila government and the revolutionary forces represented by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. In accordance with such understanding, the revolutionary forces represented by the National Democratic Front of the Philippines discreetly reminded President Corazon Aquino of their willingness to negotiate an agreement for a just and lasting peace.

But Aquino was interested merely in a ceasefire agreement to allow her to consolidate her power. She had no interest in an agreement to address the roots of the armed conflict through basic social, economic, and political reforms. At any rate, the NDFP agreed with the Aquino regime in November 1986 to have a 60-day ceasefire to work out the agenda for substantive peace negotiations. Before the ceasefire agreement ran out, Aquino allowed her security forces to massacre peasant demonstrators in front of her palace on 23 January 1987, and then, in her own words, "unsheathed the sword of war" against the revolutionary forces on 22 March 1987, instead of investigating and finding out which military officers were culpable for the massacre.

When hard pressed by the mutinous military group called Reform the Armed Forces of the Philippines and by the worsening social and political crisis in the Philippines in 1989, she sent a series of emissaries to the NDFP to express her desire for peace negotiations. But she relented in December 1990 from exploratory talks. It would be her presidential successor General Fidel Ramos who would seek peace negotiations more seriously in 1992.

The Manila government and the NDFP signed The Hague Joint Declaration on 01 September 1992 as the framework agreement for conducting the peace negotiations. This stipulates that the roots of the armed conflict are to be addressed by basic reforms in order to lay the basis for just and lasting peace; that national sovereignty, democracy, and social justice are the mutually acceptable principles guiding the negotiations; and that no side shall make any precondition that negate the character and purpose of negotiations. It sets forth the substantive agenda to be negotiated in sequence, namely: 1. 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. The Hague Joint Declaration also lays down the method of forging the comprehensive agreements through the formation of reciprocal working committees.

Before the end of the Ramos regime, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) was signed by the Negotiating Panels on 16 March 1998. The NDFP principal, Comrade Mariano Orosa, immediately approved it on 10 April 1998, while Ramos hesitated to approve it. It was his presidential successor Joseph Estrada who approved the agreement on 7 August 1998. However, since then, the Estrada and succeeding regimes continuously put up obstacles in violation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and CARHRIHL in order to prevent the negotiation on social and economic reforms.

The Christians for National Liberation and the broad masses of Christians have strongly supported the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the legal and peaceful democratic mass movement, and the campaign for a just and lasting peace. Bishops of the Catholic Church, the Philippine Independent Church, the Protestant denominations, and the lower clergy outside of the CNL have been calling for upholding national sovereignty and the national patrimony, social justice, respect for human rights, protection of the environment, and a just and lasting peace. During every regime of the Manila government, bishops have used their conferences and special bodies, like the Ecumenical Bishops Forum, Pilgrims for Peace and Philippine Ecumenical Peace Platform, to call for peace negotiations and to serve as bridge between the Manila government and NDFP. The revolutionary forces and people represented by the NDFP are ever ready for serious peace negotiations to forge agreements with the Manila government for a just and lasting peace. But because this government refuses to address the roots of the civil war through peace negotiations, the revolutionary forces are justified to wage the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Along this general line, the revolutionary forces are currently pursuing their strategic plan of advancing from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children, and cultural activists, and the organs of democratic power are strengthening themselves. In the course of the people's war, they are carrying out programs and campaigns to improve the conditions and lives of the people through self-organization, public education, health care, land reform, economic production, self-defense, arbitration of people's disputes, cultural upliftment, gender equality, and environmental protection.

**References**

Agoncillio, Teodoro A. & Guerrero, Milagros, *History of the Filipino People*, 5th ed. (Quezon City: R. P. Garcia Publishing House, 1983)

Christians for National Liberation, *Schism and Apostasy in CNL, Pilipinas*, special issue, November 1994

Ditto. 6th National Congress documents, *Pilipinas*, Jan. 1995

Ditto. Hail the 28th anniversary of the Christians for National Liberation, firmly grasp revolutionary principles," *Pilipinas*, special issue, Feb. 2000

Ditto. 7th National Congress documents, *Pilipinas*, February 2004

Corpuz, O. D., *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997)

Guerrero, Amado, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, 5th ed. (Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, 2006)

McCoy, Alfred W. & de Jesus, Ed C., *Social History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001)

National Democratic Front of the Philippines, Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977 (Quezon City: NDFP-Nominated Section to the Joint Secretariat of the GRP-NDFP Joint Monitoring Committee, 2005)

Ditto. *The GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations: Major Written Agreements and Outstanding Issues* (Quezon City: NDFP-Nominated Section to the Joint Secretariat of the GRP-NDFP Joint Monitoring Committee, 2006)

Sison, Jose Maria, *Building Strength through Struggle* (Netherlands & Philippines: International Network for Philippine Studies and Aklat ng Bayan, 2014)

Ditto. *Crisis of Imperialism and People's Resistance* (Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, 2009).

Ditto. *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution* (Netherlands & Philippines: International Network for Philippine Studies and Aklat ng Bayan, 2013)

Ditto. *People's Struggle Against Imperialist Plunder and War* (Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, 2009)

Ditto. *The People's Struggle for a Just Peace* (Netherlands: International Network for Philippine Studies, 1991)

Sison, Jose Maria & de Lima, Julieta, *Philippine Economy and Politics* (Philippines: Aklat ng Bayan, 2001)

Veneracion, Jaime, *Philippine Agriculture during the Spanish Regime* (Quezon City: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy Research and Publications, 2001)

Youngblood, Robert L., *Marcos Against the Church* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

## ***Replies to National Defense College Students***

July 22, 2014

---

*What is your greatest motivation in deeply pursuing your cause?*

Jose Maria Sison (JMS): To serve the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, along the line of national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and thus to pave the way for a fundamentally new and better future.

Socialist countries around the world have already collapsed (except North Korea and Cuba) and have since embraced Capitalism proving that Marxism is a failed experiment (and that it does not work). If the world has abandoned Marxism, why are you insisting on continuing your armed struggle to pursue your objective of taking over power and establishing a communist rule in the Philippines?

JMS: The people's democratic revolution is the current stage of the Philippine revolution, which is important enough and beneficial to the people; going on to the next stage of socialist revolution will certainly involve learning lessons from the positive and negative experiences of the working class, including the previous victories and the revisionist betrayal of socialism and restoration of capitalism.

*Are you willing to lay down your arms for the sake of peace and for the Filipino people?*

JMS: A just and lasting peace is possible so long as the conflicting parties (GPH and NDFP) use the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people as the common frame of reference and aim for full national independence, democracy, empowerment of the workers and peasants, development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, a national, scientific and mass culture and international solidarity for peace and development.

*Why can't we end the "conflict" without any or so much preconditions?*

JMS: The basic and inalienable rights of the Filipino people are not onesided preconditions but involve two-sided obligations; ab initio the negotiating parties agreed in The Hague Joint Declaration to be guided by the mutually acceptable principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice.

*For the sake of unity of Filipinos, how would you like the idea of coming home and spearhead true reconciliation?*

JMS: I like the idea of coming home and working with others to realize reconciliation. This is in line with the standing proposal of the NDFP (which I have reiterated to Aquino since February 2011) that immediate truce and cooperation can be agreed upon on the basis of a general declaration of common intent to achieve national unity, peace and development, while the negotiating panels work comprehensively and in detail on the remaining three items in the substantive agenda.

*Why are you there in another country? In revolutionary war, leaders must be with his men.*

JMS: I have never proclaimed myself as the operational leader of the revolutionary forces since my arrest in November 1977 and I have been asked by comrades and even by certain friends in the GRP to stay abroad in order to help in peace negotiations in a foreign neutral venue that avoids the complications and risks of security operations on both sides during formal peace talks.

*When are you coming back to the Philippines?*

JMS: As soon as there is a truce and cooperation agreement between GRP and NDFP or best of all when there is already a final and complete peace agreement.

*If you will be voted as President of the Republic of the Philippines, what will be your vision?*

JMS: With the participation and support of the people, I will uphold, defend and enhance the national sovereignty of the people and Philippine territorial integrity, respect democratic rights, empower the workers and peasants through certain institutions and mechanisms, develop the economy through genuine land reform and national industrialization, promote a patriotic and progressive cultural and educational system and engage in friendly diplomatic and trade relations with all countries and peoples on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference, cooperation and mutual benefit.

*If you're given the chance to govern the Philippines, what will be your National Security Policy and political platform?*

JMS: To promote national unity in accordance with the national sovereignty of the people and territorial



integrity, uphold human rights in an all-round way, avail of the people's capabilities and the rich natural resources to carry out economic development through national industrialization and land reform, realize social harmony through full employment, use the industrial capability not only to respond to the basic needs of the people but also to manufacture the means for self-reliant development and self-defense (including machine tools, planes and ships), heighten the patriotic and progressive or revolutionary will of the people and use diplomacy to make friends abroad, to negotiate problems or litigate issues and to oppose and avoid war but to be prepared against any war of aggression against us.

*If you will become the President of the country, how will you engage the CPP/NPA?*

JMS: The CPP can be engaged at any time in a national council and movement of national unity, peace and development and the NPA can be assigned certain tasks under conditions of truce (like serving temporarily as environmental guards and guards or productive units for industrial projects) and can be integrated in a national army under conditions of a final peace agreement.

*What would be your best alternative in solving the current national security issue in the WPS (West Philippine Sea)?*

JMS: The best immediate legal and political move as already done is to bring up the maritime dispute before the ITLOS and invoke the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, particularly with regard to the exclusive economic zone and extended continental shelf, and thus counter immediately according to law the arrogant China claim of undisputed sovereignty over 90 percent of the South China Sea, including 80 percent of EEZ and 100 percent of ECS in the West Philippine Sea; and the best long-term policy of the Philippines is to develop its own economic, political and military strength and not to depend on unequal military agreements (like the Mutual Defense Pact, Visiting Forces Agreement and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement) with an imperialist power like the US which has an extended history of aggression, intervention and plunder against the Filipino people.

*Do you see the possibility of ending the insurgency problem in our country before 2016?*

JMS: There is no such possibility for ending the armed revolution in view of the extreme reactionary character, narrow mindedness, shortsightedness and intransigence of Aquino and Deles; but in terms of available time there is still a mathematical possibility for accomplishing the Comprehensive Agreement for Social and Economic Reforms and a Truce and Cooperation Agreement.

# ***Author's Preface (to Develop the People's Power)***

---

*Develop the People's Power* is a comprehensive and richly concrete book on arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people against US imperialism and local reaction in the Philippines and many other countries. People's power can develop only through the struggle of anti-imperialist and progressive forces against the powerful adversaries under certain global and local conditions which are presented in the book.

The book covers the period from July 7, 2010 to December 22, 2011. But a number of articles present brief historical background. A full-length recollection of the past pertains to where I came from as a political activist, the University of the Philippines, and where the foundation for a sustained development of the national democratic movement in the Philippines was laid in the 1960s.

Every year I am asked by various types of legal mass organizations in the Philippines to give messages of solidarity. I am presumed to know political work intimately as a result of having been a mass activist, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and currently as chief political consultant of the National Democratic of the Philippines.

I present the national and democratic line of struggle on Philippine and global issues and give advice on the conduct of political education, organizational work and mass campaigns. In this book, one interview focuses on the task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. Messages of solidarity to organizations of Filipino workers, peasants, women, youth, human rights activists, cultural workers and the migrant workers also contain suggestions regarding political work.

Academic friends in The Netherlands have asked me to lecture on the people's war in the Philippines and how the CPP, the New People's Army and the people carry out the revolutionary mass movement and build organs of people's self-government in the countryside. The book contains a full lecture on people's war showing how the reactionary army is defeated stage by stage and how people's democratic power steadily displaces counterrevolutionary state power in the countryside before the general offensive on the cities.

I assert that class struggle is the key link to revolutionary social assert that class struggle is the key link to revolutionary social change. I uphold the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary party and the necessity of alliance with other exploited classes and sectors in isolating and defeating the class enemy. I stress the need to strengthen the Communist Parties and revolutionary mass movements in confronting the worsening global capitalist crisis and in striving to achieve national liberation, democracy and socialism.

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I have had the honor and opportunity to discuss major global issues and address various types of oppressed and exploited classes and sectors on a global scale. In this regard, I invite you to read my report to the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS which was held in Manila in 2011. This gives you an idea on how we pursued anti-imperialist and democratic struggle for ten years since the founding of ILPS in 2001.

I urge you to read the definitive articles on the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization, the recurrent economic and financial crisis, the prolongation of the crisis, the imperialist plunder of the underdeveloped countries, state terrorism, wars of aggression, global warming and environmental disasters. These are also reflected in the messages of solidarity to the ILPS member-organizations, ILPS allies and the founding assemblies of national chapters of the ILPS and in the statements of support for mass struggles of various forms in various regions of the world.

Within the period covered by the book, the ILPS and I as Chairperson supported the protest mass actions of the people in the US and other imperialist countries against the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy for generating the severe crisis, shifting the burden of crisis to the people, undertaking state terrorism at home and abroad, stepping up war production, unleashing wars of aggression and making serious war threats and provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other countries. We supported the Japanese people in holding the Japanese monopoly capitalists to account for the Fukushima nuclear plant disaster and joined the worldwide demand for banning nuclear reactors and weapons.

We supported the people's movements and uprisings against autocratic regimes in the service of US

imperialism in Tunisia, Egypt and Saudi Arabia even as we were aware of the active presence of powerful reactionary religious groups and the absence of strong revolutionary parties of the working class there. We consistently held US imperialism responsible for committing the worst acts of terrorism and for having sponsored Islamic fundamentalism whenever useful for imperialist purposes. We condemned the war of aggression launched by the US and NATO to overthrow the Gaddafi government in Libya.

We paid special attention to and upheld the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples and nations and we have issued the strongest statements of condemnation against the barbaric attacks on the people of Palestine, Kurdistan, West Papua and many others. We have stood in support of the women and LGBT, the racial, ethnolinguistic and religious minorities and the refugees and migrant workers who suffer discrimination and injustices.

We took a stand and acted to oppose acts of oppression and exploitation by US imperialism, its NATO allies, Zionist Israel and puppets in the dominated countries. We initiated or joined campaigns to uphold, defend and advance the full range of human rights for the benefit of oppressed and exploited peoples in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural fields. Within the period covered by the book, we achieved a certain measure of success in advocacy and action on all the major concerns of the ILPS.

As in *Crisis Generates Resistance*, Volume 1 of the current book series *Peoples' Struggles against Oppression and Exploitation* (Selected Writings, 2009-2015), I take the opportunity in *Develop People's Power* to express the highest admiration for exemplary individuals, who to their last breath do their best to serve the people and the cause of justice, like the following: the leader of Filipino transport workers Medardo Roda, the CPP national spokesman Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosal and the revolutionary cadre Eliseo Cadiang, the Indian Maoist leaders Azad and Hem Pandey, Chairman Ludo Martens of the Belgian Workers' Party, the American human rights lawyer Leonard Weinglass and the American communist and labor leader Philip Koritz.

The Filipino people are suffering the most intolerable forms of oppression and exploitation under the evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. By waging resolute and militant struggle, they can develop people's power and win victory in the new democratic revolution and consequently in the socialist revolution.

On behalf of the Filipino people and all their revolutionary forces, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines has engaged in negotiations with the Manila government for a just and lasting peace and has offered truce and alliance on the basis of a mutually satisfactory declaration of common intent while comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms are still being negotiated. But since the formal peace talks in Oslo in February 2011, the Aquino regime has made clear that it has no respect for agreements made between previous regimes and the NDFP. It is hellbent on carrying out Oplan Bayanihan in the vain attempt to destroy or force the surrender of the revolutionary forces and the people.

In the meantime, the crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and aggravate the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines. The conditions for revolution in the Philippines and in other countries have become more favorable now than in 2010 and 2011. The Filipino people have the distinct honor of holding high the banner of revolution while the contradictions between capital and labor, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations and peoples and among the imperialist powers are intensifying.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
January 30, 2016

**Message of Solidarity and Gratitude**  
**to the Hosts and Participants in the Book Launch**  
**at the University of the Philippines-Mindanao**

**February 22, 2016**

I thank the Department of Social Sciences of the University of the Philippines-Mindanao and the Alliance of Concerned Teachers-SMR for hosting the launch of the books *Crisis Generates Resistance* and *Louie Jalandoni: An Illustrated Biography* in Davao City. I express warmest greetings of solidarity to the hosts and to all the participants in this book launch, including faculty members and students (from UP and other schools), professionals, church people, social activists and others.

I am deeply pleased that amidst or above the hubbub of the current election campaign period, you find the time and place for the launching of the two books with the purpose of fostering a deeper understanding of Philippine society and politics and broadening awareness of the national democratic struggles in mainstream discussions. Both books present the fundamental problems of Philippine society as well as what Louie and I consider the fundamental solutions which you can fully comprehend from the program for a people's democratic revolution.

I am gratified that the social scientists in your school and other schools seek to elevate the level of discussion from the low level to which the pronouncements of presidential candidates characteristically sink. The candidates are not presenting comprehensive programs of action by which they assert and promote national independence and democratic rights, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, social justice, a patriotic, scientific and pro-people culture and international solidarity for peace and development against imperialism and reaction.

My book deals mainly with the Philippine and global events and issues from July 2010 to December 2011. But there are parts of the book which recall and celebrate historic events, trace further developments and show continuing relevance. Thus, you can read about how the sustainable foundation of the national democratic movement was laid in the Diliman campus of the University of the Philippines from 1959 onward. You can also read about how the books *Struggle for National Democracy* and *Philippine Society and Revolution* have inspired the Filipino youth until now.

In the book contents that focus on the Philippines, you will find repeated references to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the need to carry out a new democratic revolution in order to get rid of oppression and exploitation being perpetrated and perpetuated by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; and thus pave the way for a socialist future. I address various types of mass organizations that belong mostly to the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

I respond to current questions of political line and how to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. I put forward the leading role of the working class and the need for various types of alliances such as the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of these toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic alliance with the middle bourgeoisie in order to take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries and isolate and defeat the worst of them, the enemy.

The revolutionary armed movement has already spread in the Philippines far beyond the dreams of the founders of the revolutionary party of the proletariat in 1968. It is founded on an ever expanding and deepening mass base. This has allowed the people's army to grow by waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare and carry out revolutionary land reform. It has made possible the establishment of democratic organs of political power in the more than 110 guerrilla fronts covering extensive portions of 71 provinces.

Despite the long-term probability of the people's democratic government of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia displacing the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords through people's war, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines continues to engage in peace negotiations, work for comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms and offer a truce and alliance with the Manila government in order to establish a government of national unity, peace and development.

Whoever shall become president after the May elections shall have to reckon with the rapidly worsening crisis of the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system and the irrepressible growth of the revolutionary

movement. My book presents the crisis of the Philippine ruling system in 2010 and 2011 and the path of worsening up to this time. I suggest that you study the domestic crisis within the context of the global economic and financial crisis which broke out in 2008.

The book contains several major articles about the causes and trends of the crisis of global capitalism. The mortgage meltdown of 2006 to 2008 exposed the excessive debt of banks, corporations and households that caused bankruptcies. The capitalist powers have not solved but have aggravated this crisis by clinging to the neoliberal economic policy regime. They have merely overlaid it with even more excessive central bank borrowings, trade and budgetary deficits and austerity measures at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Now, a new global economic and financial crisis has broken out and comes on top of the previous crisis.

A perfect storm is about to descend on the Philippines after the May elections. It will be a combination of economic and financial crisis, higher cost of foreign debt, the inflationary consequence of excessive election spending, social turmoil on the streets, the simultaneous rise of armed resistance by the Filipino people and Bangsamoro and the lack of credibility for the prospective probable victory of the presidential candidate backed up by the US-Aquino regime. There is widespread concern that the US-Aquino presidential candidate would be able to win, not just because of the billions of pesos of pork barrel but because of the regime's control of the Smartmatic automated electoral system.

Ahead of us are interesting times, starting in the second half of this year and proceeding to subsequent years. A study of my book can provide us some light on the gathering storm and some guidance in performing our respective roles and tasks in the service of the Filipino people. Thanks to the US-Aquino regime for being so servile to big business and landlord interests and for being so corrupt and brutal and thus for unwittingly paving the way for the further advance of the national and democratic forces of the Filipino people.

Long live!

# ***On Theory and Practice***

**Interview by Revolutionaireenheid, July 19, 2017**

---

*On the dialectical relationship between theory and practice:* To have a revolutionary movement you must have theory. And of course it's not enough to have theory. Neither can you make revolution without the mass movement. So there is a dialectical relationship between theory and the practice of building a mass movement.

Now, when I say that you must have a theory suitable to the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, which aims at proletarian socialist revolution, you need to have the theory of Marx and Engels, through Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Mao is very important because he answers the questions of modern revisionism.

When people try to impress you, discourage you that "socialism is dead," no, it's capitalism that's dying! Socialism will resurge. You need to know how to take care of problems that will crop up in new socialist societies. Because you are told "oh, impossible! It is only for a short while." But all new things, especially big new things like new social formations, sometimes have some setbacks. The French Revolution occurred in the later part of the 18th century [but] the French realized many of their democratic rights only in the 1920s. Because after the French Revolution you have the Thermidorian Reaction, the empire-building by Napoleon and then the restoration of the monarchy. So, you must have theory. That's ideological work.

It's not enough to have ideological work, you must do political work. The party itself, or the pre-party formation if there is no party yet, has to recruit more members. But you are after the masses. Those who join the pre-party formation or the full-fledged party must be able to work within certain mass organizations. The mass organizations are for various types of people, classes of people and sectors. They have to be formed because they become the hardcore of the mass movement. The mass movement always includes the advanced part, organized, highly conscious, according to the general political line. Then those in the middle, they still need to develop. And then there are the backward, the spontaneous, they join when they see an issue is interesting to them. The challenge is for you to win [all of] them over, to keep them steady in the mass movement.

# ***The People's Democratic Government***

## ***Has the Power of Taxation***

September 5, 2017

---

The preparation, establishment and growth of the People's Democratic Government (PDG) in the Philippines have been proclaimed and manifested by a series of basic documents, such as the following: the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution on December 26, 1968, the Guide for Building Organs of Political Power in April 1971, the Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government in October 1972, the Guidelines and Program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in 1973 and 1977 and the Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions of 1948, approved by the NDFP on July 5, 1996.

The PDG has a constitution founded on the sovereign will of the Filipino people and on the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry. It aims to complete the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy under the class leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party. From its modest beginnings, the PDG has grown and spread mainly in the form of local organs of political power to more than 110 guerrilla fronts covering large parts of 17 regions and 71 provinces of the Philippines, as a result of revolutionary armed struggle and united front work against the US-directed reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. The rural-based revolutionary government and the urban-based reactionary government are co-belligerents in a civil war which has been going on since the first quarter of 1969.

The PDG has a comprehensive administrative structure from the village to higher levels (municipal or city, district, provincial and regional). At the basic level of the village, the local organs of political power develop from the stage of the appointive barrio organizing committees to the elective barrio revolutionary committees through various ways of consolidation, which involve the building of the local branch of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the revolutionary mass organizations of various exploited classes and sectors, the people's militia and self-defense units of mas organizations and the formation of the five basic subcommittees for public education, mass mobilization, economy, defense and health, subject to the formation of further subcommittees in order to better serve the people.

The PDG has a comprehensive range of functions such as administration in general and overseeing programs and campaigns related to public education, mass organizing, land reform, raising production, finance, health, local defense, support for the people's army, cultural affairs and matters of simple arbitration or trial by the people's court. To carry out these aforesaid functions, the PDG must collect voluntary contributions from the people who benefit from gains made from the mass struggles and cooperative production and from compulsory taxes from private entities that are engaged in profit-making enterprises and are allowed to do so because their enterprises are beneficial and necessary to the people.

Voluntary contributions can be derived from gains made by the toiling masses as a result of raising wages of farm and non-farm workers, reducing land rent and interest rests, eliminating land rent and usury, raising prices of agricultural products at the farm gate, increasing agricultural and nonagricultural production and undertaking cooperative production for the entire community or for the benefit of the people's army. The most developed standards of voluntary contributions from workers and peasants have been related to trade union struggle and the implementation of land reform. The Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform is among the first extensive documents issued by the CPP to carry provisions on voluntary contributions as well as compulsory taxes from rich peasants, enlightened gentry and entrepreneurs and merchants related to agriculture, orchards, forestry, fishery and handicrafts.

The largest amount of grain contribution comes from the poor and middle peasants as a result of land reform and raising production. The largest amount of cash contribution come from the nonfarm workers in relatively large enterprises as a result of trade union struggle. Contributions are considered voluntary because the contributors can negotiate with the organs concerned what amount to pay by taking into account family needs and the current status of the crops and other means of livelihood.

In any kind of economic activity, in which an individual, corporation, partnership or any other entity makes

profits by buying the labor power of others, fair wages must be made to the workers and taxes must be paid by the entity concerned to the PDG according to standards and rates determined by the appropriate organs. A certain percentage of gross revenues of the private enterprise in the preceding year can be demanded by the PDG. The largest cash revenues of the PDG comes from compulsory taxation. Taxation is compulsory because failure to pay for it means the imposition of a fine in addition to arrears or the termination of the privilege and permit to operate the enterprise.

The PDG stands for the wise utilization and conservation of natural resources and for the economic development of the Philippines through national industrialization and land reform. It bans such enterprises as logging, mining and monocrop plantations which plunder, destroy and pollute the environment, poison the streams and marine life, cause landslides, floods and drought, ruin the production of food staples, export solely and mainly primary commodities (logs, mineral ores and agricultural products) and limit the land available for land reform. Subject to taxation, profitable enterprises may be permitted to operate only if their raw-material production serves national industrialization and domestic food, shelter and other needs of the people.

The taxes collected by the PDG are small compared to that collected by the reactionary government but are used mainly for the social and economic programs for the benefit of the people and secondarily for the subsistence and administration work of the cadres of the PDG and for the maintenance and expansion of the New People's Army. The mass organizations of various types subsist and expand on their membership dues, cooperative projects and other resource-raising activities that they can undertake autonomously from the PDG.

In sharp contrast to the revolutionary government, the reactionary government collects taxes mainly from the working people and middle social strata in the form of income tax and excise taxes already added to the prices of goods and services that they buy and only secondarily at a lower rate from the big corporations and the top bracket of high income individuals. Under the neoliberal policy regime, the corporations and wealthy enjoy tax cutbacks while the working people and other impoverished masses suffer higher taxes and higher prices of basic commodities.

As a semicolonial and semifeudal country, the Philippines is dependent on raw material production for export and yet foreign exchange earnings always fall far short of the payment for imported manufactures and other products. The trade deficit is always aggravated by import of luxury products for the exploiting classes, military equipment and construction materials and equipment for upscale construction and graft-ridden infrastructure projects which draw away resources from national industrial development and tie down the economy to a backward, agrarian, pre-industrial and semifeudal status.

The export earnings, the foreign exchange remittances of overseas contract workers, the earnings of call center workers and the now dwindling flow of speculative capital (portfolio investments in financial markets) are never enough to cover the trade deficit, the profit remittances and capital repatriation by the foreign monopolies and the amortization of the accumulated foreign debt. Thus, the foreign debt is ever mounting with the avilment of new loans even as the accumulated foreign debt also exacts a heavy toll on the economy.

The worst that the reactionary government does with its tax collection is to pay first for the amortization of the accumulated foreign debt with a large chunk of the budget, feed the insatiable corruption of the bureaucrats in handling business privileges and supply contracts with foreign and domestic companies, finance the military, police and paramilitary for controlling and suppressing the people and huge secret intelligence and operational funds for death squads and special operations.

The reactionary government likes to taunt the revolutionary movement for supposedly not having accomplished anything in 48 years of revolutionary armed struggle and yet it finds it necessary to negotiate peace with the NDFP as the representative of the revolutionary forces and people. It can only pretend to deny the nationwide existence and growing strength of the people's democratic government, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the revolutionary mass movement and the alliances.

Since the founding of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the revolutionary forces and people have accomplished so much: from mere hundreds of CPP cadres and members to tens of thousands, from 9 automatic rifles to thousands (far beyond the AFP claim of 4000), from a few thousands of mass activists to millions and from the second district of Tarlac to more than 71 provinces and 17 regions of the country. The reactionary government boasts of being ready to fight for another 50 years. That is more than enough time allowance for the revolution to win total victory.



**October 2, 2017**

---

*1. Can you please first introduce your self and your party?*

JMS: I am Prof. Jose Maria Sison, Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines and Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

*2. As we know, your party has a large area of Philippines under your control. Can you briefly summarize to us the process and development of the people's war?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on December 26, 1968 in order to repudiate the revisionist party and adopt Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the theoretical guide to the Philippine revolution. It established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 to begin the people's war. It also wielded the united front as a weapon complementary to the armed struggle.

To carry out the people's war, the Party deployed communist cadres to link up with the good remnants of the old people's army in Central Luzon and to sow the seeds of people's war in several other regions. People's war was developed in the countryside by integrating revolutionary struggle with agrarian revolution and building of the revolutionary mass base. The mass base consisted of the organs of political power and the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, cultural activists and others.

*3. One of the remarkable sides of your party, based on the various parallel and a widespread network of organizations in the people's war. In which relationship are these organizations with the people's war, how they support it?*

JMS: There is a comprehensive array of revolutionary mass organizations listed as allied forces within the framework of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. These organizations are directly involved in the people's war.

At the same time, there are legal patriotic and progressive organizations, which also serve the people. Some of them field candidates in the reactionary elections along the line of developing the united front with other forces for the purpose of exposing the rottenness of the ruling system and putting forward the people's demands against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

*4. What is your point of view to the parliamentary struggle?*

JMS: Even while the people's war is raging against the reactionary state, the reactionary leaders wish to wear the mask of democracy and wish to conjure the illusion of democracy by offering the leaders of the revolutionary movement and the leaders of the legal patriotic and progressive forces opportunities to win a few seats in Congress or in parliament.

It is Right opportunism or reformism to believe that fundamental changes can be achieved only through the bourgeois Congress or parliament. It takes more than any kind of legal struggle to achieve the national and social liberation of the oppressed and exploited people.

But the revolutionary movement can allow legal patriotic and progressive forces to engage in various forms of legal struggle, including electoral struggle and debates in parliament by way of carrying out a united front policy: expose, discredit, undermine and weaken the enemy in his own centers of power by intensifying contradictions among the competing reactionary factions.

*5. Not long ago it was published that your party will restart peace talks with the Philippine government. What is the content, the process and your expectations? Please can you tell us your opinion?*

JMS: The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (which includes the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army) has resumed formal talks with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines since August 22, 2016. The negotiations are supposed to arrive at comprehensive agreements of social and economic reforms and political and constitutional reforms in order to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

The Duterte government appears to be easier to negotiate with on such reforms because President Duterte has declared himself that he is the first Left president of the Philippines, he is a socialist and he is opposed to US imperialism and the local oligarchy of big compradors, landlords and corrupt high bureaucrats. He has a record of cooperating with revolutionary forces in Davao City for almost 30 years.

He has put in his cabinet patriotic and progressive leaders. But there are also reactionaries in the cabinet. It still remains to be seen whether he will amnesty and release all political prisoners and agree to a comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms for carrying national industrialization and genuine land reform. Let us see whether he is really determined to fight imperialism and the local reactionaries.

*6. We know that women have a special standing inside your party and the peoples army. Can you explain to us the experience of the Philippine women's struggle, the participation of women in the people's war and their combat experience?*

JMS: Indeed, women have a special standing inside the CPP and the NPA. Women are in the Central Committee of the CPP and various levels of command of the NPA. They have become unit commanders and command both male and female Red fighters. There are also detachments, special operations teams and medical teams consisting solely or mainly of women Red fighters.

Women have always played leading roles in the revolutionary struggles against the Spanish colonialists, US imperialists, the Japanese fascists, the local Marcos-type fascists and against the post-Marcos pseudodemocratic regimes. Gabriela Silang is chosen as the icon of the revolutionary woman fighter from a long list of revolutionary women fighters. The principal legal women's organization GABRIELA is named after her. Her example inspires many women to join the armed revolution. The principal women's organization MAKIBAKA is also inspired by Gabriela Silang.

*7. Are there any other revolutionary parties, oppressed nations or oppressed religious groups in the Philippines? What is your relationship to them?*

JMS: There are several organizations of oppressed peoples and oppressed religious groups, which are allies of the CPP and are within the fold of the NDFP. These include organizations of the Cordillera peoples, Bangsamoro, the Lumad hill tribes and the Aetas (or Negritos). They also include the Christians for National Liberation and various ecumenical alliances with the Muslims. The Moro National Liberation Front and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front are outside of the NDFP but are allies of the NDFP.

*8. How is your relationship with revolutionary forces in Turkey, Kurdistan and the Middle East?*

JMS: We are always desirous of developing comradely and friendly relations with the revolutionary forces in Turkey, Kurdistan and the Middle East. We are always supportive of their struggles for national and social liberation against US imperialism, the NATO and the Israeli Zionism and against all the local tyrants who are usually puppets of the imperialists.

*9. What is your opinion about the Rojava Revolution, the war and the developments in the Middle East?*

JMS: We are strongly supportive of the Rojava Revolution. We hope that this will further strengthen the Kurdish people against their oppressors. We are inspired by the heroic armed struggle of the Kurdish women against the Daesh or Islamic State. We are confident that the Kurdish people will prevail over their imperialist and local adversaries and rise from the harshness and complexity of the struggles.

## ***On Power and Socialist Transition***

**Interview by Revolutionaireenheid, October 3, 2017**

---

*Is it true that automatically you can jump from capitalism to socialism?*

No. The ruling bourgeoisie will try to kill you first, oppress you. So when Marx says in the *Communist Manifesto*, 'you must win the battle for democracy,' it means you must assert your democratic rights, the rights to assemble and speak out and all the other rights. And then, when your mass movement becomes big, they will try to suppress you and come up with fascism. So before you can have socialism, the monopoly capitalist class will unleash fascism. Under various pretexts they use chauvinism against immigrants, xenophobia, Islamophobia and many other tricks just to hide the roots of the crisis.

It's not just a transfer of the power of the bourgeoisie. In a certain sense, their arms may be transferred to you but the class, and the state as a class instrument, cannot be passed in whole. You have to smash the bureaucratic and military machinery. Meaning to say, you have to form an entirely new organization of your own administration and your own military force. Don't throw out the question of power so easily, giving a chance to the old reactionaries to make use of their old influence. Some other factor, you have to take away the voting rights of the counterrevolutionaries and the unrepentant bourgeoisie. You can only grant voting rights to the exceptional because there are also people who come from the exploiting class but they are no longer defending that class.

***Effect of the Institutional Development  
of the Communist Party of the Philippines  
until the Present***

**January 11, 2018**

---

***1. How do you define the Communist Party of the Philippines?***

JMS: The CPP is the revolutionary party of the Filipino working class. Membership is on an individual basis. It is assumed that industrial workers easily understand the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the party. But individuals from other social classes can apply for membership if they accept the Constitution and Program of the CPP and are willing to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries or communists.

***2. Are there any benefits or services provided by the CPP to its members? What are they?***

JMS: The main incentive for CPP members is to serve the people and perform the leading role of the CPP in the people's democratic revolution at this stage of the Philippine revolution. To be a CPP member, one runs the risk of being imprisoned, tortured and martyred and must be aware of this risk before any consideration of material benefits or services, aside from the education, comradeship and collective work that satisfy the CPP member more than any material compensation. CPP members who have property and incomes are required to pay membership dues according to their means. CPP members who work full-time for the CPP receive salaries or allowances, health care and other forms of assistance from the CPP if they do not have any other source of income. To the extent of its influence, the CPP can also enable its appropriate and competent members to get employment in private and public enterprises and offices.

***3. Elaborate on the organizational structure of the CPP.***

JMS: Please consult the CPP Constitution. The Central Committee is the highest leading organ of the CPP. It has related central organs like the Political Bureau, Executive Committee, General Secretariat, Military Commission, National United Front Commission and Central Publishing House. Below the CC are the territorial leading committees of the following: regional, provincial, district, guerrilla front, section and local branches.

***4. Since the CPP has existed for quite a long time, has it grown, gotten smaller or stayed the same in the last few years? What are the significant factors or reasons responsible for this change?***

JMS: From its modest start of around 200 members in 1968, the CPP has grown large to its current level of nearly 100,000. It has not decreased but increased in the last few years. It has grown large nationwide because of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie are opposed to the escalation of oppression and exploitation. The CPP and the legal mass organizations can therefore easily arouse, organize and mobilize them for mass struggles against the reactionary government. The most advanced activists eventually join the CPP and the NPA to carry out the revolutionary armed struggle.

***5. Who are the people most likely to come into or leave the organization?***

JMS: Those who are most inclined to join the CPP are the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeois (especially the lower middle class intelligentsia). Those who are inclined to leave the CPP are the few who fail to grasp the theory and practice of the CPP, who cannot endure the sacrifices involved in the struggle and those who lack discipline and violate the rules.

***6. With regard to the social capital of the CPP, what major factors cause its change or development over the years?***

JMS: The CPP leadership and membership make advances in applying the Marxist-Leninist theory on the concrete conditions of the Philippines, in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses for struggle and in recruiting CPP members from the mass activists and Red fighters of the NPA. The CPP keeps on forming the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children, cultural activists, units of the NPA, affiliates of the NDFP and the local organs of political power (committees of people's self-government).

***7. In concise terms, how was the social capital of the CPP during the pre-martial law, martial law, and post-martial law period?***

JMS: Before martial law of 1972, there were already legal mass organizations struggling for national and social liberation. They were forced underground by martial law and developed their strength even faster. They have

developed into the component organizations of the NDFP and have grown nationwide and stronger up to now, even after the Marcos fascist regime was replaced by anti-national and pseudo-democratic regimes.

8. *Do the leaders or members give high regard to the social capital of the CPP? Is it measured through any particular approach? How?*

JMS: Of course, the CPP leaders and members give high regard to the social capital. The revolutionary masses and their mass formations are the source of strength of the CPP. The CPP cannot advance in the revolution without the growing strength and support of the masses. Revolution is a mass undertaking.

9. *What are the usual problems encountered with regard to the social capital of the organization? Are there any efforts made to address and overcome the problem? Cite an instance.*

JMS: The law of uneven development applies on everything. It applies even on a CPP that is wholly advancing. There are strong parts and weak parts of the CPP in terms of expansion and consolidation. The rate of expansion may be faster or slower in relation to favorable conditions. The rate of consolidation may also be faster or slower. By consolidation, I mean provision of education, solid organizing and proper tasking. Errors and weaknesses are corrected through evaluation of work, criticism and self-criticism and clarification of tasks.

10. *With regard to the development of the party as an institution, what are the roles of the government? of the other organization? other civil society actors? the Philippine environment in general?*

JMS: The CPP, NPA and the revolutionary mass organizations build the people's democratic government in the form of local organs of democratic power in the countryside at the moment. This government has working committees in charge of public education, mass organizing, land reform, production, finance, health, self-defense, cultural activities and arbitration of disputes. The CPP, NPA, mass organizations and broad masses support the people's government and its working committees. They are underground in relation to the urban-based reactionary government of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats

11. *What events or external factors were highly significant to the institutional development of the Communist Party of the Philippines?*

JMS: The institutional development of the CPP has been pushed by the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system of exploiting classes in the Philippines. This means the escalation of oppression and exploitation which drive the people to revolt. When the reactionaries like Marcos or Duterte go for fascist dictatorship, the CPP and other revolutionary forces gain more strength. They become the rallying points of the people.

12. *Do you think that the people within the CPP generally trust one another especially now that the said organization is at risk? Do you think over the last few years this level of trust has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?*

JMS: Of course, the people within the CPP trust one another, especially because of the risks that they face. Their revolutionary comradeship is steeled by fighting their enemy and securing themselves from his attacks. The level of strength of the CPP has risen as proven by the growing strength in terms of membership and capabilities.

13. *How do you measure or evaluate the progress made by the CPP toward achieving its goals as an institution?*

JMS: I think that the CPP has been tremendously successful in building itself, the revolutionary mass movement, the organs of political power and the united front on a nationwide scale and so deeply among the millions of people, especially the toiling masses. In one more decade or so, it is possible for the CPP to lead to victory the people's democratic revolution. The situation of US imperialism and the reactionaries keep on deteriorating.

14. *What are your recommendations in strengthening the social capital of the CPP particularly in the Duterte administration?*

JMS: Please consult the latest issuances of the CPP in [www.philippinerevolution.info](http://www.philippinerevolution.info). The CPP has called on its membership and the people to overthrow the US-directed Duterte fascist regime. I think that this line will further strengthen the social capital of the CPP. The Filipino people detest fascist dictatorship, the extrajudicial killings, the rising tax burden, the corruption involved in pork barrel, excessive foreign borrowing, the sell-out of the West Philippine Sea and the continuing underdevelopment, rising unemployment and mass poverty in the Philippines.

*Follow-up Questions:*

1. *Can you please elaborate on the degree of participation of most of the members of the CPP?*

JMS: CPP cadres and members have various kinds of qualifications and various degrees of ability. Accordingly, they do revolutionary work in the CPP itself, NPA, the organs of political power, underground mass organizations, legal mass organizations, professional organizations, institutions, alliances and so on.

2. *Do you have any knowledge about the present number of the members?*

JMS: According to the latest CPP publications, the CPP membership is supposed to be in the tens of thousands or close to a 100,000.

3. *Do you think that everyone in this organization has an equal access to the services or benefits that the CPP is providing to its members?*

JMS: I presume that CPP members who work full time for the CPP are accorded necessary services and benefits. Those who live in the territory of the people's democratic government have equal access to services and benefits available to the people. Those employed by private enterprises, institutions and reactionary government gain access to services and benefits like other employees.

4. *How are new leaders selected?*

JMS: CPP leaders are recruited into the CPP from the ranks of the most resolute and militant mass activists. Then they rise from the Party branch to higher levels of responsibility functionally and territorially through the process of election by their own comrades.

5. *How are the decisions made within this party?*

JMS: Decisions on major issues after deliberation at the appropriate committee level are made by majority vote. Promotions of cadres (leaders) are done through nominations and voting. The CPP follows the organizational principle called democratic centralism. Please consult the CPP constitution to get the full definition of this term.

6. *How stable is the leadership? Is it harmonious or conflictive?*

JMS: The leadership is stable and harmonious because the CPP and members all adhere to the theory and practice of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism, the general line of people's democratic revolution and democratic centralism. The leadership is centralized but is based on democracy and majority vote or consensus from the lowest level to the highest, the Central Committee. The mode of leadership is collective but the cadres assume personal responsibility. There is both a combination of freedom and discipline. During study, policy-making or work meetings, any member can express his or her opinion on issues, debate and make criticisms and self-criticism. But after a decision is made, the CPP members have to follow the decision even as anyone has the right to reserve his opinion until fully convinced.

7. *When did the peak of increase in the members happened? (The year or during what administration). What do you think is the reason behind this?*

JMS: CPP membership has increased from 1968 to the present, from one reactionary administration to another. There may only be a slower rate of increase from one year to another in particular regions and particular periods. From the first decade to the current fifth decade, the CPP membership has increased nationwide in absolute numbers.

8. *Do you think more and more workers are becoming aware of the oppression that is happening in the Philippines? Why?*

JMS: Of course, more and more workers are becoming aware of their exploitation and oppression in the Philippines. The social and economic crisis keeps on worsening from year to year. Because of underdevelopment, the lack of national industrialization and land reform, the rise of actual unemployment and spread of mass poverty, the workers are forced to accept low wages, agree to short-term contractualization (endo every 5 months) and be deprived of job tenure and social benefits. Consequently, trade union and other democratic rights are effectively suppressed under the neoliberal economic policy. Twenty percent of the total work force are compelled to seek jobs abroad. The most unfortunate become odd-jobbers and informal settlers in urban slums.

9. *You said that those who are inclined to leave the CPP include those who lack discipline and violate the rules. Can you please explain the rules you mentioned about or probably cite some examples?*

JMS: I have already explained to you in answer to follow up question No. 6 above how democratic centralism works, with regard to the relationship of centralized leadership and democratic base as well as the relationship of freedom and discipline. Every CPP member freely enters the CPP by accepting the CPP Constitution and Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. If someone does not accept these any more, he or she can also leave the CPP freely. No serious party or any other institution will allow a member to oppose or violate any of its basic principles and still remain a member in good standing. If you wish to study how serious errors and shortcomings have arisen and have been corrected in the CPP, I suggest that you study the facts and documents of the Second

Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) of the CPP. This rectification movement strengthened the CPP in an all-round way from 1992 onward.

*10. With regard to the social capital of the CPP and the major factors that caused its change or development over the years, do the internal and external environments play a role in the development that occurred among the CPP members?*

JMS: Of course, internal and external factors and environments play a role in the positive development of the CPP as well as in the occurrence of such major errors as those corrected by the SGRM. The strengthening of the CPP is well grounded on the membership of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The CPP membership of those who come from the urban petty bourgeoisie is positive. But some of them fail to remold themselves completely as proletarian revolutionaries, retrogress and degenerate, overestimate or underestimate grossly the validity or strength of the bourgeoisie and spread bourgeois subjectivist ideas and lines of opportunism.

*11. Do you think that the social capital of the post-Martial Law CPP is a lot more intact than during the Martial Law period? What made you say so?*

JMS: The social capital of the CPP developed positively under the guidance of the First Great Rectification Movement (FGRM), CPP Constitution and Program and through revolutionary struggle during the Marcos martial period. But from 1981 to 1991, errors of subjectivism and opportunism (mainly of the ultra-Left or adventurist variety) occurred to reduce the extent of victories in the revolutionary struggle and threatened to undermine it further if the errors were not corrected. The CPP continued to advance from 1992 onward under the guidance of the SGRM and rose to a higher level of development up to the present.

*12. Are revolutions the only means of gauging the strength of the Party? If not, what are the other means which indicate the strengthening of the Party?*

JMS: In fighting an oppressive state, the armed revolution is an important gauge of the strength of the CPP and is the highest form of struggle to achieve national and social liberation. But it is not the sole gauge of the strength of the CPP. The legal mass movement is a major complement of the armed struggle. It helps to strengthen the latter. If it does not become strong or fails to defeat eventually any fascist attempt to suppress it, the armed revolution can be weakened or can even become a lost proposition as in the aftermath of the 1965-66 massacres in Indonesia.

*13. What are the strong parts of the CPP's development and what are the weak parts respectively?*

JMS: The strong points of the CPP in its development are in its ideological, political and organizational (IPO) building. By ideological building, I mean integrating MLM theory with Philippine conditions and revolutionary practice and ensuring ideological and political education of members through the basic, intermediate and advance study courses. By political building, I mean pursuing the people's democratic revolution, arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses accordingly and building the people's army, carrying out agrarian revolution and building the bases and organs of political power. By organizational building, I mean following the principle of democratic centralism and organizing the CPP nationwide and among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Errors and shortcomings in IPO building can weaken a communist party.

*14. How are evaluations done with regard to the correction of errors and weaknesses? Who does the evaluation?*

JMS: The Central Committee of the CPP undertakes the evaluation and rectification of major IPO errors and weaknesses that adversely affect the entire Party. Lower organs of leadership of the CPP (regional, provincial, district or guerrilla front and section committees) do likewise within their respective scope of responsibility. Anytime and anywhere Party units can engage in criticism and self-criticism sessions to deal with errors and shortcomings in a timely way within their scope of responsibility.

*15. What are examples of specific events that could be considered as rallying points or events which triggered revolutions?*

JMS: The Gomburza martyrdom ignited a national sentiment of resistance against Spanish colonialism. The arrest of Rizal led to the formation of the Katipunan as offshoot of La Liga Filipina. The Katipunan uprising of 1896 led to the sustained Philippine revolution until the defeat of colonial Spain.

The Katipunan-led revolution of 1896, the communist-led resistance against Japanese fascism and then against the US-directed puppet regimes after 1946 have been inspirational to the CPP in waging armed revolution from 1969 onward.

Immediately prior to the start of people's war in 1969, the mass movement of the 1960s, the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the Diliman Commune of 1971, the Marcos proclamation of martial law in 1972 and the entire run

of fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes have been rallying points or triggers of armed revolution. Now, Duterte is in the process of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people and is inciting them to struggle more resolutely and militantly for national and social liberation.



# ***A Complete View of Enabling Environment***

## ***for the Conduct***

### ***of GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations***

**March 28, 2018**

---

The end of hostilities and disposition of forces are the fourth and last item in the substantive agenda of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and must be preceded by the comprehensive agreements on respect for human rights and international humanitarian law (CARHRIHL), on social and economic reforms (CASER) and on political and constitutional reforms (CAPCR).

But since October 4, 2017, the NDFP has positively responded to the expressed desire of GRP to draft a ceasefire agreement more effective and more sustained than the previous unilateral ceasefires. Thus, the GRP and NDFP backchannel teams have already drafted an agreement on coordinated unilateral ceasefire to be monitored by a joint ceasefire committee of the GRP and NDFP at the national level.

This agreement on coordinated unilateral ceasefire is in the same package of draft agreements, including the draft amnesty to release all NDFP-listed political prisoners in compliance with CARHRIHL and the drafts of such major parts of CASER as Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ARRD) and National Industrialization and Economic Development (NIED).

I am sure that the enabling environment for the successful conduct of the peace negotiations would ensue from the finalization and signing of the draft agreements in the aforesaid package. When the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels meet again, it should be easy for them to finalize the draft agreements and sign them.

# ***Building the Mass Movement in Western Europe***

**March 31, 2018**

---

1. From the viewpoint of overseas Filipinos, it means building the mass movement mainly among themselves in whichever country they are in Western Europe. The host people are mainly responsible for building their own mass movement. So are the other foreigners in their respective communities.

2. To be best motivated and most inspired in common, overseas Filipinos must take the general line of upholding, defending and promoting their national and democratic rights and interests and serving the people in their motherland.

3. They can constitute themselves as a broad union of compatriots or as class and sectoral organizations. They can follow the patterns of organizing patriotic and progressive Filipinos in the Philippines and have relations with their counterpart organizations in the Philippines.

4. They can take up urgent general and particular issues, undertake activities and campaigns pertaining to such issues and thus mobilize themselves for the purpose of strengthening themselves as an organized force and realizing their objectives.

5. Overseas Filipinos should not isolate themselves from the host people and other foreigners but join the organizations open to them in the neighborhood, city district or entire city as well as the organizations open to them in workplaces and according to professions, occupations or vocations.

6. Filipino organizations must develop relations of solidarity and cooperation with organizations that are exclusively either for the citizens of the host country or for the citizens of other countries.

7. The Party must exercise leadership over building the mass movement and direct the accomplishment of such tasks as arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses.

---

## ***Aspects of building the mass movement***

### ***A. Arouse the masses***

1. You must first of all know and understand the concrete conditions of the Filipinos and their relations with the host people and other foreigners. It is important to read and study informative materials from the internet, library or bookstore. But it is even more important that you engage in social investigation, meeting with Filipinos in order to learn their situation, work, capabilities, problems, needs and demands.

2. Overseas Filipinos are hungry for the latest information and trends in the Philippines. Thus, you can link their situation abroad and the situation of the people in the Philippines. You can thus start laying the basis for organizing them according to current circumstances.

3. On urgent issues that need to be acted upon collectively or en masse, statements must be formulated and issued for raising the consciousness and militancy of the Filipinos and gaining the solidarity and support of the host people and other guest people.

4. Information meetings can be undertaken on the necessary and possible scale. They can be combined or coordinated with socializing and cultural activities in order to enliven the information meetings.

5. Publications on current events and issues can be issued and posted on the internet. There can be a website for the purpose.

6. You can undertake a brief basic course of political education along the national and democratic line for the benefit of the Filipinos and their non-Filipino friends. This basic course can be the beginning of ideological and political education of mass activists towards becoming lifelong proletarian revolutionaries.

7. The most effective way to obtain the interest and activism of young Filipinos born abroad as well as the solidarity and support of non-Filipino mass activists for the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle is to encourage and help them realize a visit to the Philippines and experience comradeship with Filipinos who are engaged in mass struggles in the Philippines.

### ***B. Organize the masses***

1. Recruit as soon as possible those Filipinos who attend the social investigation meetings, information meetings and the mass rallies and demonstrations. They can be given basic information and application forms of membership on any type of organization appropriate to the occasion and the period of organizing.

2. A broad union of compatriots may be constituted by organizations and individuals. Class organizations are those for workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Filipino peasants are practically nonexistent in Europe. Sectoral organizations are those of the youth, women and professionals. The class and sectoral organizations can be patterned after similar organizations in the Philippines and be affiliated to them.

3. For a while, the seminal organizations may have a wide territorial scope, like an entire city or municipality. As soon as the organization has gained a relatively large membership, it can be divided into chapters based in city districts and subchapters in neighborhoods. The cellular development can generate more capable activists in terms of number and ability.

4. There must be discipline in attending meetings and other events, performing assigned tasks, paying membership dues and selling tickets to social and cultural events of the organization. When a member is absent, another member should be assigned to inquire and show interest in her or him.

5. Members should have tasks related to arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses. According to their capacity and willingness, they should be assigned to educate and recruit their Filipino friends, neighbors and relatives to join the organization and to get the commitments of prospective members and solidarity friends to attend public activities of the organization.

6. The performance of the members in carrying out tasks must be checked from time to time and evaluated at the end of a designated period. This is the way to ensure the activation of all or most members of the organization.

7. It is assumed that the principle of democratic centralism is followed in every organization. The leaders are elected by the majority at every level of the organization. The leading organs make decisions within their jurisdiction. The higher organ is followed by lower organs.

Lower organs can make reports and recommendations to the higher organs. Thus, the leadership is centralized but is based on democracy.

### ***C. Mobilizing the masses***

1. There can be activities and campaigns to inform and educate the members and consolidate their organization. But in a larger sense of mass mobilization, the national democratic organization(s) can be the core for mobilizing a larger number of the masses than their members to include the general public or unorganized masses and members of other Filipino and non-Filipino organizations in alliance or in solidarity with our core organization.

2. Issues in the Philippines, in the host country and in the world at large that affect the rights and interests of the overseas Filipinos in general or whatever class or sector can be the basis of mass mobilization in various forms: information and educational campaigns, mass rallies and marches and petitions with the use of the press and social media.

3. There may be socials and cultural performances to promote social and cultural cohesion of the Filipino community, raise resources and strengthen relations of solidarity with the host people and other guest people.

4. The Filipino organizations with a national and democratic character must engage in two-way solidarity relations. They must win the support and cooperation of the organizations, institutions and personages of the host people and other guest people. But they must also extend support and cooperation within their capabilities to the non-Filipino peoples and their organizations.

5. In developing solidarity with the host people and other foreigners in any country in Western Europe, priority must be given to the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive political parties, movements and community organizations, trade unions, religious parishes, academics, mass media, human rights activists, development workers and others who can appreciate and support the national and democratic viewpoint of the Filipino people. They should be linked to their counterparts in the Philippines.

6. The best way to engage the host people and other foreigners in solidarity and cooperation with our ND organizations is to continuously inform them about the conditions of the overseas Filipinos and the Filipino people in the motherland and to encourage them to send fact-finding missions and other forms of delegations to the Philippines for hosting by the patriotic and progressive organizations as well as by respected institutions.

7. We must recognize that Filipino organizations in the Philippines and abroad have some significant capability to mobilize the masses on an international scale not only because overseas Filipinos in so many countries can act concertedly but also because the Filipino organizations in the Philippines and abroad are members of international organizations like the ILPS and networks of nongovernmental organizations of various types and concerns.

# ***Great Achievements of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 50 Years of Waging Revolution***

August 23, 2018

---

*Author's Note: As founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), I have been asked by academic, journalist and activist friends and many other people to evaluate the CPP in the last 50 years and describe its current situation and prospects. All of them are anticipating the fast approaching golden anniversary of the CPP. I write this article on the basis of my previous experience and on the basis of publicly available documents.*

The Communist Party of the Philippines was founded on December 26, 1968 as the revolutionary party of the Filipino proletariat and people under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) in order to continue the unfinished revolution started by the Katipunan in 1896 and to fight for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Since then, the CPP has scored great ideological, political and organizational achievements. These are inspired by all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people and surpass the achievements of the Katipunan against Spanish colonialism and the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands and the Merger Party of the Communist and Socialist Parties (MPCSP) in the periods of the US colonial regime, the Japanese fascist occupation and the neocolonial regime of local reactionary classes servile to US imperialism.

In applying the revolutionary theory of the proletariat to the concrete conditions and practice of the Philippine revolution, the CPP has generated so many volumes of documents and by-lined works that constitute a major contribution to the treasury of said theory and have correctly and successfully spread and raised revolutionary consciousness of all aspects of Philippine society and in all fields of revolutionary work: economic, political, military and cultural.

The CPP has systematically strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It arose with only a few scores of cadres and members from the revolutionary mass movement of the 1960s. It has become nationwide and has become even more deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It continues to draw strength from the revolutionary mass movement. It has grown into tens of thousands of cadres and members who have been tested and tempered in revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of struggle.

The CPP leads the New People's Army (NPA), which it founded on March 29, 1969 in the second district of Tarlac. Now, this army operates in more than 110 guerrilla fronts covering substantial parts of 73 out of the 81 Philippine provinces in 17 regions outside of the national capital region. It is assisted by the people's militia and self-defense units of mass organizations. It follows the strategic line of protracted people's war, carries out agrarian revolution and guarantees the building and functioning of the people's democratic government.

The CPP leads the national united front whose most consolidated embodiment is the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) founded on April 24, 1974. The national united front relies mainly on the revolutionary basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, wins over the middle strata of the bourgeoisie and takes advantage of the conflicts among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the enemy, which is the worst reactionary clique.

The united front is effective in reaching and rallying the people in their millions. It has demonstrated that it can overthrow the fascist dictatorship of Marcos in 1986 and the corrupt regime of Estrada in 2001. It is necessary to defeat one reactionary clique after another and thus increase the strength of the revolutionary movement for overthrowing the entire semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system, accomplishing the people's democratic revolution and laying the basis for the socialist revolution.

## ***Ideological achievements of the CPP***

The CPP has a comprehensive and profound understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has published the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin Stalin and Mao Zedong as well as its basic documents and the works of its leading cadres on the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory in various fields. By adopting this revolutionary theory of the proletariat as theoretical guide, the CPP has integrated it with the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people and proletariat.

The CPP has traced the major strands of Philippine history: communalism and patriarchal slavery in the pre-colonial period, feudalism under Spanish colonialism, semifeudalism under US colonialism and the semicolonial and semifeudal society since after the 1946 US grant of nominal independence to the Philippines. Based on the analysis of Philippine history and concrete circumstances, the CPP has defined the character of Philippine society, general political line of struggle, motive forces, adversaries, stages and future of the Philippine revolution.

The CPP has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective against the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. This is a revolution led by the proletariat and no longer by the bourgeoisie in keeping with the global era of modern imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Under the leadership of the proletariat, with the CPP as vanguard party, the Filipino people can proceed from the basic completion of the new democratic revolution (the overthrow of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system) to the start of socialist revolution.

The CPP has applied Marxism-Leninism to define the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. It has also applied Maoism to combat modern revisionism and guarantee a future of consolidating socialism and preventing the restoration of capitalism. For some years, from 1963 onward, the founders of the CPP were enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist line against modern revisionism centred in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the revisionist character of the MPCSP.

In breaking out of the MPCSP, they launched the First Great Rectification Movement in 1966. This criticized and rectified the subjectivist and the "Left" and Right opportunist errors from 1942 to 1966, the year when a scion of the Lava family imposed his revisionist line and grabbed leadership in the MPCSP. The proletarian leaders who developed from the workers and youth mass organizations pursued the rectification movement and cleared the way for the foundation of the Communist Party of the Philippines from 1966 to 1968.

The CPP has established, clarified and developed the principles and policies for winning the new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective by wielding the three major weapons of the Filipino people: the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's war and the united front policy. It has practiced criticism and self-criticism of errors and shortcomings in the course of assessing and evaluating current work. It has therefore always improved the mode and style of work and thus have achieved better results.

The CPP has waged rectification movements to overcome major errors in ideology, politics and organization. It successfully waged the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998 as an education movement in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to criticize and repudiate major subjectivist and "Left" and Right opportunist errors in the period of 1981 to 1992.

It debunked the subjectivist notion that the Marcos fascist dictatorship had made the Philippine economy industrial capitalist. This subjectivist error gave rise to Right and "Left" opportunist errors. The Right opportunists advocated a united front without the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and kowtowing to the anti-Marcos reactionaries, The "Left" opportunists rejected Mao's strategic line of protracted people's war and promoted adventurism and the premature regularization of the NPA at the expense of mass work.

Currently, the CPP is subjecting to criticism and rectification among others the phenomenon of conservatism, which overly stresses mass work, unwittingly favors the style of roving rebel bands and neglects the need to intensify guerrilla tactical offensives in order to annihilate the enemy forces and seize the weapons from them and to bring about the full development of the strategic defensive and reach the strategic stalemate in the people's war.

The CPP has educated tens of thousands of Party cadres and members in the theory and practice of MLM by providing them with three levels of Party study courses: basic, intermediate and advanced. These cadres are the ever growing hard core of the revolutionary mass movement, institutions of various kinds and specialized fields of work. Party education is meant to enlighten and inspire the Party cadres and members among the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as among the middle social strata of the bourgeoisie.

The basic Party course provides Party cadres and members with a knowledge of Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people and the people's democratic revolution; the intermediate Party course on building the Party, the people's army and the united front with a comparative knowledge of successful revolutions led by the proletariat; and the advanced Party course with a comprehensive knowledge of materialist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution and the international communist movement.

The CPP has contributed greatly to the world treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by issuing ideological

and political documents and bylined works written by CPP leading organs and cadres for declaring the position of the Party on theoretical and practical issues, for building and developing the Party, the people's army and the united front, for criticizing and rectifying errors and shortcomings and for analyzing and opposing imperialism and reaction in the Philippines and abroad. Many of such works have attained the level of texts for theoretical or doctrinal study.

On a national and global scale, the CPP has been outstanding in being steadfast against modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism and in upholding the socialist and communist future of mankind. It has contributed to the analysis of modern revisionism up to the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the years of 1989 to 1991. The written stand of the CPP for socialism against modern revisionism is an avidly studied and cherished text in the international communist movement.

The CPP has analyzed and opposed the ideological offensives against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the monstrosities of the US-instigated neoliberal economic policy and the neoconservative policy of full-spectrum intervention and aggression. These have accelerated the strategic decline of the US since this superpower appeared to have won the Cold War in 1991 upon the collapse of the Soviet Union. The US has undermined its position as sole superpower and is sliding from the peak of its global power. It is still a major capitalist power and is desperately and vainly trying to maintain overall hegemony in a multipolar world.

The CPP has defined the current world situation as one still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution and in a period of intensified inter-imperialist contradictions, social disorder and wars of aggression in transition to a world of resurgent proletarian revolution and national liberation movements since the full restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe.

The documents and articles of the CPP central leadership on Philippine and international issues are highly respected domestically and internationally because they are the products of the growing revolutionary movement in the Philippines which has overcome the most brutal onslaughts by US imperialism and local reaction and which has successfully waged ideological struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Such struggle has been in pursuit of revolutionary change in the Philippines and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity among peoples.

### ***Political achievements of the CPP***

The CPP has correctly described Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and formulated the program for a people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The leading class of the revolution is the working class. It relies mainly on its basic alliance with the peasantry, wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie and further wins over the middle bourgeoisie in order to isolate and defeat the ruling classes of big comprador bourgeoisie, landlord class and bureaucrat capitalists subservient to US imperialism.

The CPP has built itself as a strong revolutionary party of the proletariat by successfully implementing the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It has become nationwide and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. And it has built the people's army and the national united front in order to wield them as weapons of the revolution and the people. Thus, it has aroused, organized and mobilized the people in their millions to form a strong revolutionary mass movement of workers, peasants, national minorities, youth, women, professionals, cultural workers and other sectors in all regions of the country.

The CPP has built and led the New People's Army (NPA). This is the strongest people's army built since the defeat of the Philippine revolutionary army by US imperialism in 1902 and since the backbone of the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan was broken in 1952. The current armed strength of the NPA in terms of high-powered rifles is bigger than the 5,600 recorded in the 1985 Plenum of the CPP Central Committee.

This is contrary to the claim of the enemy that the NPA had 25,000 in the mid-1980's and that it has only 2000 to 4000 now. And yet the tyrant Duterte and his military minions claim to have caused the surrender and death of more than 7000 Red commanders and fighters, victimizing the civilian population and privately collecting reward money for the purpose.

The NPA is the main weapon of the people for defeating the enemy and winning the revolution. Without it, the people have nothing. It carries out three integral tasks: revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building. It carries out a war of fluid movement and avails of the tactics of concentration, dispersal and

shifting as circumstances require. It follows the strategy of protracted people's war, with three probable strategic stages: defensive, stalemate and counter-offensive.

The NPA applies the principle of centralized ideological and political leadership and decentralized operations, which is very appropriate to the archipelagic character of the Philippines even as the Party central leadership issues operational guidelines for the national, regional and lower levels to implement. Currently, the NPA is victoriously carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The NPA has an effective national operational command, with several departments (political, personnel training, intelligence, logistics, ordnance, medical and technical) and with lower levels of command down to the basic level. It has thousands of Red fighters who are disciplined and have high fighting morale. They have undergone political-military training at various levels, armed with high-powered rifles, tempered in the armed struggle and have various capabilities in the service of the people.

They are a force for fighting, politico-military training, propaganda and agitation, mass organizing, production, medical care, cultural work, environmental protection and disaster relief. But they relinquish nonmilitary functions to the local organs of political power and mass organizations in order to be able to wage tactical offensives and open new guerrilla zones.

The NPA is assisted by tens of thousands of men and women in the people's militia and hundreds of thousands in self-defense units of the mass organizations. It operates in more than 110 guerrilla fronts which occupy substantial parts of 17 regions and 73 out of the 81 Philippine provinces. It is increasingly capable of annihilating units of the military, police and paramilitary forces of the ruling system in order to increase the strength of its fighting units and to weaken and dismantle the enemy forces.

US imperialism and its puppets have unleashed all kinds of military onslaughts, excluding an outright US war of aggression but including the 14-year fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos ruling clique and the US-instigated strategic operational plans from the Marcos fascist regime through the pseudo democratic regimes of Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Macapagal-Arroyo and Aquino II regime to the current Duterte regime, all propped up and armed by US imperialism.

The Marcos fascist regime could not destroy the NPA when this was still small and weak but unwittingly succeeded in generating the conditions for people's war even more fertile. Marcos the despot became known as best recruiter and supply officer because through his oppressive and exploitative policies and acts he unwittingly incited the people to join the NPA and because he sent his armed minions to attack the NPA, they ended up being ambushed and yielding their arms and supplies to the NPA. Thus, the NPA grew in strength and succeeded in contributing significantly to the weakening and fall of the fascist regime. It continues to contribute significantly to the weakening of the entire ruling system.

The highest praise that has been accorded to the NPA comes unwittingly from the rulers of the reactionary system who have always considered the NPA as the No. 1 security threat to their counterrevolutionary state. But in another categorical way, the neocolonial republic of the Philippines has recognized the NDFP as the representative of the CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces and people and has found it necessary to engage the NDFP in peace negotiations.

In developing the alliance of the working class with the peasantry in the anti-feudal united front, the CPP has correctly taken the line of relying mainly on the poor peasants, winning over the middle peasants, and neutralizing the rich peasants in order to isolate and destroy the power of the landlord class. The CPP and NPA have taken the key role in carrying out agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution.

Depending on the circumstances, they have carried out the minimum and maximum land reform programs. The minimum program involves rent reduction, elimination of usury, setting of fair farm-gate prices and promotion of agricultural production and sideline occupation through independent households and rudimentary cooperation. The maximum program involves the confiscation of land from the landlords and land grabbers and free land distribution and agricultural cooperation in stages.

While encouraging and giving due course to the peasant movement for land reform, the CPP leads the NPA to guarantee that the landlord class and the reactionary state cannot frustrate the land reform; to defeat the despotic landlords and distribute the land to the tenants; and to dismantle the landholdings grabbed by the corporate and bureaucratic plantation owners and effect the restitution of the land to the indigenous peoples and poor



settlers. The NPA has also the duty to enforce the laws of the people's government, especially on enterprises that lessen the area available for land reform and that damage agriculture and the environment.

Because of the people's army and advance of the people's war, the CPP has been able to build the local organs of political power nationwide, from the barangay level upwards. At the barangay level, the barangay organizing committees are appointed and then eventually the barangay revolutionary committees are elected. The local organs of political power constitute the people's democratic government of workers and peasants in opposition to the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

They are composed of the representatives of the Party cadres, the masses and technically capable persons. They oversee and supervise mass organizing, public education, production, finance, self-defense, health and sanitation, cultural affairs, environmental protection, disaster relief and rehabilitation and the settlement of disputes. They are in charge of the people's militia and the people's court at the pertinent level.

Two conflicting governments exist in the Philippines. The reactionaries are talking nonsense whenever they say that the revolutionaries have not accomplished anything in 50 years by not being able to seize the presidential palace in Manila. They are even more absurd when they try to deny the existence and belligerent status of the people's democratic government and dismiss it as a mere non-state actor.

In fact, this government, duly constituted by the workers and peasants, is growing and advancing wave upon wave until it shall be able to overthrow every level of the reactionary government. At certain levels and in many areas in the Philippines, the reactionary government cannot function without its enlightened local officials obtaining the permission or cooperation of the revolutionary government.

As it now stands, the people's democratic government has millions of people under its governance and influence. It is mindful of the class line in the national united front and in the anti-feudal united front in being able to govern the revolutionary mass organizations and the broad masses of the people. The policy of the united front guides the people's war as well as the various forms of legal struggle in the urban areas in order to promote the armed revolution and attract the support of the people in their millions.

The CPP has built the united front as a weapon of the people for armed as well as for legal struggle. The united front is embodied in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as the largest and most consolidated united front organization. The NDFP consists of 18 allied organizations bound together by patriotic and progressive principles and policies. And it has the flexibility to become the base for an even broader united front that takes advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the current enemy, which is the most reactionary clique in the country.

Under the direction of the CPP, the broad united front has twice succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary regime. First, it succeeded in fighting, undermining and overthrowing the Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1972 to 1986 and in ousting the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001. Even without as yet deploying units of the people army in the cities aside from armed city partisans, the broad masses of the people rose up to show their hatred for the ruling clique and subsequently the reactionary armed forces refused to follow orders to attack the people but decided to withdraw support from the hated ruler.

To score its political achievements, the CPP learned well from the periodic and timely summings-up of experience and learn from positive as well as negative lessons. It has followed the general line of people's democratic revolution and the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. Accomplishments and exemplary models of achievement have been recognized to inspire further successes in revolutionary work and struggle. Major and minor errors and shortcomings have been criticized and rectified in the normal course of criticism and self-criticism.

A rectification movement of longer duration and with the appropriate degree of intensity has been carried out to confront major errors of Right and "Left" opportunism that are long persistent and threaten the very life of the entire Party or a major part of it. The CPP has learned from the First Rectification Movement which criticized and repudiated the Right opportunism of Vicente Lava from 1942 to 1946, the "Left" opportunism of Jose Lava from 1948 to 1950 and the Right opportunism of Jesus Lava from 1950 onward.

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized, repudiated and rectified the Right opportunist error of taking out the leadership of the communist party and the working class from the national united front supposedly to attract more people and make the united front the main weapon of the struggle; and several trends of "Left" opportunism, the most damaging of which overstressed the verticalization of the NPA at the expense of horizontal

deployment of the NPA for mass work and which upon failure resulted in blaming those tagged as deep penetration agents as causing the failure and subjecting them to punishment without due process.

As a whole, the CPP has learned well from the Second Great Rectification Movement by developing the balance between armed struggle and mass work and the center of gravity in a relatively concentrated force (e.g., command platoon of a company or the command squad of a platoon) and the relatively dispersed force for mass work (two-thirds of a formation deployed on a wider scale). The line for the NPA is to wage intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. But the erroneous currents of conservatism and roving rebel bands, which neglect the waging of guerrilla tactical offensives by overemphasizing mass work by armed propaganda teams, has afflicted some regions for extended periods, especially in Luzon and the Visayas.

Even mass work is prejudiced and ultimately disappears when squads or armed propaganda units think and act like roving rebel bands because the Party leadership and NPA command do not plan and launch tactical offensives to take initiative in people's war and do not increase the armed strength of the people's army. Without a center of gravity and being deployed in an overextended way, the squads and armed propaganda teams can easily be put into a purely defensive and losing position by the enemy forces. It is fine that conservatism and roving rebel band mode are being criticized and rectified.

The CPP has excelled in leading the armed revolution that is among the longest running, strongest, and continuously growing armed revolutions for national liberation, democracy and socialism in the world. This armed revolution has proven correct Mao's theory and practice of people's war as well as the development of this theory and practice by the CPP leadership in accordance with the specific characteristics of the Philippines in terms of social and physical terrain, with the peasant population as the most numerous class in the mountainous archipelago.

What makes the Philippine revolution most outstanding currently is that it has overcome a long running fascist dictatorship and a long series of strategic operational campaign plans of US-lining pseudo-democratic regimes to destroy it. The revolutionary forces and people have become strong precisely by fighting all the series of strategic operational plans that have been undertaken by the US with the collaboration of the Filipino puppet regimes. They have also combated and prevented all attempts of modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism to undermine and weaken the armed revolution.

The line of development and advance for the people's war is from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and ultimately to the strategic counteroffensive for accomplishing total victory. The ruling system is in chronic crisis, keeps on rotting and making the ground ever more fertile for people's war. Under the leadership of the CPP, the NPA must annihilate more and more of the enemy forces in order to strengthen itself, demoralize the enemy as a whole and raise the fighting morale of the people and cause the disintegration of the reactionary and its armed forces.

Because of the success of the people's war in the Philippines, the CPP enjoys high prestige in the world and is proactive in spreading information about the Philippine revolution in order to inspire other peoples and to seek international solidarity and support. The millions of Filipinos who have sought jobs abroad are a major target of mass work to support the revolutionary movement in the motherland and also serve as a wide base for the CPP's international political work. The CPP is active in strengthening the revolutionary core in the mass formations and movements of overseas Filipinos and also in international organizations of communist and workers' parties and international solidarity organizations among the people.

The Philippine revolution led by the CPP has served as a torch bearer of the world proletarian revolution and the movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism in various countries in the current period of intensified contradictions among the imperialist powers, wars of aggression and escalating oppression and exploitation in all imperialist-dominated countries. The CPP is playing an outstanding role in leading a revolution in the period of transition to the worldwide resurgence of revolutionary movements of the proletariat and people. Only by fighting and defeating imperialism and all reaction can the people of the world advance towards socialism and the communist future.

### ***Organizational achievements of the CPP***

The CPP has succeeded in leading the Philippine revolution because it has built itself as a solid organization. At every stage in this development, it has followed the principle of democratic centralism under the guidance of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This is centralized leadership on the basis of democracy.

The entire Party follows its Central Committee and lower organs follow the higher leading organ. But at every level of decision-making democratic processes are followed, with the leading organ taking into account the reports and recommendations of lower organs and with the majority prevailing over the minority by voting. Those in the minority have the right to reserve their opinion but must follow the majority vote as a matter of discipline. Such a decision may be vindicated, modified or entirely changed on the basis of further revolutionary practice.

The CPP could be established in 1968 because it was preceded by the development of a resolute and militant mass movement, which started among the workers and youth in the period of 1959 to 1962 even if the proletarian revolutionary cadres had to join first the MPCSP from 1962 to 1966.

When the proletarian revolutionary cadres from the youth movement and the labor and peasant movement joined up in 1962 onward, they were able to form in quick succession the proletarian revolutionary organization within Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers' Party), Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka (Free Peasant Association) and the Kabataang Makabayan.

As a comprehensive mass organization of the youth devoted to the new democratic revolution and to the leadership of the working class, the Kabataang Makabayan was able to expand its organization nation-wide from 1964 onward and was also able to stimulate the formation of other types of organizations of various classes and sectors.

The KM had for members the young men and women from the working class, peasantry, students, young professionals and other sectors of society. It facilitated the national spread of the CPP because its core of proletarian revolutionary cadres educated an ever increasing number of mass activists both on the national democratic revolution and on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The KM availed of its cooperation with Lapiang Manggagawa and its trade unions in order to recruit members from the working class and initiate the building of new revolutionary trade unions in the national capital region and nationwide. Likewise, it availed of the cooperation of MASAKA in Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog regions to recruit KM members from the ranks of the young peasants but it proceeded to form peasant associations in other regions.

By the time that its Founding Congress was held, with scores of Party cadres and members represented by twelve delegates, the CPP could rely on a nationwide mass base and start to strike deeper roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. At the same time, it had gained national prominence as having a significant mass following among the educated youth, including students, young teachers and other professionals.

In the entire second half of the 1960s, the KM spearheaded the mass movement on national issues as well as on international issues, especially the US war of aggression against Vietnam. After the CPP was founded in 1968, it could exercise effective leadership in the mass movement immediately. Thus it directed the upsurge of the open mass movement in 1969, the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the further protest mass movement up to September 21, 1972 when Marcos proclaimed martial law and imposed fascist dictatorship on the people.

Since its founding, the CPP has exerted efforts to recruit its members from the various types of mass organizations and create Party groups within them at every level. It also formed Party organizations within factories, institutions and in urban and rural communities. When the CPP founded the NPA, it constituted this under the absolute leadership of the CPP through the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Military Commission. At the same time it built the Party organization within the NPA at every level.

The CPP is now in a position to increase its membership from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands in keeping with its increasing responsibilities. It has successfully built itself in all 18 regions of the Philippines and has also created regional operational commands of the NPA in 17 regions. It has encouraged the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and all its 18 allied organizations to build themselves as underground revolutionary mass organizations. These are different from the legal mass organizations of BAYAN and other legal national democratic alliances.

At various stages in the organizational development of the CPP, various regional party organizations have gained national prominence because of the conspicuous strength of the revolutionary masses and the victorious NPA tactical offensives under CPP leadership. Central Luzon, particularly Tarlac, stood out in 1969 onward; Cagayan Valley, particularly Isabela from 1971 onward; Southern Luzon, Southern Tagalog and Bicol provinces from

1972 onward, Western Visayas, particularly Panay and Negros islands from 1973 onward; Ilocos-Montañosa-Pan-gasi- region, particularly Ifugao from 1974 onward; and Eastern Visayas, particularly Samar, and Mindanao from 1975 onward.

The various regional Party committees can sum up their respective historical experiences to show how the Party, NPA and the united front began and expanded in their respective areas and nationwide. They can narrate their relations with the Party Central Committee and the experience of having inter-regional commissions and cooperation to relieve or lessen the burden of the Central Committee in dealing with regional committees.

The CPP central leadership has made sure that stronger regional Party organizations serve as a base for assisting weaker regional Party organizations in terms of education, training, competent cadres and commanders and resources. It has always tried its best to give direction to any part of the revolutionary movement under concentrated enemy attack to solve its own problems and to urge other regional Party organizations to intensify their own offensives in order to relieve the comrades under attack in other regions and to make the enemy pay dearly for its attacks in other regions.

The CPP has been alert to and has overcome the occurrences of bureaucratism, sectarianism and ultra-democracy. Centralized leadership and the hierarchy of leading organs are respected but the CPP criticizes and repudiates the imposition of sheer authority without a basis in facts and reasoning laid out through the democratic process. The CPP also eschews sectarianism, which is merely in the interest of the entirety or part of the Party, without due consideration of the legitimate interests of other political forces and the broad masses of the people. The CPP shuns ultra-democracy, liberalism and anarchy because these break the unity and discipline needed to strengthen the ranks of the revolution and confront the enemy.

Despite its great organizational achievements, the CPP can improve its work and style of work. Prolonged and delayed meetings have adverse consequences and detract attention from the prompt solution of problems. When a higher level of leadership engages in prolonged and delayed meetings, lower levels tend to follow the style and thus so much time for revolutionary work is lost. The most thoroughgoing meetings, with the best of possible conclusions and documents, can also be ineffective if the leading organ concerned does not issue the needed urgent directives on the basis of current circumstances and developments between such meetings.

The CPP is organizationally strong because it builds on its previous strength and seriously examines its organizational errors and shortcomings which it is ever determined to criticize and rectify. The current strength of the CPP in the tens of thousands can move up to the level of hundreds of thousands. These are needed to respond to the growing demand for Party cadres for various types of work in the revolutionary struggle. The previous stock of Party cadres and members is the base for the expansion of the Party in consonance with the accelerated advance of the revolution.

There is nothing arcane or too complicated for leading Party organs and specific units to plan and carry out the expansion of the Party membership. The field for recruitment is the mass movement. A mass activist becomes a Party candidate-member by accepting the Party Constitution and Program and becomes a full Party member by the time he or she finishes the basic Party course of education. The Party has competent and conscientious political instructors. Study materials are in print and audio-visual forms that are available to people with various levels of prior formal education. Education and mass work ensure the high quality and durability of Party membership.

The ideological and political education and work of all Party members and candidate-members can be accelerated and amplified. More Party educators can be trained and put to work in coordination with the accelerated recruitment of Party candidate members from the mass movement. The Party can take full advantage of the available technology to produce educational materials that are printed and audio visual.

As early as 1969, the CPP central leadership authorized the formation of the US Committee to build the CPP and mass organizations among Filipinos in the US. By 1971 the delegation of the Central Committee of the CPP was based in Beijing in order to relate to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and to connect with proletarian revolutionary parties and national liberation movements on a world scale. In 1976 the CPP supported the establishment of NDFP offices in Europe and the Asia-Pacific in order to organize the overseas contract workers and resource centers as well as form solidarity organizations with the host people.

The CPP and NDFP have been successful in their international work. They have been instrumental in forming organizations of migrant Filipino workers, resource centers on the Philippines and solidarity organizations with the host peoples in many countries. They have initiated as well as joined anti-imperialist and democratic struggles

abroad in defense of the rights and welfare of Filipinos and other peoples.

The CPP has a wide range of bilateral relations with other Communist and workers' parties. These range from comradely relations with Marxist-Leninist parties to friendly relations with anti-imperialist and democratic parties, organizations and movements. The CPP assumed a key role in the building of international communist organizations, such as the international Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations from 1992 onward and the Brussels Communist Seminar. It has also participated in multilateral conferences and seminars organized by other fraternal parties and revolutionary movements in various countries.

To the extent possible, the CPP has engaged in practical cooperation with other revolutionary parties in order to exchange experiences and views and engage in mutual support and assistance. It has received comrades and friends from abroad who desire to learn first hand the activities of the Philippine revolutionary movement. It has also dispatched CPP representatives and delegations to exchange experiences with and learn from fraternal parties, organizations and movements on their own homegrounds.

### ***Purpose of celebration amidst the people's war and crisis of the ruling system***

The Communist Party of the Philippines can proudly celebrate its great achievements in the last 50 years. The celebration can take many forms: accelerated recruitment and development of new Party members, vigorous mass work and intensified tactical offensives, mass meetings, seminars and forums, book publications of archival and timely materials, films on the history and current status of the Party nationwide and in the regions, stage plays and musicals, art exhibits and so on.

The purpose of celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPP is to take stock of the great achievements of the Party, to honor the entire Party, the revolutionary heroes and martyrs, the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters, the mass activists and the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Most importantly, the purpose is to inspire the entire Party, the people's army, all other revolutionary forces and the people to frustrate and defeat current attempts of the enemy to destroy the revolutionary movement and to win greater victories towards the total victory of the people's democratic revolution.

The US-Duterte regime is seeking to scapegoat the CPP, NPA and the revolutionary mass movement of the people in order to establish a full blown fascist dictatorship. It is using the most brutal and deceptive tactics in the vain attempt to destroy the revolutionary forces. These tactics used by Oplan Kapayapaan are akin to those used in Oplan Tokhang and Double Barrel.

The barangay officials are coerced to list down suspected revolutionaries in the communities supposedly to make them participate in fake surrenders and to receive payments. The list also serves as a death list because military officers get higher payment for those killed in fake encounters. Like the police in the war on drugs, military officers are turned into butchers and corrupted more than ever before.

The Party, the people's army and other revolutionary forces exist and operate on a national scale and in depth through clandestinity and countryside basing. The enemy forces do not have the precise knowledge and capability to attack and destroy the revolutionary forces all at once even under martial law and fascist dictatorship. They are liable to rob, abduct, torture and murder many people as they are already doing on an expanded scale.

The people's army can launch tactical offensives against the increasingly more vulnerable points of the enemy forces whenever these are overstretched and spread thinly in campaigns of suppression. The enemy armed forces does not have enough armed strength to concentrate on and destroy the Party and the people's army in any region, without those in other regions launching offensives to relieve their comrades in the region under attack.

Whenever one or several guerrilla fronts are the focus of concentrated enemy attacks, they are capable of winning battles of counter-encirclement and the other guerrilla fronts of the same region can intensify their tactical offensives. When the NPA forces in certain regions are under enemy attack, those in other regions can intensify their own offensives and win battles.

As of the latest report, 75 of the total 98 maneuver battalions of the reactionary armed forces are concentrated in Mindanao under conditions of martial law. Forty-four battalions are deployed against the NPA areas and 31 against Bangsamoro groups. Meanwhile, the guerrilla fronts in Luzon and the Visayas have even better opportunities for launching and winning offensives against the overstretched 21 maneuver battalions that are deployed against them.

As it has been able to do repeatedly, the NPA can take advantage of gaps in the enemy encirclement operations and conduct counter-encirclement operations and annihilate the vulnerable parts of the enemy forces in

Mindanao. The Party and the NPA can use the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as well as more complex tactics against both the military and police forces of the enemy.

The Party has a strong basis for the confidence in winning greater victories in the battlefield. The more the US-Duterte regime deploys and overstretches its military, police and paramilitary forces against the NPA the more will it make these forces available for NPA tactical offensives and provide opportunities for the NPA to seize weapons and other supplies from these forces.

The combination of wastage of public funds for military equipment and operations, corruption among the officers, unbridled human rights violations and the soaring prices of basic commodities and services are goading more people to join the people's army and help to hasten the advance of the people's war for nationwide liberation and democracy against the US-Duterte regime.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening. It is escalating the conditions of people's oppression and exploitation and at the same time driving the revolutionary forces and the people to wage revolution. On the basis of the ideological, political and organizational strength that it has already attained, the Party can make bigger strides forward and win greater victories.

So long as the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes persist, the Communist Party of the Philippines has fertile ground for leading and waging the people's democratic revolution. As the oppression and exploitation escalate under the US-Duterte regime, the CPP and the Filipino proletariat and people can win ever greater victories in the revolutionary struggle and realize a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, socially just and progressive in an all-round way.

**ON THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES  
AND THE GRP-NDFP PEACE NEGOTIATIONS**

**Interview by DZUP**

**November 7, 2018**

---

*DZUP 1602 is the official radio station of the University of the Philippines Diliman. Since the revitalization of DZUP in 2010, the station has committed to provide matinong usapan para sa maunlad na bayan by serving as an alternative venue for learning and advocacies.*

*DZUP also runs a daily news program, DZUP Balita, which provides news and information regarding issues that are relevant to the UP community, the nation, and the world. It aims to aid its listeners in forming informed opinions through facts, and varying perspectives from authorities, experts, and advocates.*

*This week, DZUP Balita is focusing its series of interviews on the peace process in the country. President Rodrigo Roa Duterte has made multiple announcements of continuing then terminating the peace talks due to various reasons, hence raising public awareness towards the issue.*

*In this regard, we are requesting for a 20-minute pre-recorded interview with you or any CPP representative on November 8, Thursday, via phone call at your most convenient time. The interview aims to discuss the issue of red-tagging, as well as its implications on the peace and conflict in the country. We have contacted the CPP Information Bureau prior, and they provided us with your e-mail address.*

*I am forwarding the list of questions. DZUP uses conversational Filipino in its programs, hence the usage of Filipino in the questions.*

*Q1: Several administrations have passed and the CPP-NPA-NDF calls still continue. What is the root cause of this and why until now such situation remains?*

*JMS: The CPP-NPA-NDF call on the people to fight whatever is the administration that does not serve the national and democratic rights but serves the interest of the imperialists and the local exploiting classes such as the big compradors, landlords and corrupt government officials. The struggle for a national democratic revolution remains because the semicolonial, semifeudal ruling system remains. The continued existence of oppression and exploitation, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are the continuing root of the continuing struggle of the working masses and the people.*

*Q2: What causes the peace talks not to succeed, including the current administration? In your view, is the Duterte administration sincere when it comes to achieving peace through peace talks?*

*JMS: At first the NDFP thought that Duterte was sincere in the peace talks because he claimed that he to be the first Left president and that he was a socialist. But within only the first six months of his presidency, he was obviously pretending and he reneged on his promise to amnesty and free all political prisoners.*

*It turned out that all he wanted was for the CPP, NPA and NDF to capitulate and commit suicide and that he found the necessary basic social, economic and political reforms necessary for the Filipino people and as stated in The Hague Joint Declaration were needless. He rejects an honorable peace agreement for the welfare of the people but seeks the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary forces so that the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes would prevail.*

*Q3: One of the issues under the Duterte administration is so-called Red-tagging or identifying some groups and individuals as rebel or terrorist. What are the implications of such Red-tagging on the peace talks, including the whole issue of security for all people in the country?*

*JMS: This Red tagging being undertaken by the Duterte regime is very bad for patriotic and progressive groups and individuals as well as the masses in the communities. Whoever is critical of the regime is made to appear as rebel or terrorist and thus a target for intimidation, arrest or killing. Cases of mass activists being killed are increasing such as the Sagay 9, including lawyers such as who was murdered ala Oplan Tokhang ng Oplan Kapayapaan.*

*Red tagging has a deleterious to the peace negotiations. Intimidation and blaming destroys confidence that should exist in serious peace process. Worst is Duterte's termination of the peace negotiations through Proclamation 360 and called the CPP and NPA as terrorist. This Duterte is fond of intimidation and all-out war.*

*Q4: The AFP and PNP, also some government officials have announced several times, that the communist groups recruit their new members from schools at from Left organizations. What can you say about this?*

JMS: The AFP at PNP wish to interfere with the schools, including the University of the Philippines, to intimidate and to dictate the wishes of the regime in the name of the antiterrorist campaign. Were they to be allowed , academic freedom would be damaged and the real terrorists would prevail, even in the determination of academic policies and content of the curriculum. Duterte wishes to become a fascist dictator ala Marcos so as to accumulate wealth without any hindrance. He fears that the students would act en masse against his regime.

*Q5: Lately the military forces also announced that "Red October" plot, claimed to be initiated by CPP-NPA-NDF with the help of some groups and individuals. Is it true that the communist groups are behind this plot? Do the CPP-NPA-NDF a destabilization plan against President Rodrigo Duterte?*

JMS: It is the military that invented "Red October" plot, not the CPP-NPA-NDFP and they are not behind such a plot. The military invented the "Red October" plot to intimidate and suppress the legal mass movement. It is proven that October passed and the military themselves also said that the plot is "still rolling." Their propaganda is muddled.

The CPP-NPA-NDFP call for people's war is constant. However, what would more easily topple Duterte would be the withdrawal of support from him by his military, once the street actions of the mass movement grow strong as have happened with Marcos and Estrada. Within the military, the officers and men who have tired of the regime are increasing not only because of the extreme exploitation and suppression but also abuse of the people.

*Q6: In your view, can peace talks continue? Are you still open to this possibility?*

JMS: Even as the fight in the fields and in words between the Duterte regime and the revolutionaries rage, the NDFP policy to talks with the GRP remains constant for the sake of the Filipino people. This is also my stand. Peace talks are undertaken by mutual enemies not by friends, to avoid unnecessary costs and advance the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. Enemies are the ones who need peace talks, not friends.

*Q7: What can you say about the arrest of the peace consultant Vicente Ladlad?*

JMS: It is bad that Vicente Ladlad, a consultant in the peace negotiations has been arrested. He failed to attend a court hearing because of his serious illness, emphysema due to chronic asthma. He has immunity protection based on JASIG because this is a reciprocal and continuing safety and immunity guarantees for negotiators, consultants and resource persons of both the NDFP and the GRP.

They should not be considered as combatants just because there is a breakdown or a termination of the peace talks. On their side, the CPP and NPA do not sow fear, conduct surveillance, harass, arrest or kill GRP negotiators, consultants and resource persons. What the Duterte regime and its military do against NDFP consultants is barbarism. This should not be done.



# ***Purpose of Celebration amidst the People's War and Crisis of the Ruling System***

November 10, 2018

---

The Communist Party of the Philippines can proudly celebrate its great achievements in the last 50 years. The celebration can take many forms: accelerated recruitment and development of new Party members, vigorous mass work and intensified tactical offensives, mass meetings, seminars and forums, book publications of archival and timely materials, films on the history and current status of the Party nationwide and in the regions, stage plays and musicals, art exhibits and so on.

The purpose of celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPP is to take stock of the great achievements of the Party, to honor the entire Party, the revolutionary heroes and martyrs, the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters, the mass activists and the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Most importantly, the purpose is to inspire the entire Party, the people's army, all other revolutionary forces and the people to frustrate and defeat current attempts of the enemy to destroy the revolutionary movement and to win greater victories towards the total victory of the people's democratic revolution.

The US-Duterte regime is seeking to scapegoat the CPP, NPA and the revolutionary mass movement of the people in order to establish a full blown fascist dictatorship. It is using the most brutal and deceptive tactics in the vain attempt to destroy the revolutionary forces. These tactics used by Oplan Kapayapaan are akin to those used in Oplan Tokhang and Double Barrel.

The barangay officials are coerced to list down suspected revolutionaries in the communities supposedly to make them participate in fake surrenders and to receive payments. The list also serves as a death list because military officers get higher payment for those killed in fake encounters. Like the police in the war on drugs, military officers are turned into butchers and corrupted more than ever before.

The Party, the people's army and other revolutionary forces exist and operate on a national scale and in depth through clandestinity and countryside basing. The enemy forces do not have the precise knowledge and capability to attack and destroy the revolutionary forces all at once even under martial law and fascist dictatorship. They are liable to rob, abduct, torture and murder many people as they are already doing on an expanded scale.

The people's army can launch tactical offensives against the increasingly more vulnerable points of the enemy forces whenever these are overstretched and spread thinly in campaigns of suppression. The enemy armed forces do not have enough armed strength to concentrate on and destroy the Party and the people's army in any region, without those in other regions launching offensives to relieve their comrades in the region under attack.

Whenever one or several guerrilla fronts are the focus of concentrated enemy attacks, they are capable of winning battles of counter-encirclement and the other guerrilla fronts of the same region can intensify their tactical offensives. When the NPA forces in certain regions are under enemy attack, those in other regions can intensify their own offensives and win battles.

As of the latest report, 75 of the total 98 maneuver battalions of the reactionary armed forces are concentrated in Mindanao under conditions of martial law. Forty-four battalions are deployed against the NPA areas and 31 against Bangsamoro groups. Meanwhile, the guerrilla fronts in Luzon and the Visayas have even better opportunities for launching and winning offensives against the overstretched 21 maneuver battalions that are deployed against them.

As it has been able to do repeatedly, the NPA can take advantage of gaps in the enemy encirclement operations and conduct counter-encirclement operations and annihilate the vulnerable parts of the enemy forces in Mindanao. The Party and the NPA can use the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as well as more complex tactics against both the military and police forces of the enemy.

The Party has a strong basis for the confidence in winning greater victories in the battlefield. The more the US-Duterte regime deploys and overstretches its military, police and paramilitary forces against the NPA the more will it make these forces available for NPA tactical offensives and provide opportunities for the NPA to seize weapons and other supplies from these forces.

The combination of wastage of public funds for military equipment and operations, corruption among the officers, unbridled human rights violations and the soaring prices of basic commodities and services are goading

more people to join the people's army and help to hasten the advance of the people's war for nationwide liberation and democracy against the US-Duterte regime.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening. It is escalating the conditions of people's oppression and exploitation and at the same time driving the revolutionary forces and the people to wage revolution. On the basis of the ideological, political and organizational strength that it has already attained, the Party can make bigger strides forward and win greater victories.

So long as the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes persist, the Communist Party of the Philippines has fertile ground for leading and waging the people's democratic revolution. As the oppression and exploitation escalate under the US-Duterte regime, the CPP and the Filipino proletariat and people can win ever greater victories in the revolutionary struggle and realize a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, socially just and progressive in an all-round way.

# ***On the 50<sup>th</sup> Founding Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines***

**Interview by Rene Acosta, *Business Mirror***

**December 17, 2018**

---

*I have been asked by Business Mirror to do a weekend article (which I do regularly and on a weekly basis) about the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the CPP. Perhaps, you could give me a hindsight what the CPP and its armed wing has achieved within the 50 years, and what is its direction in the next years.*

JMS: The Best way for me to give you a hindsight is to send you my article, "The Great Achievements of the CPP in 50 Years of Waging Revolution"; and to give you the direction or foresight is to send you my poem, "The Long Struggle for Freedom". The article and poem are attached hereto.

*1. How will you describe the movement now, its struggle and direction compared with the past years?*

JMS: When it was founded under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) had only 80 members mainly from Manila, Central Luzon and Southern Luzon. Now it has more than 70,000 members nationwide in all regions and provinces of the country and it is deeply rooted among the workers, peasants, indigenous people, youth, women and other sectors of Philippine society.

The CPP has organized and led local organs of political power in thousands of barangays. These constitute the people's democratic government of workers and peasants (PDG) to oppose the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats based in the urban areas. The PDG is in charge of various functions: public education, land reform, production, mass campaigns, health and sanitation, arbitration and justice, self-defense, cultural work, disaster relief, environmental protection and so on.

The PDG has arisen because of the growth in strength and advance of the New People's Army (NPA). This people's army was established by the CPP on March 29, 1969 with only 60 Red fighters, sharing only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms. Now the NPA is in the thousands with high powered rifles, supported by tens of thousands of people's militia acting as the local police force in barangays; and hundreds of thousands in self-defense forces of the mass organizations.

To reach the people in their millions, the CPP has carried out the policy of united front and has organized the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as its most solid realization. The NDFP includes 18 formations, including the CPP, NPA, the Christians for National Liberation, the revolutionary organizations of the peoples of Cordillera, Moro, Lumad, and the underground mass organizations of the workers, peasants, youth, women, teachers, cultural workers, lawyers, health professionals, scientists and technologists, and other sectors of society.

The mass organizations and the mass movement of the toiling masses of workers, peasants, youth, women and other people serve as the foundation of the CPP, NPA and NDFP. They uphold the rights and interests of all the oppressed and exploited people in various classes and sectors. They continuously learn the conditions, needs and demands of the people and they struggle for national and social liberation against foreign domination and the local exploiting classes.

*2. Do we see any prospect for the resumption of the talks with the Duterte government?*

JMS: Duterte has been carrying out an all-out war policy since he became president. And he has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations so many times and has even deployed Duterte death squads to murder any suspected potential or actual member of the NPA by using the same modus operandi used in Oplan Tokhang against drug suspects. It is doubtful whether the peace negotiations would ever be resumed and undertaken sincerely and earnestly by the Duterte regime.

However, the NDFP remains open to peace negotiations with the GRP to stop the Duterte drive for fascist dictatorship and to demand social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. While the Duterte regime refuses to negotiate with the NDFP, the CPP, NPA and the people have to defend themselves and carry forward their revolutionary cause through people's war for national and social liberation.

3. *The government, particularly the military is very positive that it could end insurgency within the term of Duterte, will this be possible?*

JMS: It is impossible for the military to end the revolutionary movement for the following reasons: 3.1 The reactionary military is the instrument of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats, now chiefly represented by the Duterte regime. In contrast, the NPA and other revolutionary forces are the instrument of the oppressed and exploited people.

3.2 The CPP has set the invincible line of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It has worked out the strategy of protracted people's war by which the NPA accumulates armed strength in the countryside until it is possible to seize political power in the cities. The armed revolution advances wave upon wave as a result of the basis of the struggle to seize weapons from the enemy side, carry out agrarian revolution and build the mass base in the countryside.

3.3 Duterte himself is unwittingly helping the armed revolution by abusing and violating the national and democratic rights of the people, thus driving them to join the revolution and by sending his troops to the countryside for ambush by the NPA. Therefore Duterte is described as the best recruiter of the CPP. He is also the chief transport and supply officer of the NPA.

4. *Can the government end the CPP and the NPA with just a mere force, meaning military operation?*

JMS: The Duterte regime cannot end the CPP and NPA with mere military force. The CPP and NPA have outlasted all regimes that have boasted of finishing them off. They will continue to exist and grow stronger long after the rule of Duterte, whether he can last until the end his term in 2022 or whether he succeeds in his mad drive to establish a fascist dictatorship through chacha for a bogus kind of federalism.

# ***On the Communist Party of the Philippines***

**Interview by Delfin Mallari, Jr. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*,**

**December 21, 2018**

---

## ***1. Why has the Philippine communist" insurgency" lasted for 50 years, now the longest in the world?***

JMS: The revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has lasted for 50 years, growing from small and weak to big and strong from December 26, 1968 onward because it has correctly described the Philippine ruling system as semicolonial and semifeudal and put forward the corresponding program of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The program upholds, defends and advances the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people, especially the oppressed and exploited toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The main content of the program includes: the realization of national sovereignty and protection of the national patrimony, democratic empowerment of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Economic development and social justice through genuine land reform and national industrialization; the advancement of a patriotic, scientific and pro-people system of education and culture; and international solidarity of peoples for peace and development.

The CPP has systematically strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It has built and developed the New People's Army (NPA). The mass organizations of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, youth, women and other sectors of common interest, the National Democratic Front and various related alliances and local organs of political power, which constitute the people's democratic government.

## ***2. Despite the strong state forces, all past presidents have declared to end the revolutionary movement but all have failed. What was the cause of their failure?***

JMS: All presidents from Marcos to Duterte have vowed to destroy the revolutionary movement. They all have failed. Duterte is sure to fail. The revolutionary movement is still alive and kicking and far from being destroyed, despite Duterte's boast of finishing it before the end of 2018. He has moved his deadline to the second quarter of next year. But he is the one in danger of political destruction before the end of his term.

The revolutionary movement has overcome the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos and the series of pseudodemocratic regimes because these have an anti-national, anti-democratic, anti-people counterrevolutionary character. They are servile to the US and other imperialist powers and serve the interests of the big compradors, landlords and to their own bureaucratic capitalist interests in corruption and repression of the people.

They are culpable for perpetuating the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. The people hold them accountable for the loss of national sovereignty and integrity, the violations of human rights, the lack of genuine land reform and national industrialization, the social injustices, the persistent colonial mentality and misuse of the capabilities of the intelligentsia and so on.

## ***3. On the other hand, why is it that after 50 years, the communist- led rebellion has not significantly advanced?***

JMS: The revolutionary movement has made tremendous advances since 1968. The CPP had only 80 members in 1968. Now it has more than 70,000 members nationwide. They are in all provinces of the Philippines. The NPA had only 60 Red fighters sharing only nine rifles and 26 inferior firearms. Now it has thousands of Red fighters, supported by tens of thousands of members of the militia and hundreds of thousands of self-defense units in mass organizations.

The mass organization members were only in the range of 50,000 in 1968. Now they are in a few millions. The NDFP and other related alliances allow the CPP to bring its revolutionary message to many more millions of people in the Philippines.

Most important of all, the people's democratic government has arisen on the basis of the local organs of political power created by the NPA and the mass organizations. There are now two governments in the Philippines: one is the rural-based people's democratic government of workers and peasants and the other is the urban-based reactionary government of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats.

The people's democratic government has comprehensive functions involving the following: administration at various levels, public education, land reform, production, finance, public health and sanitation, self-defense,

arbitration and justice system, cultural work, environmental protection, disaster relief, and so on.

4. *Critics and even veteran news reporters have the view that the number of NPA recruits have fallen. What also is the cause?*

JMS: It is not true that the number of NPA Red fighters has fallen. The NPA is now at its strongest in terms of number of fighters, auxiliaries, weaponry, experience and tempering in struggle and operational coordination on varying scales at national, regional, provincial and guerrilla front levels. The NPA has more than 110 guerrilla fronts covering significant areas of 73 of the 81 Philippine provinces.

It is an AFP invented myth spread in the press that the NPA had 25,000 full-time fighters in the mid-1980s. The fact is that the NPA had only 5600 as of the count by the Central Committee plenum in November 1985. This went up to more than 6,500 in 1986. But certain major errors of line became evident in 1987 to 1991. These were corrected by the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998. Since then, the NPA has grown strong with the proper balanced combination of mass work and tactical offensives. The NPA has been exemplary in Mindanao in developing itself according to this balance.

In certain regions in Luzon and Visayas, conservatism has tended to over-emphasize mass work and lessen the tactical offensives. But the CPP Second Congress has made a decision to end the conservatism and to intensify the guerrilla warfare intensively and extensively on the basis of ever widening and deepening mass base.

The NPA is very conscious of its nationwide spread and strength. It is determined to take advantage of the political, moral and economic bankruptcy of the Duterte regime and the limited capacity of the AFP and PNP. These are capable of occupying only a few thousands of barrios out of more than 44,000 at any given time. The NPA can at will launch tactical offensives against AFP and PNP weak points because these lack the people's support and are rendered deaf and blind to NPA surprise operations.

January 1, 2019

---

The Filipino people expect that this year, 2019, the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system will worsen and that the Duterte regime will not solve or soften but will even aggravate the crisis by imposing heavier taxes and causing the prices of basic goods and services to rise further and to use the tax revenues and public debt to feed bureaucratic corruption and raise spending for the military and police in order to carry out his terrorist all-out war aimed at suppressing the revolutionary movement of the people.

Within the year, the Duterte regime will further inflict grave social and economic suffering on the people and unleash mass murder and other human rights violations in a futile attempt to destroy the armed revolutionary movement and intimidate the people. The state terrorism will victimize not only the toiling masses of the people but also the middle social strata and even those in the upper classes who do not belong to the small and narrow ruling clique of Duterte.

Duterte is hellbent on imposing on the people a fascist dictatorship á la Marcos by using de facto or proclaimed martial law nationwide in the name of anti-terrorism in order to ensure control of the results of the scheduled May elections (if still to be held) and the railroading of charter for a bogus kind of federalism in which change the fascist dictator centralizes powers in his hands and handpicks his regional and provincial agents among the local dynasties and warlords.

Duterte is not interested in serious peace negotiations to address the roots of the armed conflict and make comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms in order to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. He has issued proclamations and executive orders in order to terminate and further render serious peace negotiations impossible. What he is open to is merely the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary movement of the people.

In view of the foregoing, what are the expectations of the people from the various revolutionary forces? The answer comes from the revolutionary publications that disseminate the decisions and plans of the leading organs of the revolutionary forces in the Philippines.

1. The Communist Party of the Philippines will perform its overall leading role in the people's democratic revolution promptly, correctly and clearly. It will base its plans and directives on the strength accumulated in 50 years of revolutionary struggle and the current circumstances and demands of the people. It will carry out the tasks to further strengthen and advance the Party and the revolutionary movement of the people.

2. The New People's Army(NPA) will intensify its tactical offensives to defeat the campaign of the enemy to destroy it while carrying out agrarian revolution and mass work. The successful NPA offensives in guerrilla warfare based on an expanding and deepening mass base will serve to strengthen the revolutionary movement by seizing arms from the enemy forces and will expose the lies of the enemy which misrepresent the character and status of the people's army and seek to mislead the people. The intensified offensives are meant to develop a fully armed company per guerrilla front and fulfil the maturation of the strategic defensive and proceed to the strategic stalemate in a few years' time.

3. The various types of mass organizations will be expanded as the source of strength of the CPP, NPA and the people's democratic government. The rural based mass organizations are urgently needed direct support to the people's democratic government and to the entire armed revolutionary process. The members of the mass organizations qualify as members of the local organs of political power, the people's militia and self-defense units.

4. The people's democratic government will be strengthened at all possible levels in order to take charge of administration and other social functions for the benefit of the people, such as land reform, public education, production, health and sanitation, cultural work, defense, arbitration and people's court, environmental protection and disaster relief. The people's government will support and facilitate the mobility and tactical offensives of the people's army.

5. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) will further strengthen itself as the most consolidated realization of the national united front but will be able to cooperate with all possible allies within the broad united front in order to isolate and oust the Duterte regime from power. The NDFP is authorized to be open to

peace negotiations with the current and prospective regimes of the reactionary government but its principal work now is to work for the ouster of the Duterte regime.

We expect that the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces will win ever greater victories in the next year and thereafter. The accumulated victories of their struggle in the 50 years since the founding of the Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism ought to inspire them to confront and defeat the Duterte regime and make further advances in the struggle against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.



# ***Reply to Duterte's Tirade in Lucena City against the CPP, NPA and the Revolutionary Mass Movement***

**January 22, 2019**

---

There is nothing rotten about fighting for genuine and full national independence and people's democracy and eventually for socialism even for another 50 years until victory is won. What is totally rotten is for Duterte to be serving the interests of both US and Chinese imperialists, the big compradors, landlords and his fellow corrupt bureaucrat capitalists who oppress and exploit the people.

There is nothing more rotten than killing 30,000 drug suspects and becoming the supreme drug lord and extend the mass murder to the workers, peasants, indigenous people, the social activists and human rights advocates to preserve the rotten ruling system. Duterte completely denies that the growing revolutionary forces, the revolutionary party of the working class, the New People's Army, the revolutionary mass organizations, the various types of alliances and the organs of political power that constitute the people's government.

Duterte is insane for thinking that the revolutionary movement does not govern a single barangay. The people's democratic government is now operating in more than 15,000 barangays and it is growing in waves until it can overthrow the counterrevolutionary state of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats like him.

It is too late for Duterte to glorify the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines and the world capitalist system, which is now in crisis far worse than in 1929 and the Great Depression.

Filipino revolutionaries have contempt for the restoration of capitalism in China and Russia but are pleased at the same time that the rise of Chinese and Russian monopoly capitalism is now intensifying the contradictions among the imperialist powers.

The intensifying inter-imperialist conflicts are making the people suffer more but are driving them to rise up in revolutionary resistance. Only an incorrigible traitor and tyrant and someone insane can glorify imperialist China and Russia, seek to keep the Philippines a prey to both old and new imperialist powers and refuse to take advantage of the inter-imperialist contradictions in order to serve the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

***The Revolutionary Movement is Advancing***

**February 10, 2019**

---

Contrary to the false claims of Duterte and his spokesman Panelo, the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people are winning on a nationwide scale. The CPP, NPA, NDFP, the revolutionary mass organizations and the people's democratic government are growing in strength and advancing against the reactionary government.

It is the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats that is losing and suffering one defeat after another. It makes false claims of victory only by inventing fake surrenders, fake encounters and fake development projects for so-called returnees. Its death squads can only murder the innocent and vulnerable who are misrepresented as "rebels" or "terrorists".

A tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, corrupt and swindling regime like that of Duterte has no future but total ignominy. This regime is merely a passing phase in the mortal life of the decadent anti-national and anti-democratic government. It has a demented scheme of imposing a full-blown fascist dictatorship on the people but this will actually drive the people to greater resistance and greater revolutionary victory.

Soon after the murder of the people's hero, Randy Malayao who is a peace advocate and holder of a safe conduct document under the JASIG in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, Duterte offered an insulting and false offer of peace negotiations premised on the surrender and political suicide of the revolutionary forces. Duterte's false offer of peace negotiations is nothing but a cheap demagogic trick to cover up and distract public attention from the criminal actions of his death squads.

As far as I am concerned, I have already accomplished the lifetime mission that I set for myself since I was 19 years old. I have already laid the theoretical, political and organizational foundation for the resumption and development of the Philippine revolution against foreign and feudal domination. The revolutionary movement is always being reinvigorated by younger proletarian revolutionaries, Red fighters and mass activists by the hundreds of thousands and millions.

The increase of imperialist powers since 1991, which now includes China and Russia, has intensified inter-imperialist contradictions and pushed the worsening and more frequent recurrence of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The broad masses of the people suffer more oppression and exploitation than ever before but are driven to fight more fiercely for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

From the current period of political turmoil and social disorder, we are now in transition to a period of great resurgence of the people's revolutionary forces on a global scale. US imperialism and the local reactionary forces want to destroy the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines because it has become one of the major factors for the advance of the global anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

# ***Guidelines for Social Investigation***

## ***and Class Analysis***

**March 29, 2019**

---

Thank you for inviting me to speak on social investigation and class analysis. I will try to discuss the need for and purpose of these, the scope and methods of carrying them out and their beneficial consequences to mass work among the overseas Filipinos.

You must know the situation, needs and demands of overseas Filipinos in Europe for the purpose of arousing, organizing and mobilizing them in order to uphold, defend and promote their rights, interests and welfare and encourage them to contribute what they can to advance the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy in the motherland.

You must therefore conduct social investigation among the overseas Filipinos to know their concrete conditions and apply class analysis inasmuch as they belong to different classes and deal with the host people who also belong to different classes. The application of class analysis on the empirical data produced through social investigation elevates the level of knowledge to an understanding of the basic factors, social relations, the trends and prospects.

In obtaining information about overseas Filipinos, you can rely on the assistance of those who have experienced and benefited from the mass work among them since the 1970s in several countries in Europe. They are articulate and know to a large extent the history and circumstances of overseas Filipinos. They are the key to approaching more overseas Filipinos and knowing their working and living conditions and the legal and social context within which they exist and work in Europe and in particular countries.

### ***Social investigation and class analysis***

Social investigation may be carried out on the scale of a city, city district, town or neighborhood with a mixture of members of mass organizations, new recruits and their friends who are gathered to exchange information on their past and current status and activities and exchange views on concerns and issues at their work place, in the host country and the Philippines and what they can do to handle these and advance their organizations.

There is no rule on the proportions of the types of Filipinos participating in social investigation. The proportions differ from place to place, depending on whether there is already a patriotic and progressive mass organization of whatever size and strength or there is none yet. The social investigation should be undertaken to strengthen an existing mass organization or to pave the way for establishing it where there is none. There is an immediate purpose to achieve by conducting social investigation.

Conversations and small meetings of five to twenty people may be the method for social investigation. They may be preceded by the accomplishment of bio-data forms that include the following: name, date and place of birth, civil status, current home and work address, educational attainment, work and position, political, civic and religious affiliations, previous home and work addresses in the Philippines, close relatives in the Philippines, and provincial origin.

Then the discussions can proceed to reasons why the gathered overseas Filipinos left the Philippines, their various qualifications or abilities, their legal status and legal problems if any, their current work, problems that they encounter at work and with regard to the family and the host country, how they cope with these problems, their stand on burning issues in the Philippines and on those in their host country, relations with Filipinos and the host people in the workplace and in the neighborhood and relations.

Social investigation through conversations and small meetings with overseas Filipinos can be augmented by interviews with knowledgeable Filipinos or foreign experts on legal and other issues, reading the laws and regulations that affect (beneficial and adverse) overseas Filipinos and studying articles and reports on socioeconomic, political and cultural conditions and trends in the host country that have an impact on overseas Filipinos and show who are their friends and adversaries in the host country.

The cadres doing the social investigation can offer the class analysis of their factual findings in their reports to responsible leading organs. They should be ready to discuss their reports with said organs at the country and

Europe-wide levels in order to sharpen the class analysis. The findings and class analysis can be tested by discussing these with the mass organizations concerned. This is in accordance with the mass line of taking back to the masses what was previously learned from them.

It is a matter of public knowledge that the overwhelming majority of overseas Filipinos are workers. Only a few belong to the urban petty bourgeois and occupy white-collar jobs. Class analysis can show how these different classes can be brought together in a united front of struggling for national independence and democracy in the Philippines and of enjoying a life of national solidarity and cooperation abroad.

To know well the social context in which the overseas Filipinos work and live, it is also necessary for the cadres of the national democratic movement to use social investigation and class analysis of the European Union and its various member-countries. The purpose is to understand the policies and laws of the host countries, the reactionary and progressive forces in the class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat and seek solidarity friends and supporters for the overseas Filipinos among the political parties, trade unions and mass organizations, institutions and agencies of the host country.

### ***Arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses***

1. In order to arouse the overseas Filipinos, political education and propaganda must be undertaken among them by the cadres of the national democratic movement. Propagate the program of people's democratic revolution. The social investigation and class analysis are conducted in order to apply more concretely this program in the program of the mass organizations of the overseas Filipinos.

Every type of mass organization that is to be formed among overseas Filipinos must take up their needs and demands in their current situation within the frame of the people's democratic revolution and the pertinent international conventions and laws. Issue statements and petitions in the name of the mass organizations. Mass meetings must be held to discuss the burning issues.

Between mass meetings, study meetings and group studies must be held to discuss current events in the Philippines and in the host country. Develop the public speakers, the writers and artists. Use publications, the internet, social media, audio-visuals and cultural performances. The Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation must resound among all the overseas Filipinos and their solidarity friends.

2. To organize the overseas Filipinos, there must be several types of mass organizations and there must be the party of the working class which is at the core of the mass movement. In cities and neighborhoods, organize associations of compatriots, workers, women, youth, artists, cultural performers and so on. The association of compatriots must be bound by the spirit of national unity and democracy.

The workers' organization binds most of the overseas Filipinos. The organizations for women, youth and cultural performers are also valid and necessary formations to deal with social conditions and issues pertinent to the rank and file. There may also be organizations of Filipinos who come from the same schools in the Philippines or from the same provinces and regions. These are the "natural" organizations that overseas Filipinos often form spontaneously.

Encourage the overseas Filipinos to join local unions, neighborhood associations, athletic and church organizations in order to know more people, progressive parties and organizations of the host people. Encourage them to organize or join solidarity organizations with the host people and migrants from other countries. Initiate or join a chapter of the ILPS.

3. The overseas Filipinos must be mobilized in various ways in order to build their strength. Launch campaigns and take up issues related to the rights and welfare of the overseas Filipinos. Initiate campaigns on Philippine issues along the national democratic line. Make bigger and more militant the mass actions that have been carried out previously.

Join campaigns for the common good of migrants from various countries and all other campaigns on international issues along the anti-imperialist and democratic line. By joining up with the people of other countries, we can make them aware of our own people's plight and struggle and gain their support.

Arrange conferences, seminars cultural presentations, film shows and other activities pertaining to the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation and invite other peoples to attend. Also arrange study tours and holiday tours in the Philippines for overseas Filipinos and their foreign friends.

4. The overseas Filipinos and their organizations must develop external relations with other organizations in their host country. Build solidarity relations with friendly organizations, institutions, parties and agencies of the

host country. Likewise build solidarity relations with other foreign migrant organizations and their parties if any.

Promote partnerships between Philippine-based organizations and the organizations of the host people and other peoples. Arrange observation and study tours, and fact-finding missions to the Philippines. Exchanges of visits have a strong binding effect on partnering organizations and peoples.

At this point, I end my presentation. Thank you for listening. Now, let us to proceed to an open forum on the subject.

# *The Anti-colonial Resistance in the Philippines*

Interview by Jacob Bodden, September 15, 2019

---

1. *Although The Philippines is independent in name, in what way would you consider The Philippines semicolonial and semifeudal?*

JMS: The US granted nominal independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946 and allowed the political representatives of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords to take charge of administration from national level downwards. But to keep the Philippines as a semicolony, the US required the puppet politicians to co-sign the US-RP Treaty of General Relations which upheld US property rights in the Philippines, kept the US military bases, put foreign relations of the Philippines under the supervision of the US State Department, and so on. Further on, after the grant of nominal independence, the US rammed through the Philippine Congress the enactment of the Parity Amendment to give US corporations and citizens equal rights like Filipinos to exploit natural resources, operate public utilities and all types of businesses.

The Philippines has been kept semifeudal by having the landlords dominate agricultural land in the countryside and the comprador big bourgeoisie dominate the cities. The most powerful and wealthiest kind of Filipino bourgeoisie has a comprador character, a trading and financial agent of US imperialism. There is no national industrialization occurring and no land reform to finally breakdown the feudal base of the economy. Since the first decade of the 20th century, the US has maintained the semifeudal economy by promoting mining and plantations for export-crops, allowing some manufacturing or semi-manufacturing short of establishing heavy and basic industries and favoring the importation of finished manufactures in a lopsided trade, which gives rise to heavy foreign indebtedness of the Philippines.

2. *In what way is the current revolutionary struggle a continuation of the 1896 revolution?*

JMS: The current revolution is a continuation of the 1896 revolution because it still aims to realize full national independence and people's democracy. But the difference is that it is now led by the working class, no longer by the liberal bourgeoisie, and has a socialist perspective. The industrial proletariat has expanded to some significant extent from some 5 percent to 16 percent since 1896. But it is still has to base itself on a worker-peasant alliance in order to wage revolution. The revolution is being consciously waged in the context of the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

3. *What are the most important differences between the anti-colonial resistance against Spain and the US, and the current revolutionary struggle?*

JMS: The most important differences are in the change of class leadership in the revolution from the liberal bourgeoisie to the proletariat, the change of proportions of classes in society due to the shift from feudal to semifeudal society and the world context of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution has been significantly affected after World War II by neocolonialism, anti-communism, social democracy, modern revisionism, neoliberalism and neoconservative line of ceaseless wars. But the revolutionary forces and people in the Philippines and in the world are fighting back. We are now in transition to a period of global resurgence of the revolutionary forces.

4. *In 1916 the United States declared by law that they had to work together with the Filipino people to become independent. Why did the US do this?*

JMS: Nationalist agitation and agrarian unrest continued. Thus, the US promised independence after "tutelage in self-government" and allowed Filipino officials to go on Independence missions to Washington to plead for independence. It was a way of letting off steam. And the US also targeted the landed estates of the Spanish religious estates for land reform, although the ultimate beneficiaries were Filipino landlords because the poor tenants could not afford the redistribution price of land.

***to Join the People's Army***

**August 8, 2019**

---

As in the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the Duterte de facto fascist dictatorship is using Executive Order No. 70 for red-tagging, harassments and extrajudicial killings of patriotic and democratic activists among workers, peasants and indigenous people, students and youth, religious, journalists, lawyers, environmentalists and human rights defenders in a futile attempt to suppress the people's movement for national and social liberation.

But the aforesaid repressive tactics of the tyrannical Duterte regime achieve the opposite. Legal activists in both urban and rural areas are being driven to join the people's armed revolution in order to defend themselves and obtain justice by revolutionary means for those already abducted, tortured and murdered by reactionary military and police operations.

Like Marcos, Duterte is unwittingly proving himself to be the best recruiter of the New People's Army (NPA). The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has welcomed and reported the sharp increase of people, especially young men and women, going underground and proceeding to the countryside for politico-military training and combat duty.

The NPA Red commanders and fighters are happy with their growing ranks and ridicule Duterte not only as the best recruiter for the NPA but also as their chief transport and supply officer. They aver that Duterte sends his military and police minions to the countryside only to be blown up by command-detonated explosives as well as struck down by NPA ambush units, thus unwittingly transporting and supplying arms to the NPA.

The number and capacity of the armed minions of the Duterte terrorist regime are limited and spread thinly nationwide. The NPA units can therefore easily choose the weak points of the enemy forces for tactical offensives in the form of ambushes, sniping, raids, sabotage and arrest operations.

The broad masses of the people and the legal democratic organizations of various classes and sectors anticipate that the Duterte regime will declare martial law nationwide and try to wipe out all organizations critical of the regime. It is therefore also anticipated that the armed city partisans and commando teams of the NPA will arise on a wide scale to fight the fascists in their urban lairs.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces, including the CPP, the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power enjoy a high level of morale because of their growing strength, the worsening socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system and the increasing isolation and debility of the treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt Duterte regime.

October 29, 2019

---

Dear comrades and friends, I am highly honored and deeply pleased to be invited to this seminar, which is being held on the occasion of the yearly "Literature and Revolution Congress" and which carries in this year the theme, "The Anticolonial Status of Mankind". I am aware that the focus is on the Third World peoples' struggles against imperialism and colonialism.

I thank the organizers from the Teatro dos Desoprimidos Project for inviting me to lecture on the Philippine revolution and present its origins, general line, development, setbacks and rectification and prospects.

I convey warmest greetings of international solidarity to you dear organizers, to my fellow lecturers who will speak on other people's struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the entire audience and participants from the Espiritu Santo Federal University and from various sectors of the progressive intelligentsia.

### **1. Origins**

Spain colonized the Philippines for more than 300 years since the 16th century. Still lacking national consciousness, the people in various communities in the archipelago engaged in more than 200 localized revolts intermittently. But these were defeated even as they expanded from century to century. Spain was able to impose a colonial and feudal system on the people who were still in diverse types of highly localized communities.

But the centralized system of colonial administration, oppression and exploitation resulted in the formation of national consciousness among the oppressed and exploited people. They ultimately realized that the system could rule over them because they were divided in disparate communities and were thus vulnerable to subjugation with the use of the sword and the cross.

The revolutionary organization Katipunan started the Philippine revolution in 1896 when it called for national independence of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism. At that time, the leadership of the revolution had a bourgeois liberal ideology and targeted the Spanish colonial administration and the religious orders owning vast landed estates.

The Philippine revolution won against Spanish colonialism throughout the archipelago in 1898. But the US had its own plan of colonizing the Philippines. It engaged Spain in a war through which it would take over Spain's colonial possessions. On December 10, 1898, the US and Spain made a treaty in Paris which effected the sale of the Philippines to the US for 20 million US dollars.

The US launched a war of aggression against the new Philippine republic, starting on February 4, 1899. The Filipino people fought heroically and valiantly. But the US prevailed with superior military force. With 75,000 troops with machine guns and cannons, it massacred 1.5 million Filipinos from 1899 to 1913. It was also able to coopt a number of leaders of the Philippine government who came from the landed class.

The US started laying the ground for a new colonial regime in 1902 with the call for "benevolent assimilation" and capitulation of the key leaders of the Philippine government, even as the national resistance was still going on. By the second decade of the 20th century, the US had consolidated its power over a colonial and semifeudal ruling system.

By 1930 the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) was established mainly by Filipino trade union leaders, under the auspices of the Third Communist International and the US Communist Party. The CPPI upheld Marxism-Leninism as guide to action and promoted the class leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for national independence and democracy.

The CPPI was banned soon after its founding and its leaders were arrested and convicted on the charge of sedition for which they were imprisoned or exiled. But in 1936 the US allowed the puppet president Quezon to release these leaders from prison or exile in connection with the international united front developing against the fascist powers. The CPPI merged with the Socialist Party to form one party in 1938.

After the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941, the merger party decided to form the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) in 1942. By fighting the invaders, this army became strong mainly in Central Luzon, a



region adjacent to Manila, and enabled land reform, the strengthening of peasant and other mass organizations and the establishment of local organs of political power.

Were it not for certain major errors of the leadership of the CPPI-SP merger party during World War II and the succeeding years, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces would have emerged far stronger and more capable of overcoming the return of US imperialism and achieving national liberation and democracy. Instead, US imperialism was able to dominate the Philippines again and turn it to a semicolonial and semifeudal system run by puppet politicians representing the big comprador and landlord classes.

Because of its adventurist errors in 1948 to 1949, the merger party weakened itself, the people's army and other revolutionary forces to the extent that they became insignificant and close to total destruction from 1952 onwards. It became the task of young proletarian revolutionaries from the youth, trade union and peasant associations to revive it from 1963 onwards and to leave it in 1966 when the revisionist elements became too obstructive to the advance of the revolutionary movement.

## **2. General line**

The Communist Party of the Philippines was re-established on December 26, 1968 in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought/Maoism as the theoretical guide to action, the general political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

We applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the study of the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people and we were determined to apply it further to the realization and development of the Philippine revolution. We considered ourselves fortunate that our revolutionary knowledge and vision of the socialist and communist future were enriched by the teachings of Comrade Mao in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

But we were absolutely clear that our general political line was to pursue and realize the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We were continuing the unfinished revolution that was started by the Katipunan but was frustrated by the US imperialist war of aggression. But it was also clear to us that we were carrying out a new democratic revolution led by the working class in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In carrying out the general line, we consciously built the three revolutionary weapons of the Filipino people: the CPP as the advanced detachment of the working class and the leading force of the revolution, the New People's Army as the main instrument for destroying the state power of the reactionary classes and for guaranteeing the rise of the people's organs of democratic power, and the national united front, supported by the antifeudal united front in the countryside.

The CPP builds itself ideologically through the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought/Maoism. It conducts social research and investigation and issues statements and acts on important concerns. Organs and units at various levels collect adequate reports for collective discussion and decision-making. Party schools are run at basic, intermediate and advance levels for the education of cadres and members. The Party conducts politico-military training for cadres and fighters of the people's army, people's militia and self-defense units,

The CPP builds itself politically in accordance with the general line of people's democratic revolution. It arouses, organizes and mobilizes the masses. It conducts political education on the general line and on the burning issues. It exercises absolute leadership over the people's army. It builds various types of mass organizations of the workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, women, youth, professionals and other people. To invigorate and make them effective, they are mobilized in campaigns to inform, protest and make demands or to carry out social programs and projects.

The CPP builds itself organizationally under the principle of democratic centralism. It recruits from the ranks of the most committed and most militant activists of the mass movement, especially from the organizations of the toiling masses of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie on a nationwide scale. It follows the principle of democratic centralism, which means centralized leadership on the basis of democracy. It observes conscious iron discipline as well as democracy in collective discussions and decision-making.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA carries out the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. It encircles the cities from the countryside. It avails of the physical and social terrain of the countryside which allows it to grow from small and weak to big and strong over a long period of time. It relies on the peasantry as the main

force of people's war. This can develop in three probable strategic stages: defensive, stalemate and counter-offensive. Through successful tactical offensives, the main form of warfare can advance from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare and finally to regular warfare.

The NPA carries out agrarian revolution in order to gain the trust and confidence of the peasant masses and satisfy their democratic demand for land. According to the circumstances, the NPA carries out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, improvement of the wages of farm workers, raising the prices at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. When possible, the maximum program of land confiscation from the landlords and big corporations for free distribution to the poor peasants and farm workers are carried out.

The NPA engages in mass-base building in the countryside and applies the anti-feudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. The NPA encourages and supports the mass organizations of the peasants and other sections of the people, builds the organs of political power and trains the people's militia and the self-defense units in every village.

The national united front implements the revolutionary class line of developing the working class as the leading force and the peasantry as the main force, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, which is the ruling clique of big compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism. In case of aggression by an imperialist power, the current civil war becomes a national war against such aggression.

The most consolidated form of the national united front is the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), which consists of 18 revolutionary organizations. While the NDFP itself is already a formidable united front, it is always open to a broader united front in order to isolate and destroy the power of the current enemy. It employs all forms of legal and illegal struggle. It develops all forms of revolutionary forces and allies. It engages in all forms of struggle inside and outside the ruling system.

Like the CPP, which always strives to develop relations of proletarian internationalism with other communist and workers' parties and movements, the NDFP always strive to develop relations of internationalist solidarity with all peoples and their anti-imperialist and democratic parties and organizations. It develops relations of friendship, mutual support and cooperation between the Filipino people and other peoples of the world on the basis of seeking a new and brighter world against the oppressive and exploitative conditions under imperialism and all forms of reaction.

### **3. Development**

When it was founded in 1968, the CPP had only 80 full and candidate members. They led trade unions, youth organizations and other types of mass organizations whose members ran into thousands, but not yet more than 25,000. Now, the CPP membership is in the tens of thousands. Its organized mass base of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, professionals and other sectors run into millions. The CPP has become the largest and most powerful revolutionary proletarian party that has ever arisen in Philippine history. The mass base is nationwide, in nearly all the 81 provinces of the Philippines and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. This has been realized by waging the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The CPP had a wide basis for nationwide expansion because of the thousands of mass activists in the youth organizations, trade unions and peasant associations led by the CPP cadres. It also engaged in politico-military training for hundreds of committed and able-bodied activists to serve in expansion teams for selected areas in five regions of the Philippines. After only three months from its founding in 1968, the CPP founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 and expanded the CPP mass base by 80,000 people with the integration of the veteran cadres and fighters of the old people's army in the second district of Tarlac province. The NPA started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters. NPA expansion teams without firearms were immediately deployed to prepare guerrilla zones and acquire firearms from localities.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 74 provinces. More than 90 per cent of NPA firearms have been seized from the enemy and the rest have been acquired as gifts and through purchases. The full time Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of

members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxiliaries as well as reserve forces for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all previous revolutionary armies in Philippine history. It is now striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. The advance of the revolution is assured by the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating oppression and exploitation.

The wide reliable rural mass base of the CPP and NPA is constituted mainly by the peasant masses who participate and benefit from the various stages of the agrarian revolution. It is the solid foundation of the local Party branches and the local organs of political power. In carrying out the agrarian revolution in stages, the CPP applies the antifeudal united front as earlier explained.

As a result of the advances in armed struggle and mass work, the CPP has been able to establish and develop the people's democratic government in the countryside on a nationwide scale. At first, the organs of political power are constituted by appointed cadres of the Party and the representatives of the masses and subsequently by those elected by the mass organizations or the masses in the guerrilla bases.

The people's democratic government is in charge of local administration, mass organizing, public education, socioeconomic programs, cultural activities, self-defense, internal security, settlement of disputes, the people's court, environmental protection, and social work to cope with enemy-caused and natural disasters.

The enemy is deluding itself when it claims that the Philippine revolution has failed merely because after the last 50 years the CPP has not yet captured the presidential palace in Manila. In fact, there are now two governments fighting each other. One is the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants; and the other is that of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrat who are servile to imperialist masters.

By applying the national united front policy and tactics, the CPP has been effective in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. As a result, the broad united front has been successful at isolating and ousting from power the most hated enemy regimes, like the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and subsequently the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

At the moment, a broad united front has arisen to fight and overthrow the traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt US-Duterte regime in order to frustrate its scheme of establishing a full-blown Marcos-type fascist dictatorship through a series of extremely repressive measures of state terrorism and under the pretext of charter change for federalism. In the grossest way, this regime is culpable for treason, mass murder, corruption and other grievous crimes against the people.

The tyrant Duterte is obsessed with seeking to destroy the CPP, NPA and other forces of the Philippine revolution. He announced that he would destroy the revolutionary movement before the end of 2018. When he saw his impending failure, he moved his deadline for destroying the movement to the second quarter of 2019. Subsequently, he and his subalterns have moved their deadline to 2022 in the face of the growing strength of the revolutionary forces and the people.

The Filipino people fully recognize and detest the anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-people character of the Duterte regime in terminating the peace negotiations with the NDFP in order to push through its scheme of fascist dictatorship. This regime faces the prospect of political destruction even before the end of his term in 2022.

Whether Duterte can finish his term or not, the Philippine revolution will outlast his rule and will continue to grow in strength and advance.

The CPP has established comradely relations with communist and workers parties and movements abroad in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has promoted the relationship of Filipino mass organizations with their counterparts abroad in the internationalist spirit of peoples' solidarity. It has also fostered the solidarity relations of overseas Filipinos and their organizations with the host peoples and other guest communities in scores of countries.

#### 4. Setbacks and Rectification

The great achievements of the Philippine Revolution in more than 50 years have been realized by building the CPP, the NPA, NDFP, the mass organizations and the organs of political power through hard work and fierce struggle, which involve overcoming tremendous odds in the objective situation, the violent and deceptive assaults

of the enemies and the setbacks that are due to subjectivist and opportunist errors and shortcomings of the revolutionary forces.

The tremendous odds come from the the objective situation not only in the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system but also in the world capitalist system. In fact, US imperialism has dictated on Filipino puppet regimes the preservation and aggravation of the domestic system of oppression and exploitation and has provided a wide range of counterrevolutionary weapons, including the ideology of anti- communism and the hardware for surveiling, tracking and killing people.

The CPP resumed the armed revolution of the Filipino people when the US was waging the Cold War to spread anti-communism in the Philippines and the Soviet Union was also spreading modern revisionism to discourage armed revolution through the Filipino revisionist renegades. Worse external conditions seemed to go against the Philippine revolution when the Soviet Union collapsed and US imperialism became the sole superpower in 1991.

But the CPP became inspired by the continuing revolutionary movements abroad and focused on taking advantage of the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system, the growing inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way and the rising desire of the Filipino people for armed revolution. It became even more determined to strengthen itself and wage the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The CPP has been able to overcome all the strategic campaign plans of military suppression and psy-war unleashed by the reactionary ruling system from the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos through the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes of Corazon Aquino , Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III to the current tyrannical regime of Duterte who idolizes Marcos and aspires to rule as fascist dictator.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle, there are times when the attacks of the enemy can be damaging to the people and the revolutionary movement. But the scale and duration of the damage has never eliminated any regional organization of the CPP or regional command of the NPA or any of the various forms of people's struggle in any region of the Philippines.

In fact, the major subjectivist and opportunist errors of certain renegades have been more than damaging than the offensives unleashed by the enemy. The CPP has benefited greatly from criticizing, repudiating and rectifying the major errors of the series of Lava brothers acting as general secretary of the merger party.

Vicente Lava committed the error of Right opportunism from 1942 to 1946 by adopting the passive "retreat for defense" policy and welcoming the return of US imperialism to the Philippines. Jesus Lava committed the error of "Left" opportunism from 1948 to 1949 by taking the adventurist line of aiming to win the armed revolution in only two years without need of land reform and mass work. Finally Jesus Lava committed the error of Right opportunism again from 1950 to 1962 by issuing orders to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the merger party in 1957.

So far, the biggest errors committed by certain renegades in the CPP are the subjectivist one of reconsidering the semifeudal character of the Philippine social economy as industrial capitalist (in effect praising Marcos for supposedly industrializing the country) and the "Left" opportunist one of prematurely regularizing and verticalizing the NPA and neglecting mass work supposedly for the purpose of speeding up military victory.

These errors resulted in serious shrinkage of mass base and more effective enemy attacks in certain regions at different periods from 1985 to 1992, limiting gains from the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Worst of all, in certain regions, the renegades scapegoated comrades and allies in good standing as "deep penetration agents" and meted out undeserved punishments. The Second Great Rectification identified the major errors and crimes. It criticized, repudiated and rectified them.

The rectification movement resulted in raising the level of theoretical and political education in the entire CPP rank and file and caused the recovery and advance of the revolutionary forces in the areas adversely affected by the errors. Thus, from 1992 onwards the Philippine revolution gained in strength and advanced. The CPP was able to play a major role in the overthrow of Estrada in early 2001.

In subsequent decades, the problematic phenomenon of conservatism arose in Luzon and Visayas, while the forces of the NPA in Mindanao were able to adopt the correct combination of combat and mass work in order to strengthen the NPA and the mass base. Conservatism is characterized by over-concentrating on mass work and neglecting the task of launching tactical offensives against the enemy by over- dispersing small NPA units (squads or teams) over wide areas and reducing effective command over them. The overdispersal of small NPA units renders these vulnerable to enemy offensives. They can be easily put in purely defensive positions and upon their

destruction their previous mass work comes to nothing.

The need for full-time combat units of the NPA to take the initiative in launching tactical offensives is also sometimes prejudiced by over-dependence on the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations, which should be properly assigned to internal security tasks in the main. The result is that the NPA commanders at higher levels and even the NPA units themselves adopt civilian ways for extended periods at the expense of politico-military training and combat operations.

The Second Congress of the CPP identified conservatism as a major error and launched a rectification movement against it. There is unanimity in rectifying the error by comprehending further the strategy and tactics of people's war and by redeploying the NPA units in such a way that in guerrilla fronts there is a center of gravity for the people's war and a sufficient proportion of fighters dispersed for mass work. The periodic rotation of Red commanders and fighters is undertaken to give every NPA formation or unit the chance to experience and learn combat and mass work.

### **Prospects**

The prospects for the further advance and ultimate total victory of the Philippine revolution are bright. Further victories in the revolutionary struggle are guaranteed by the continued worsening of the chronic crisis of the semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system. The inability of the ruling class to rule in the old way is demonstrated by the recurrence of the open rule of terror from Marcos down to Duterte. The ruling system continues to decompose and heighten the people's desire for revolutionary change. The conditions are therefore favorable for the growth and advance of the CPP, NPA and other subjective forces of the revolution.

There is no letup in the worsening of the socioeconomic crisis. The whole economy and the reactionary state are bankrupt and dependent on rising taxes and domestic and foreign debt. While import-dependent consumption is favored, the agricultural and industrial sectors are deteriorating. Underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty are rampant as the foreign monopolies rake in superprofits from the exploitation and export of natural resources and importation of consumer goods and the local big compradors and landlords increase the exploitation of the people.

The socioeconomic crisis generates political crisis within the ruling system. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords, together with their political agents, brazenly engage in the plunder of public resources. Divided into political factions, they compete in using criminal means in order to keep power and enrich themselves. The current Duterte regime is escalating the repression of the people as well its political rivals within the ruling system. The regime and its political rivals are engaged in a competition for influence and control over the reactionary armed forces and police.

The regime tries to win the support of two imperialist powers, the US and China, which are now increasingly at odds with each other. To gain the support of the US, it has pledged to destroy the revolutionary movement, it has allowed the reestablishment of US military bases within the puppet military camps and it has promised to amend the constitution to allow US corporations 100 per cent ownership of all kinds of business enterprises. To gain the support of China, it has sold out Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the rich marine and mineral resources under it in exchange for high interest Chinese loans and overpriced infrastructure projects.

But the regime is not getting everything in its favor from the two imperialist powers. The US resents Chinese interference and obstruction of the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, China gaining control over the telecommunications system in the Philippines and turning the Philippines into its own debt colony. The US remains the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and is in a position to instigate a coup against Duterte among the pro-US military officers. At the same time, China is not promptly delivering on its promised infrastructure projects while it is still compelling Duterte to make more explicit declarations of sell-out and treason. Even then, he has already made enough declarations of puppetry to China that the people and a significant number of pro-US military officers are already enraged against him.

Even when the US had not yet declined strategically as much as now and had not faced any overt challenge of political rivalry from China, the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces could successfully wage the new democratic revolution against the US-supported reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. It can be expected that the escalation of inter-imperialist contradictions, especially those between the US and China, would aggravate and complicate the contradictions among the reactionary political factions of the big compradors

and landlords and result in advantages for the Philippine revolution. In any case, the revolutionary forces will continue to advance on the basis of the mass participation and support of the people in accordance with their national and democratic rights and interests.

The depredations made by the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, corrupt and swindling Duterte regime inflict great suffering on the people but at the same time drive them to rise up in resistance. By its own gross and systematic crimes against the people, the regime is unwittingly compelling the people to join the armed revolution and provide support to the revolutionary forces such as the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power. The protracted people's war has enabled the growth of the people's government in the countryside and all the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

On the basis of the experience and strength that they have already gained, the revolutionary forces will gain further strength and advance from year to year. The CPP will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The NPA will strive to develop guerrilla warfare intensively and extensively on the basis of widening and deepening mass base during the strategic defensive, build companies and battalions as mobile combat units in the strategic stalemate and mobilize entire battalions and regiments for the strategic offensive. At the same time, the NDFP shall strengthen its component organizations and develop broad alliances with other forces in order to isolate and destroy the enemy, whether this be a domestic ruling clique in the civil war or an imperialist power in a war of national liberation.

The Philippine revolution will be able to take advantage not only of the crisis of the domestic ruling system but also the crisis of the world capitalist system. All the imperialist powers will continue to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations. But the contradictions within and among the imperialist powers will sharpen. The Filipino people will carry out the Philippine revolution not only to realize their own national and social liberation but also to help the working class and all oppressed peoples and nations to advance in their own revolutions. They will benefit from mutual support and cooperation under the principles of proletarian internationalism and internationalist peoples' solidarity.

# ***Study the Philippine Revolution for the Purpose***

## ***of Solidarity and Common Struggle***

### ***against Imperialism and all Reaction***

December 5, 2019

---

Dear comrades and friends, I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the organizers and all the participants who are meeting today to study: "Philippines: society, revolution and national liberation." I am very happy that you are interested in the study of the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.

I thank the New Fatherland Movement (Movimento Nova Pátria), Josué de Castro Base Nucleum (Núcleo de Base Josué de Castro) and Leonel Brizola Foundation (Fundação Leonel Brizola) for organizing this study meeting. I thank Comrade Rodrigo Ortega of NOVACULTURA for being the speaker.

I thank the progressive students of Pernambuco Federal University for participating as the main audience in this meeting. I hope that you will enjoy and learn from the presentation of the speaker and raise questions in the open forum in order to sharpen your understanding of the issue.

I suggest that you read and study the Brazilian edition of *Philippine Society and Revolution* to learn the essentials of Philippine history, the basic problems of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which the Filipino people suffer in their current society and the comprehensive solution which is the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective,

I also suggest that you monitor the decomposition of the semicolonial and semifeudal society and the progress of the various forms of revolutionary struggle, especially the main form of struggle which is the people's war in the Philippines by reading the following websites: <https://cpp.ph> and [www.josemariasison.org](http://www.josemariasison.org)

At the moment, the Filipino people are fighting the Duterte regime which is traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and mendacious. This regime serves the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists as well as two imperialist powers, the US and China.

It allows US imperialism to have economic, political and military dominance over the Philippines by virtue of treaties, agreements and arrangements and pleases it with the promise to destroy the people's revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

At the same time, the Duterte ruling clique sells out to China sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and enriches itself with commissions for high interests loans and overpriced infrastructure projects. It also collaborates with Chinese criminal syndicates in smuggling and distributing drugs in the Philippines.

The Filipino people fight the Duterte regime and the entire ruling system with the CPP as the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the people's army, the mass organizations of the various patriotic and progressive classes and sectors, the united front and the local organs of political power being established in the countryside.

All the brutal and malicious attempts of the regime to destroy the people's revolutionary movement will fail, like all the previous reactionary regimes in more than 50 years. Such futile attempts aggravate the suffering of the people and drive them to intensify the revolutionary struggle and achieve further advances towards victory.

I urge you to keep on studying the Philippine revolution for the purpose of extending your solidarity and support to the Filipino people as well as for learning lessons that may be helpful to you in carrying out revolutionary struggle in Brazil.

We learn from each other and support each other in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and people's solidarity against imperialism and all reaction as our common enemies in order to advance the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

# ***Duterte Regime Goes Downhill as Revolutionary Movement Rises***

December 26, 2019

---

In keeping with my historic title as Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, I convey my warmest revolutionary greetings to the cadres and members for continuing to strengthen their great and glorious party as the advanced detachment of the working class and as leader of the Filipino people and all revolutionary forces in the struggle for national and social liberation along the general line of new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

I salute you for your achievements in responding to the demands of the people for revolutionary change against the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal system dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Like you, I honor most highly all the revolutionary martyrs and heroes of the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement for all their efforts and sacrifices in order to realize the accumulated and current victories in the struggle for national independence and democracy.

This is a time for you to celebrate your struggles, sacrifices and successes, to examine the objective conditions in the Philippines, the worsening crisis and the opportunities it presents, sum up your experiences and learn from positive and negative lessons, base yourselves on the strength that you have achieved and set forth the tasks and goals that you wish to realize in the ideological, political and organizational fields.

## ***Worsening crisis of the ruling system***

The objective conditions are exceedingly favorable for advancing the people's democratic revolution because the traitorous, tyrannical, murderous, corrupt and deceptive Duterte regime has aggravated the chronic crisis of the ruling system by escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people and driving them to wage people's war and all forms of resistance.

More than ever the regime has worsened the conditions of underdevelopment, high unemployment, low incomes, soaring prices of basic commodities and mass poverty. It has further bankrupted the economy by shunning land reform and national industrialization, increasing import-dependent consumption and rapidly making the local and foreign debt burden and tax burden of the people intolerably heavier.

Worst of all, colossal amounts of public funds are wasted on bureaucratic and military corruption and on futile schemes to destroy the revolutionary movement and impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. It is apt to describe the regime of state terrorism and unbridled greed as unwittingly the best recruiter of CPP members, Red fighters and other revolutionaries. It is also the best transport and supply officer of the New People's Army for sending its troops for annihilation on terrain advantageous to guerrilla warfare.

Since he became president in 2016, Duterte has been obsessed with seeking to destroy the revolutionary movement in order to please US imperialism and the local reactionary classes. At first, he claimed to be "Left" and "socialist" and pretended to be for peace negotiations. But he used these pretenses only to cover up his all-out war against the people and the revolutionary forces in the countryside and further launch in the name of rabid anti-communism the series of repressive measures, especially Proclamations Nos. 360 and 374 to Executive Order No. 70.

The regime has used the most brutal and deceptive methods to impose a de facto fascist dictatorship on the entire nation and undisguised martial rule in Mindanao and in so-called focus areas of attacks. Deviously named the whole-nation approach, the scheme to militarize and make fascist the entire government and society is totally and extremely counterproductive and costly. The broad masses of the people detest the systematic and gross violations of human rights through red tagging, fake surrenders, fake encounters, extrajudicial killings, looting, arson, bombing of communities and grabbing of land and resources for plantations, mining and logging.

All efforts of the Duterte regime to destroy the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement have failed. Thus, out of desperation, he offered once more peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines on December 5. Within 24 hours, he and his military and police officers exposed their own evil intentions by demanding that the peace negotiations be held in the Philippines and that the NDFP negotiating personnel put



themselves under enemy duress, control and surveillance and make themselves available for slaughter at any time.

Nonetheless, the people's demand for a just peace, the clamor of peace advocates for peace negotiations and the willingness of the anti-militarist section of the Duterte regime support the consistent stand of the CPP and the NDFP to be open to peace negotiations and to seek all possible ways to counter the rampant violations of human rights and to propagate the people's demand for basic social, economic and political reforms. Thus, the NDFP has agreed with the GRP to engage in reciprocal unilateral ceasefires from December 23, 2019 to January 7, 2020 in order to foster the environment favorable to the resumption of peace negotiations.

The resumption of the peace negotiations can be realized by reaffirming the mutual agreements since the Hague Joint Declaration of 1992, by superceding the presidential issuances that previously terminated and prevented peace negotiations and by laying the ground for the Interim Peace Agreement, which is a package of agreements involving the 1) general amnesty and release of all political prisoners; 2) the approval of articles of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER), particularly those on agrarian reform and rural development and national industrialization and economic development; and 3) coordinated unilateral ceasefires.

Notwithstanding the current ceasefire agreement and the probability of resuming the peace negotiations, the CPP and the entire revolutionary movement need to be vigilant and militant against the continuing scheme of the counter-revolutionaries and their imperialist masters who seek in vain either the destruction or capitulation of the revolutionary forces at the expense of the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. So long as there is yet no final agreement that ensures a just peace, the people and their revolutionary forces have all the right to wage revolutionary struggle.

### ***The growing strength of the revolutionary movement***

The CPP and revolutionary mass movement are invincible. They have been tempered by more than 50 years of revolutionary struggle against the ruling system and all the strategic plans devised by US imperialism and their Filipino puppets to destroy them. They keep on growing because the objective conditions for waging armed revolution are increasingly favorable and the broad masses of the people demand revolutionary change. On the basis of the CPP publications, I am well aware that the CPP is resolutely and vigorously building itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

It continuously educates and trains the new recruits and its accumulated membership of tens of thousands in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. As the leader of the revolutionary movement, it carries out the people's democratic revolution by skillfully strengthening itself, waging armed struggle and availing of the united front. It conducts mass work and builds the mass organizations of various exploited classes, strata and sectors of Philippine society. It keeps on creating new units of the people's army and the auxiliary forces of the people's militia and the self-defense units in mass organizations.

It engages in alliance work by relying mainly on the basic toiling masses of workers and peasants, winning over the middle forces and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy. At the moment, the Duterte regime is encircled by the legal democratic movement, the revolutionary movement and by the intrasystemic conservative opposition. As the reactionary government is corrupt, bankrupt and decadent, the CPP creates the organs of democratic political power to displace the power of the reactionary state in the countryside until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities dominated by the exploiting classes.

In the course of its ideological, political and organizational work, the CPP engages in criticism and self-criticism in order to correct errors and shortcomings in a timely and period manner, to improve work and style of work and achieve bigger and better results. In the course of the current rectification movement and for an extended period, it is solving the problem of conservatism which has overemphasized mass work at the expense of launching tactical offensives in certain areas and which has been characterized by over-dispersal of full-time small units (squads and teams) of the people's army.

The CPP is ensuring that in a guerrilla front the command platoon or main unit of a company is relatively concentrated and capable of collecting actionable information, planning and carrying out tactical offensives; and two other platoons or secondary units are relatively dispersed for mass work but prepared for tactical offensives whenever necessary. The NPA personnel are rotated periodically for combat and other non-combat tasks in order to

develop their skills in a well-rounded way. In the face of enemy onslaughts, NPA combat units are oriented to seize the initiative and wage offensive operations to annihilate enemy units, destroy their facilities and force them to guard duty.

In the finest communist and patriotic tradition, the stronger regions of the revolutionary movement are sharing competent and battle-tested cadres and Red commanders and fighters to help strengthen weaker regions and raise higher the overall fighting capacity of the entire revolutionary movement. The revolutionary forces under concentrated attacks by their enemy are faring well with the employment of major and minor tactics of guerrilla warfare and are developing the strategy and tactics of counter-encirclement. Those forces under relatively less concentrated enemy attacks are doing their best to launch tactical offensives by way of helping those under more concentrated attacks.

In response to the expectations of the Filipino people, the CPP is determined to lead the NPA in bringing about the full development of the strategic defensive of the people's war, from the middle phase to the advanced phase, through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. The regional leading organs of the CPP are developing the coordination and interoperability of two or three neighboring guerrilla fronts for the purpose of defense and offense. The entire CPP is ever determined to create new guerrilla fronts by winning battles and campaigns in the direction of developing more NPA companies and reaching eventually the stage of the strategic stalemate.

The worsening crisis of the ruling system and the people's hatred of the Duterte reign of terror and greed make it impossible for the coercive and deceptive instruments of the state to know and suppress all the revolutionary forces and their activities. The evil agents of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are weighed down by their own brutality and corruption. The more violent and intimidating they become the more they goad the people to wage all forms of resistance.

The Duterte regime is going downhill to hell and cannot find enough relief from its imperialist masters to overcome the rising revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. Despite being able to retain overall dominance over the Philippines, the US is increasingly looking at Duterte as more of a liability than an asset as he fails to fulfill his pledge to destroy the revolutionary movement and as he allows China to gain advantages that prejudice the economic and security interests of the US in the Philippines.

At the same time, while pressuring the Duterte regime to do a more flagrant surrender of Philippine sovereign rights, China has not promptly complied with its promises to deliver extremely onerous loans and overpriced infrastructure projects, despite the already treasonous waiver of Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the rich oil, gas and marine resources under it as well as the lopsided agreement for China to explore and exploit energy resources and monopolize the valuation of the costs and the information on production.

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

The world capitalist system is in grave crisis. The major capitalist economies, the so-called emerging markets and the many underdeveloped economies have become depressed since the economic and financial crash of 2008. The strategic decline of the US has accelerated because of the costly ceaseless wars of aggression and the bankruptcy of the neoliberal economic policy. The US has become blatantly protectionist and blames China's state monopoly capitalism for enjoying large export surpluses in trade with the US and using state-owned enterprises and state planning to be able to take advantage of the economic, trade and technological concessions from the US in achieving strategic economic and security goals.

The main partners in neoliberal globalization for several decades are now at odds with each other. Their conflicts are the main feature of the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions. They arise at a time that the US is made desperate by its own strategic decline but is still in a position to expose China's sitting on a mountain of bad debts and to upset and sabotage China's accumulation of surplus capital for imperialist deployment through the Belt and Road Initiative. We can expect more conflicts to come from the two imperialist powers over the Philippines, the South China Sea, East Asia and in other regions of the world.

The rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is causing the intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions. The traditional imperialist powers headed by the US and the new imperialist powers headed by China and Russia are now locked in a bitter struggle for a redivision of the world. At the same time, the crisis has resulted in the escalation of the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat people both in the advanced capitalist countries and underdeveloped countries. Thus, we see today the unprecedented spread and intensity of mass protests on a global scale, especially against neoliberalism and fascism. The current mass protests are

harbingers of greater struggles of the people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reactions.

Quite a number of the unarmed mass movements have the potential of being transformed into people's war to address the central question of political power in the face of the growing propensity of the imperialists and reactionaries to use fascist terror to be able continue the extreme forms of exploitation under neoliberalism. The Philippine revolution is favored by the worldwide rise of popular resistance against imperialism and reaction. Consequently, it can accelerate its advance and further strengthen its role as torch-bearer of the world anti-imperialist and proletarian-socialist revolution.

- Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!
- Long live the people's democratic revolution with socialist perspective!
- Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!
- Long live the proletariat and peoples of the world!
- Long live proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples!

# ***On the Filipino People's Revolutionary Struggle***

## ***for National and Social Liberation***

**New Year's Message, January 1, 2020**

---

The evil forces of US imperialism and local reaction are escalating the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people with the use of neoliberalism and state terrorism. They make the people suffer but goad them to fight back and aim for revolutionary change. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Filipino people are engaged in the new democratic revolution against the semicolonial and ruling system, now chiefly represented by the Duterte regime.

This regime is traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and mendacious. It has tried and failed to intimidate and deceive the people and suppress their revolutionary forces. But it has succeeded in further inciting them to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle, especially people's war. Once more I congratulate the Filipino people for their victories in their revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.

By offering peace negotiations to the revolutionary movement, Duterte has the burden of proving that he is willing to change the anti-national and anti-democratic character of his regime and to make agreements on social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the civil war and lay the basis for a just peace. He can only delude himself by boasting that the revolutionary movement has no choice but to surrender or be destroyed.

He is now in the lameduck years of his term and his grievous crimes are weighing down heavily on him and his entire regime. He is increasingly being isolated by his own crimes and by a broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces. The broad masses of the people detest his regime for imposing extreme and intolerable oppression and exploitation on them and are desirous of rising up against his reign of terror and greed.

The Duterte regime cannot save itself from a disgraceful end by depending on US or Chinese imperialism or on both. These imperialist powers have no interest in the Philippines but to gain hegemony. The US wants to retain its overall hegemony and China takes advantage of the corrupt character of the Duterte regime to gain strategic footholds in the West Philippine Sea and in the entire Philippine archipelago.

The two imperialist powers are now locked in an escalating struggle for a redivision of the world to the detriment of the people of the world. The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and to generate the conditions for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist movements of peoples and for the world proletarian socialist revolution. The strategic decline of US imperialism has led to its cutthroat competition with Chinese imperialism.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces (the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power) are highly confident that they will continue to gain strength and advance amidst the crises of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

They are certain that they will win greater victories in the new year and advance the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. They enjoy the solidarity and abundant support of the peoples of the world. Their revolutionary victories are not only for their own benefit but also for the anti-imperialist and socialist movements of the proletariat and peoples of the world.

Long live the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces!

Advance the people's democratic revolution towards socialism!

Long live the anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples and proletarian internationalism!

#### 1. *What are the principal objectives of mass work?*

JMS: The principal objectives of mass work are to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses on long-term and immediate issues along the general political line or political program of the people's democratic revolution defined by the revolutionary party of the proletariat in correspondence to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of current Philippine society.

The people's democratic revolution is a mass undertaking in the interest of the people. It is only through the arousal, organization and mobilization of the toiling masses of workers and peasants that the Party can realize the revolution and have a source of increasing Party cadres and members who can lead an increasing number of masses for fighting and defeating the exploitative and oppressive ruling system.

#### 2. *What is the mass line?*

JMS: The mass line is the Party's policy and method of learning from the masses their conditions, needs and demands in order to arouse, organize and mobilize them so that they themselves can do whatever they can to advance the revolutionary process at every stage and phase. It is wrong to tell the masses what to do without first learning from them what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing at every given time.

It is also wrong to tail after them and expect them to decide and do by themselves what needs to be done to carry out the revolutionary struggle without the general political line or program set by the Party after investigating and analyzing the general conditions and basic character of the ruling system. The revolutionary process cannot advance from one stage to another without both the leadership of the Party and the conscious and organized mobilization of the masses. One without the other spells failure.

#### 3. *How do we follow the revolutionary class line in mass work?*

JMS: The revolutionary class line of the Party requires the class leadership of the proletariat from the stage of the people's democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. But for the stage of the people's democratic revolution, the Party can realize its leadership only by basing itself on the alliance of the working class and peasantry, winning over the middle social strata and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionary classes.

The main content of the democratic revolution is the agrarian revolution, which can be realized only with the proletariat taking the leading role and the peasantry being the main force. Otherwise agrarian revolution and the people's democratic revolution cannot be realized in the face of the combined efforts of the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in exploiting and oppressing the peasant masses as well as confusing them about feudal and semifeudal relations and bourgeois land reform.

#### 4. *Why is social investigation and class analysis important in mass work?*

JMS: Social investigation and class analysis in mass work are not only important but decisive. By doing them, you would be able to gain a working knowledge about the locality and the situation. You would learn how to approach and relate to different kinds of people. You would know their concrete conditions, problems, needs and demands.

Social investigation and class analysis allow you to know who are your potential friends and enemies according to their class character. In investigation meetings, you gain the factual basis for knowing those you can rely on, those you need to win over and those to whom you need to be careful of. You can begin to assess and determine which persons you can rely on for arousing and organizing the poor and lower middle peasants.

#### 5. *What is the key link of mass work in the countryside?*

JMS: The key link of mass work in the countryside is the class link between the proletariat and the peasantry. The revolutionary party of the proletariat directs its cadres and members to go to the countryside to conduct social investigation and class analysis and to form the peasant associations, other mass organizations, units of the people's army, the local party branches and the organs of political power.

However, it is the standard practice of the Party within the New People's Army to first of all, organize the barangay organizing committee to consist of the representatives of the masses (poor peasants, lower middle

peasants and farm workers, the Party and people's army) in order to have soonest a local organ of political power, pending the formation of the revolutionary mass organizations. Thereafter, the barangay organizing committee graduates into the barangay revolutionary committees constituted by the elected representatives of the mass organizations and the representatives of the Party and the people's army.

Consequent to propaganda and agitation, organizing committees can be formed to prepare for the formation of the local organ of political power at the barangay level and the mass organizations of peasants, workers if any in the locality, women, youth and others. The initial mass base of the Party and the revolutionary movement is thus established.

Various types of campaigns are undertaken to mobilize the masses to uphold, defend and promote their rights and interests.

*6. How do mass activists emerge? What mass movement do we develop in the cities?*

JMS: Mass activists arise as a result of the formation of the various types of mass organizations which recruit their respective mass members. These may be called activists because they are active in promoting and realizing the principles, policies, aims and objectives of their mass organizations.

Just as there are rural-based mass organizations and movements, there are also the urban-based mass organizations and movements. Those in the rural areas are deliberately underground or clandestine in relation to the enemy. Those in the urban areas are legal and open, depending on the situation.

The mass movements that develop in the urban areas depend on what classes and sectors are there. There are the mass movements of the workers, the transport workers, the urban poor, the peddlers, the student youth, women, teachers and other professionals, government employees, human rights defenders and so on.

*7. Why is mass work important in forming the Party?*

JMS: Mass work is important in important in forming the Party of the proletariat. In the history of the working class movement in the world and in the Philippines, the trade unions appeared as the first manifestation of the working class developing from being a class in itself, arising from the need of the need of capitalism for wage slaves, to being a class for itself with an increasing drive to uphold, defend and promote its class rights and interests and eventually forming its party not only to struggle for immediate economic and political aims but also for the ultimate goal of socialism and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The foundation of the old Communist Party of the Philippines of 1930 was preceded by the existence and development of the trade union movement. Likewise the re-establishment of this party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in 1968 was preceded by the development of the trade union movement as well as by the Kabataang Makabayan, a patriotic youth movement dedicated to promoting working class leadership. Mass work is therefore important and decisive in forming and further developing the Party. It is the indispensable source of Party cadres and members.

*8. Why is propaganda work important to our mass work?*

JMS: Propaganda is the propagation of the general line or program of people's democratic revolution and the specific policies and lines on issues that arise from social investigation and class and analysis of concrete conditions. It means carrying out the first task of mass work, which is to arouse the people, in connection with the further tasks of organizing and mobilizing them. You cannot proceed to these two latter tasks without performing first task.

In a new area of expansion, the mass work is preceded by propaganda because of the information that spreads and reaches the people about the mass line, accomplishments and good standing of the Party and its mass organizations in upholding, defending and advancing the rights and interests of the toiling masses of the people. Thus, the Party and its mass organizations are welcome.

*9. What are the means and forms of revolutionary propaganda?*

JMS: In the broadest sense, revolutionary propaganda ranges in meaning from agitational speech and leaflets on specific issues to a somewhat more extended written or oral presentation of issues and further to courses of Party and mass education. Actually, propaganda begins when the Party and mass activists start to explain issues and possible courses of action to personal contacts in the localities, prior organizations and institutions for the purpose of starting mass work.

Such contacts can lead to social investigation and class analysis, the formation of organizing committees, the founding and development of the mass organizations and mobilizing the people to act and speak up on burning

issues. All these forms of mass work entail propaganda. And the propaganda work becomes more substantial and effective as it is carried out by the mass organizations and by mass mobilizations in the course of information and work campaigns.

*10. Why is education work important to our mass work?*

JMS: Education work is important because it provides the information and ideas that motivate and inspire to engage in organized revolutionary work and struggle for the just cause of the people's democratic revolution against imperialist domination and the local reactionary classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Education work practically covers what propaganda covers as the propaganda of information and ideas to motivate and inspire revolutionary work and struggle. But education work has the nuance of systematic and concentrated study of certain subjects in work-related study meetings as well in formal study courses of political and theoretical education of the Party and the mass organizations.

*11. What are the two most important principles we must remember in organizing the masses?*

JMS: I think that the first principle is to serve the masses. You will do the work necessary to organize them because you adhere to the just cause of national and social liberation against the oppression and exploitation that they suffer. It is your duty to organize them so that they themselves can liberate themselves under the leadership of the Party.

The second principle is to learn from the masses their conditions, needs, demands and aspirations. You have your earlier experiences and education in theory and practice. But stay humble and do not think that you can dictate what the masses are supposed to do. You have to learn from them first so that you would know what is to be done and how to persuade them to act for their own benefit.

There is mutual learning between the organizer and the masses but the organizer must first learn from them and does not stop doing so even as they learn from the propaganda and education from the Party and the mass organizations. Party leadership and mass participation are necessary for carrying out revolutionary tasks.

*12. What are the preliminary steps in organizing the masses?*

JMS: First of all, every mass organization must have a plan to expand itself by calling on all its existing leading organs at various levels and its general membership to help recruit more members and form new chapters and by forming organizing groups or committees. There should also be a direct call to the masses concerned to join the mass organization and to contact its nearest office.

Where there is a number of prospective members, on the basis of the report and recommendation of an organizing group or committee, the mass organization must assign one member responsible for education to explain its constitution and program of action and another member responsible for swearing in the new members, forming the chapter and ensuring the election of the chapter officers. New chapters may arise either because of wave-upon-wave or leapfrog expansion.

*13. Why must we establish organizing groups and organizing committees? When do we form them?*

JMS: We must establish the organizing group or committee to prepare for the formation of a chapter in order to ensure collectivity in assessing and evaluating the initial recruits in the formation of a new chapter. Decisions of a collective are better-rounded than those of an individual.

The organizing group or committee is formed because an established chapter or any of its members has contacts with persons or groups in an adjoining or nearby area who are interested in joining the mass organization and forming their own chapter. There are also persons who respond to the general calls for recruitment by the mass organizations.

*14. What are mass actions and mass campaigns?*

JMS: Mass actions are conducted singularly either to arouse the masses on certain issues by explaining these to them and eliciting from them protest and demands, to make calls for recruitment or to engage in mass recruitment or to mobilize support for a certain campaign of the mass organization or any of its allied organizations in the Philippines or abroad.

The mass campaign of the mass organization is definitely a series of mass actions devoted to arousing mass support for a definite cause or demand, gathering material and moral support and mobilizing the masses inside and outside of the mass organization for the purpose.

*15. What are the tasks after every mass action and mass struggle?*

JMS: After every mass action and mass struggle, the tasks include assessing and evaluating it, learning lessons and taking the decisions to improve and intensify the struggle, further develop relations with other mass organizations, recruit new members from the non-members who have participated in the mass action or mass struggle, provide political education and integrate them in the mass organization.

*16. What is meant by consolidation? What is meant by expansion and how are they related?*

JMS: Expansion means using the quickest possible ways of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses inside and outside of the mass organization in order to recruit new members and form new chapters.

Consolidation means using principally education to deepen the revolutionary commitment of members, raise the level of consciousness and inspire them to attend study meetings, participate in work and become more integrated in the mass organization.



March 15, 2020

---

## ***Introduction***

I wish to trace certain developments in recent history and current circumstances that have led to worldwide mass protests taking up the current burning issues of neoliberalism, fascism, austerity measures, gender discrimination, oppression of indigenous peoples, wars of aggression and environmental destruction.

I dare say that the current wave of mass protests signals the transition to a new era of unprecedented anti-imperialist and antifascist resistance by the peoples of the world and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. I am confident that the transition will be accomplished by the intensified revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and peoples of the world.

### ***I. Advances of the proletarian revolution soon after World War II***

As a consequence of the struggle against the fascist powers in World War II, several socialist countries and newly-independent countries arose. It could be said by the early 1950s that one-third of humankind was under the governance of communist and workers' parties. National liberation movements grew strong in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

However, the US emerged as the strongest imperialist power. It launched the Cold War since 1947 and unleashed propaganda campaigns of anticommunism, touting "free enterprise" as the guarantee to democracy. It violently opposed the people's movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism. It waged wars of aggression in Korea from 1950 to 1953 and in Vietnam and the rest of Indochina from 1955 onward.

The Korean people and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) fought and stalemated US imperialism. And the Vietnamese and the rest of the Indochinese people inflicted on the US its first categorical defeat in 1975. All the while, China was engaged in socialist revolution and construction and stood as a bulwark against US imperialism.

Meanwhile in the Soviet Union, modern revisionism rose to power and totally negated Stalin in 1956. It overthrew the state of the working class and allowed the bourgeoisie and the factors of capitalism to grow within socialist society. It pushed reformist and pacifist lines under Khrushchov and then social-imperialism under Brezhnev.

The Communist Party of China (CPC) opposed the modern revisionist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the international communist and workers' movement. It also opposed within China the blatant Rightists as well as the home-grown and Soviet-influenced revisionists. It prevailed over a number of anti-socialist elements before, during and after the Great Leap Forward but there were those who persisted.

Recognizing the crucial importance of upholding Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, Mao carried out the socialist education movement to cleanse politics, economy, organization, and ideology from 1962 to 1966. But this did not suffice. And thus, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) was carried out from 1966 to 1976 on the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism.

The CPC thought in 1969 that the victory of the GPCR and defeat of the revisionist capitalist-roaders in China would pave the way for imperialism to head for total collapse and socialism to march towards world victory. But Mao cautioned that it would take 50 to 100 years to defeat imperialism and pave the way for the world victory of socialism.

### ***II. Monopoly bourgeoisie inflicts major defeats on the proletariat***

In fact, the GPCR went through twists and turns and ups and down. It may be said that while Mao was alive the CPC under his leadership prevailed over the revisionists from 1966-1976. But soon after his death in 1976, the capitalist roaders led by Deng Xiaoping successfully carried out a counterrevolutionary coup against the proletarian revolutionaries and the socialist state of the working class.

Consequently, the Dengist counterrevolution carried out the restoration of capitalism in China through capitalist reforms and opening up to the US and world capitalist system. It was able to suppress the mass protests at Tiananmen in Beijing and in scores of other cities in China in 1989 against inflation and corruption. And it became

even more determined to strengthen capitalism in China.

By 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed and its satellite revisionist-ruled states in Eastern Europe disintegrated. The bourgeoisie took full control of all the countries in the Soviet bloc. US imperialism became the sole superpower. And its ideologues and publicists proclaimed the death of socialism and the end of history with the supposed permanence of capitalism and liberal democracy.

Further the US proceeded to propagate and impose on the world the policy regime of neoliberal globalization and unleash wars of aggression in the Middle East (in Iraq, Libya), and Syria), in Central Asia (Afghanistan) and in the countries near or adjoining Russia (former Yugoslavia, Georgia and Ukraine). It sought to expand NATO to the borders of Russia. It overestimated its role and its capabilities as sole superpower and continued to adopt and implement policies that appeared to advance its interests but which in fact aggravated the problems that had caused its strategic decline since the middle of the 1970s.

As a result of the reconstruction of the capitalist countries ruined in World War II, the US had become afflicted by stagflation. This was the offshoot of the crisis of overproduction in the US and the world capitalist system. In trying to solve the problem of stagflation, the US adopted neoliberalism and favored the military-industrial complex to strengthen the US military as well to sell weapons to the oil-producing countries.

But ultimately, neoliberalism never solved the crisis of overproduction which had been the root cause of stagflation. The increased production of the military-industrial complex was profitable within the US economy and in sales to oil-producing countries. But it was counterproductive and unprofitable in the failure of the wars of aggression to expand stable economic territory for US imperialism abroad.

Under the neoliberal policy regime, the dogma is to accelerate the centralization and accumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie supposedly in order to create more jobs. Thus, the monopoly bourgeoisie is favored by tax cutbacks, wage freezes, erosion of social benefits, privatization of profitable public assets, anti-social and anti-environmental deregulation and denationalization of the economies of client-states.

The money supply and interest rates are either expanded or contracted to prevent inflation or stagnation but always favoring the monopoly bourgeoisie by expanding the public debt and subjecting the working class to further austerity measures and reduction of real wages. At the same time, legal and political measures have been undertaken by the monopoly bourgeoisie to attack job security and curtail trade union and other democratic rights.

### ***III. US-China collaboration in neoliberal globalization***

The US was in need of expanding its market due to the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction. Thus, it took in China as its main partner in neoliberal globalization by conceding to it low technology for sweat-shop consumer manufacturing and a big consumer market in the US and elsewhere. The US thought that it could concentrate on manufacturing the big items (especially by the military-industrial complex) and on financializing the US economy.

The export income of China swelled. Before the end of the 1980s the US became the biggest debtor from being the biggest creditor at the beginning of the decade. But in the aftermath of the nationwide mass protests against inflation and corruption in China in 1989, China pleaded to the US to loosen up on the restrictions on foreign investments and technology transfer.

The US agreed on the condition that China privatized the state-owned enterprises, desisted from providing state subsidies to enterprises, opened itself further to foreign investments and entered the World Trade Organization (WTO). China concurred but actually continued to use state planning and state-owned enterprises and copy without permission foreign technology in order to achieve its own strategic economic and security goals.

The US-China economic and trade partnership seemed to be going well, especially after China entered the WTO in 2001. The US and other imperialist powers were pleased that every time there was a major global financial and economic crisis the growth of China's GDP served to compensate for the stagnant growth of the world economy. It took 10 more years from the financial crash of 2008 before the US started to accuse China of unfair economic practices in their relationship.

The crash caused a global depression which would protract up to now. It has adversely affected China's economy. The growth rate has slowed down. China suffered in 2015 a stock market crash that wiped out 30 per cent of stock values. Foreign investors transferred their plants to other countries with cheaper labor in the Asian mainland. The huge mountain of unpaid debts by Chinese local governments and corporation and high ratio of public debt to GDP became exposed even while China deployed capital for its Belt Road Initiative (BRI).

#### ***IV. Growing conflict between US and Chinese imperialism***

Trump started in 2018 to accuse China of maintaining a two-tiered economy of state monopoly capitalism and private monopoly capitalism, stealing US technology, providing state subsidies to economic enterprises, manipulating finance and the currency, adopting Chinese brands on products previously patented by US and other foreign companies and using stolen technology to build the military might of China.

By this time, US imperialism was already strained by its stagnant economy, the loss of competitiveness of US products, the extreme cost of overseas US military bases and endless wars of what should I do to register aggression and the rapid rise of its public debt. The wars of aggression cost at least USD6 trillion and failed to expand and stabilize the US economic territory abroad. The US strategic decline accelerated and became more conspicuous.

Consequent to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US emerged as the winner in the Cold War and as sole superpower. But it actually continued to decline as a result of the high costs of its military bases overseas and its wars of aggression and its investment, trade and technological concessions to China. The US is still the No. 1 imperialist power but has declined to being one among several imperialist powers in a multi-polar world.

China has risen as the main economic competitor and political rival of the US. It has become so ambitious as to design and implement the Belt Road Initiative in order to make a radical departure from the pattern of maritime global trade which the Western colonial powers had established since the 16th century. But China also has serious economic problems, especially its sitting on a mountain of bad debts by local governments and corporations, the high ratio of public debt to GDP and the onerous terms of Chinese foreign loans which are vulnerable to debtors' default and revolt.

In the Philippines and other Southeast Asia countries, the peoples are confronted with the extraterritorial claims of China over the 90 per cent of the South China Sea in violation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. But in other regions of the world, certain governments that assert national independence and the socialist cause, have taken advantage of inter-imperialist contradictions and availed of China's cooperation in order to counter sanctions and acts of aggression instigated by the US and its traditional imperialist allies.

#### ***V. Intensification of contradictions due to crisis of world capitalist system***

We see today the intensification of all major contradictions in the world capitalist system, such as those between labor and capital, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, those between the imperialist powers and states that assert national independence and the socialist cause and those among the imperialist powers.

The intensification of contradictions between labor and capital within imperialist countries and among imperialist powers is due to the worsening crisis of overproduction relative to the drastically reduced income of the working class in imperialist countries and in the rest of the world capitalist system. The workers have become restless and rebellious due to unemployment, low income, rising prices of basic commodities, austerity measures, the curtailment of their democratic rights and the rise of chauvinism, racism and fascism.

Among the imperialist powers, the US and China have emerged as the two main contenders in the struggle for a redivision of the world. Each tries to have its own alliance with other imperialist powers. The traditional alliance of the US, Europe and Japan is still operative in such multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO and in NATO and other military alliances. Ranged against the traditional imperialist powers are China and Russia which have broadened their alliance in BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS Development Bank, the Belt and Road Initiative and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Fund.

Since so many decades ago when they developed nuclear weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems, the major imperialist powers have so far avoided direct wars of aggression against each other by undertaking proxy wars despite the frequent US wars of aggression against underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have developed the neocolonial ways and means of shifting the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped countries. They engage in a struggle for a redivision of the world but so far they have not directly warred on each other to acquire or expand their sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

They make the oppressed peoples and nations of the underdeveloped countries suffer the main brunt of the recurrent and worsening economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system even as they make them the main source of superprofits through a higher rate of exploitation. Currently they continue the policy of neoliberal

globalization for the purpose. To suppress the people's resistance to oppression and exploitation, they provide their client-states with the means of state terrorism and fascist rule by the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie. They also use their respective client-states for proxy wars and counterrevolutionary wars for maintaining their economic territory or for redividing the world.

Despite their attempts to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations, the imperialist powers are driven to extract higher profits from their own working class under the neoliberal policy regime. To suppress the resistance of the proletariat and people to oppression and exploitation in both the developed and underdeveloped countries, they have enacted so-called anti-terrorist laws and are increasingly prone to the use of state terrorism and sponsor fascist organizations and movements to counter the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

In the underdeveloped countries, US imperialism and its puppet regimes are unleashing the worst forms of aggression and state terrorism against the people in order to perpetuate the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed. Since the end of World War II, the wars of aggression and campaigns of terror unleashed by US have resulted in 20 to 30 million killed in Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria and other countries.

But US imperialism has also suffered outstanding defeats, such in north Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and other Indochinese countries. It has been unable to stop the decolonization of colonies and semicolonies which is still an ongoing process. The proletariat and people have persevered in protracted people's war in the Philippines, India, Kurdistan, Turkey, Palestine, Peru, Colombia and elsewhere. The spread of arms where US imperialism have unleashed wars of aggression, such as in the Middle East and Africa, can open the way to the rise of more armed revolutionary movements.

There are effective governments like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Venezuela and Syria that assert national independence and the socialist cause. They enjoy the support of the people, stand up against US imperialism and take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialist powers in order to counter sanctions, military blockade and aggression. The people and revolutionary forces led by the proletariat can strengthen themselves in the course of anti-imperialist struggles.

#### ***VI. Mass protests signify transition to the resurgence of world proletarian revolution***

Since last year, we have seen the unprecedented rise and spread of gigantic anti-imperialist mass protests occurring in both the underdeveloped and developed countries. These signify the transition to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. They are a manifestation of the grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling systems and the inability of the imperialist powers and their puppet states to rule in the old way.

The massive and sustained mass protests in various countries of Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia and Africa bring to the surface the deep-seated detestation of the people for the extreme oppression and exploitation that they have suffered. The proletariat and people of the world are fighting back. We are definitely in transition to a great resurgence of anti-imperialist struggles and the world proletarian revolution.

The broad masses of the people are rising up against the worst forms of imperialist oppression and exploitation, such as neoliberalism, austerity measures, gender discrimination oppression of indigenous peoples, fascism, wars of aggression and environmental destruction. The starting points or inciting moments for the mass protests may be concrete issues of wide variability but they always rise up to the level of protests against imperialism and all reaction.

In the last 50 years, we have seen imperialism, neocolonialism, modern revisionism, neoliberalism and neo-conservatism attack and put down the proletariat and people of the world. Now, the people are resisting as never before and generating new revolutionary forces, including parties of the proletariat and mass organizations. These will ultimately result in the spread of armed revolutionary movements and the rise of socialist states and people's democracies with a socialist perspective.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are gratified that they have persevered in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and with a socialist perspective in the last more than 50 years. Loyal to the just revolutionary cause, they have waged revolutionary struggle resolutely and militantly and have fought even more fiercely against the counterrevolutionary campaigns of the enemy. They have been inspired by the revolutionary victories of national liberation movements and socialism abroad and have become ever more determined to contribute the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

They take pride in being referred to as one of the torch bearers of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples

of the world and the world proletarian revolution. Their revolutionary will and fighting spirit are more than ever higher as their revolutionary struggles are now in concert with the resurgent mass struggles of the proletariat and people on a global scale. We foresee that in the next fifty years the crisis-stricken world capitalist system will continue to break down and give way to the rise of anti-imperialist and socialist states and societies.

- Long live the proletariat and peoples of the world!
- Down with the imperialist powers and all reaction!
- Long live the anti-imperialist and socialist cause!
- Victory for the world proletarian-socialist revolution!

# ***ILPS as United Front for Anti-Imperialist and Democratic Struggle***

## **Message on the Plan to Establish the ILPS-Europe**

**April 4, 2020**

---

Dear colleagues, the International League of Peoples' Struggle is a united front of mass organizations for anti-imperialist and democratic struggle at various levels. Since its foundation in 2001, it has been international in scope. But to achieve depth, it must build its composite forces at the regional, national and local levels.

It can gain breadth at each level by having more mass organizations as components under every concern. It can also gain further breadth by being able to have alliance with other united front formations at any level. We may call this broadening the alliance for gathering the largest strength possible to isolate and overwhelm the adversary.

To build the ILPS at any level, you must know the situation within its geographic scope and you must bring together the mass organizations that you can at a given time. You must bring together delegations of these organizations in order to exchange views and experiences and to agree on a program of action and to elect the organ to lead the work and struggle consequent to the assembly.

I am glad that in your plan to establish the ILPS-Europe you appreciate its place in the structure of the entire ILPS and that you have made preparations for the establishment of this regional formation by knowing the situation in Europe, bringing together delegations from various countries, formulating a program of action and electing your regional leading organ.

### ***On the formation of the ILPS-Europe***

By forming the ILPS-Europe, you take into account and take advantage of the charter and program of the entire ILPS and proceed to focus on the conditions, concerns and demands of the people in the region and in the particular countries therein in order to pursue and advance the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle for socialism and solidarity in the interest of the people in Europe.

You must build ILPS-Europe as a united front of definite mass formations within its fold at the regional and national levels. You can draw to the fold of the ILPS more anti-imperialist and democratic organizations interested in any of the concerns of the ILPS. At the same time, you can have consensual, consultative and practical alliance and cooperation with other organizations that are independent of the ILPS but have a common interest with the ILPS.

As a result of the worsening crisis of the capitalist system in the world and in Europe, there are long-standing and new mass formations that are carrying out anti-imperialist and democratic struggles on a wide range of issues that are economic, social, political, cultural and environmental in character and affect the working class in general, the migrants and refugees, the women, youth, the intelligentsia and other sectors of society.

Monopoly capitalism has aggravated the exploitation of the proletariat and the rest of the people, especially under the policy of neoliberalism. It has inflicted on them unemployment, job insecurity, lower real wages, higher costs of living, erosion of social services, austerity measures, gender discrimination, dwindled opportunities for the youth, environmental degradation and higher taxation on the people (but not on the business corporations) on various pretexts.

At the same time, monopoly capitalism has aggravated the oppression of the people. Old and new laws, policies and practices are being used to curtail basic democratic rights and fundamental freedoms. The dominant means of information and education spread chauvinist, racist and fascist biases. Worst of all, fascist movements have arisen and collaborate with the coercive forces of the state against the people and the democratic forces.

You are building ILPS-Europe at a time that the proletariat and people in the region are rising up, as in other regions of the world, against the escalation of exploitation and oppression because of the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed, state terrorism, the rise of fascism and endless wars of aggression unleashed by US imperialism. Your struggle in Europe is necessarily linked to the struggles of the people on a global scale.

### ***In harmony with the international united front***

While building ILPS-Europe, you must also be in harmony with the international commitment and policy of the

ILPS in united front with other international formations and individual organizations. At the moment, the ILPS is initiating jointly with the International Coordination for Revolution (ICOR) the formation of the International Anti-Imperialist and United Front (AIAIUF), which aims to include other international formations.

In this larger and wider type of international united front, the ILPS expects to amplify the joint and individual strengths of the participants, to agree by consensus on common tasks and actions and to maintain consultative and consensual relations among equals and mutually respecting participants.

The participants have the right to independence and initiative and are not bound by democratic centralism. They have a common understanding to keep and increase their respective strengths and capabilities, to issue common or similar statements, to undertake united actions and campaigns on certain issues on certain agreed dates or periods of time.

We can expect that the worldwide mass protests that have dramatically burst out since last year will continue to spread and intensify and take higher forms of struggle not only for regime change but also for system change. They signal the transition to greater anti-imperialist struggles and the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

The rise of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles is the consequence of the rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. The crisis of overproduction has been deepened and accelerated by the adoption of higher technology, the deliberate diminution of the real and nominal incomes of the working people, the rapid accumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the emergence of new imperialist powers in addition to the traditional ones.

### ***Intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions***

All the imperialist powers, traditional and new, appeared to get along well together under the auspices of neoliberal globalization for so long as they could exploit the working people in all countries and shift the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped and less developed countries. But the crisis of overproduction has worsened too fast as to upset the balance of strength among the imperialist powers to the extent that economic competition and political rivalry have become increasingly pronounced.

The most dramatic change has been the strategic decline of the US from being the sole superpower from 1991 to 2008 to being merely one of the powers in a multipolar world. China has developed its economy to an extent that it is deemed by the US as its chief economic competitor and chief political rival. The European Union itself is being shaken by the exit of Britain and is being strained by prolonged recession since the 2008 financial crisis.

The proletariat and people of Eastern Europe and the Russia are outraged by the far worsened conditions in the shift from revisionist rule to unbridled capitalism. They resent the rise of unemployment, the drastic loss of social services and the repressive measures. They have a strong desire for system change from capitalism to socialism.

The imperialist powers of Western Europe are still aligned mainly with the US and Japan in the IMF, World Bank and WTO, G-7, G-20 and the NATO but particular countries have certain needs that require them to have amicable relations with Russia and China. The alliance of the US and Western European powers is being tested and strained by the frequent US demands for sanctions and aggression actions against its enemies.

Except in Southeast Asia where China claims 90 percent of the South China Sea and is aggressive, the US still remains the No. 1 troublemaker in the capitalist world. But it has declined precisely because of imperial overstretch by overspending on overseas military bases and endless wars of aggression, and by having made major economic, trade and technological concessions to China until 2018.

As the inter-imperialist contradictions worsen, we can expect more efforts of the imperialist powers to shift the burden of crisis to the client states as well as to their own working class and middle class. We must pay close attention to how the monopoly bourgeoisie exploits the working class and how it generates chauvinism, racism, and fascism in order to obscure the roots of the crisis and preempt the rise of revolutionary forces.

The crisis of the world capitalist system that has unfolded since the financial crash of 2008 has remained unsolved by the monopoly bourgeoisie and has led to a deeper and graver crisis in this year of 2020. The neoliberal line of imperialist globalization has unravelled after more than 40 years of dominance.

While it runs and alarms most countries, the Covid-19 pandemic is being used by bourgeois governments to tighten social control and apply repressive measures. But it also serves to expose and underscore the anti-social character of monopoly capitalism and the gross depredations that neoliberal policy has wrought. The broad

masses of the people are therefore aroused to rebel.

They are outraged that the monopoly bourgeoisie has long used the neoliberal mode of unrestrained exploitation and is using the pandemic as excuse to take financial bailouts and benefit from so-called stimulus packages. They are incensed that they are being subjected to worse conditions of low income, unemployment, homelessness, erosion of social benefits and deprivation of health care and other social services.

***Build the mass movement through the united front***

We can expect that in the months and years to come there will be an intensified class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the tug of war between fascist and movements in Europe as well as in other regions of the world. There is urgent need to build the mass movement through the united front of revolutionary forces in anti-imperialist and democratic struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

In Europe, we must be able to arouse, organize and mobilize the proletariat (including the migrant workers) and the middle class, which is shrinking and living precariously. The neoliberal economic policy has brought out the worst anti-social, anti-proletarian and anti-people character of monopoly capitalism.

Whatever is the rate of growth of the GDP, it signifies the relentless rise of the unsustainable public debt for the benefit of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the maximization of private profit by squeezing the income of the working class, rise of unemployment, austerity measures, the erosion of social benefits and the shrinkage of social services.

In Western Europe, the proletariat and people of all countries suffer from the worsening conditions of economic and financial crisis, with those of certain countries suffering more than those in other countries. In Eastern Europe and in Russia, the proletariat and people are disgusted with the further deterioration of their conditions from the period of revisionist rule to the current period of unbridled capitalism.

As the crisis of the capitalist worsens, every ruling clique of the monopoly bourgeoisie uses the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress the rise of the revolutionary mass movement and generates the currents of chauvinism, racism and fascism. The proletariat and people are thus challenged to fight back with the anti-imperialist and democratic movement for socialism.

Many issues are arising and crying for action by the broad masses of the people. But the main task is to build the mass movement through the united front of revolutionary forces and to advance the class struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie and aim for socialism. The revolutionary forces in Europe must carry forward the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles in concert with the peoples of other regions and the entire world. Thank you.



***On the International Situation,  
Covid-19 Pandemic and the People's Response***

ILPS Webinar, April 9, 2020

---

Dear colleagues and fellow activists, I am highly honored and delighted to be the first speaker in this series of webinars, billed as teach-ins or interviews, online discussions on international events and people's struggles, under the auspices of ILPS Solidarity.

The format is simple. I make the presentation. And the audience can react with observations, questions and further discussions. My task today is to present the international situation, the Covid 19 pandemic and the people's response.

Let me state at the outset that the world capitalist system was already in trouble even before the Covid-19 pandemic arose. And the pandemic has unmasked and aggravated the crisis of global capitalism. It is of urgent importance to know how the people are affected and how they are responding.

***1. Crisis of the world capitalist system***

Science has advanced so fast and so far and has provided the technology to raise the productivity of the forces and means of production to such a high degree as to have the capability of eliminating class exploitation, gross inequality and mass poverty and providing a comfortable and fruitful life for at least twice the population of the world today.

The social character of production has risen so high with the adoption of higher technology. But unfortunately, the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy own the means of production, control the relations of production and dictate the terms of employment and the use of the human and material resources for the maximization of private profit and the inflation of the value of private assets.

Abusing bourgeois state power over the toiling masses of workers and peasants and middle social strata, the international bourgeoisie has adopted the neoliberal economic policy in order to accelerate the accumulation and concentration of productive and finance capital in the hands of the few, the mere 1 per cent of the population to exploit, deprive and oppress the 99 per cent.

The neoliberal economic policy has liberalized trade and investments, provided tax cuts, incentives and bailouts to the monopoly bourgeoisie, pressed down wages and other incomes of the lower classes, privatized public assets, reduced social services, imposed austerity measures, removed social and environmental regulations and denationalized the less developed economies of the world.

The crisis of overproduction has therefore become more frequent and worse every time. The working people have suffered disemployment at so rapid a rate and cannot buy what is produced by the economy. The so-called middle class has dwindled and joined the ranks of the precariat. Yet, the monopoly bourgeoisie has proceeded to make the people suffer and insist on its system of unbridled greed.

Before the financial crisis of 2008 can be solved, another more serious crisis has come on top of it to further prolong and deepen the stagnation and depression of the global economy. All imperialist countries suffer from the crisis of overproduction due to the dwindling incomes of the working people and the underdeveloped countries.

All major contradictions in the world are intensifying: those between capital and labor in the imperialist countries, those among the imperialist powers, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations and those between the imperialist powers and a number of states assertive of their national independence and socialist aspirations.

I mention first the contradiction between capital and labor in the imperialist countries to stress the point that even in their own national bulwarks of monopoly capitalism the imperialist powers have gone so far in exploiting their working class and diminishing the middle class as they have engaged in one round of austerity measures after another to cope with economic and financial crisis.

US imperialism has complemented the neoliberal policy to maximize profits from the production process and financial markets with the neoconservative policy to ensure government expenditures for the acquisition of

weapons from the military-industrial complex for the maintenance of more than 800 overseas military bases and for endless wars of aggression, including proxy wars, and military intervention in support of local reactionary regimes.

After China became monopoly capitalist in 1976, it used to be touted as the main partner of the US in neoliberal globalization and as the exemplar of continuous capitalist growth. But since 2015, it has become conspicuously afflicted with unsustainable national, corporate and household debts and the same economic and financial crises that bedevil the traditional imperialist powers headed by the US.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening fast, with China having become the main rival of US imperialism. The US regrets and seeks to overcome the consequences of its previous concessions to China in terms of investments, trade and technology transfers. It is resentful that China has used state planning and state-owned enterprises in order to achieve strategic economic and military goals.

But of course, China has its own vulnerabilities, like having to deal with the trade war already started by the US and with the mountains of debt it has accumulated, to cite only a few major problems. The US is trying hard to cut the large export surpluses that China gains in trade with the US and reduce the amount of surplus capital that China uses to expand its own fields of investments, markets and sources of raw materials in various countries.

The US and China try to strengthen their respective positions by alliances with other countries. The US still has the main influence in the UN and controls the multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO) and the NATO and other military alliances. China has its all-round alliance with Russia and has tried to broaden this alliance with BRICS, SCO, the BRICS Development Bank, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Fund and the Belt and Road Initiative.

The imperialist countries continue to shift the burden of crisis to their reactionary client states in the underdeveloped countries and therefore exacerbate the imperialist contradictions with the oppressed peoples and nations. They are detested for aggravating the underdevelopment of entire countries and continents in contrast with the false promises of development. Such states are always and increasingly in an untenable position. They suffer from widening deficits in trade and balance of payments because their exports consist of raw materials and semimanufactures. They have mounting difficulties in servicing previous foreign debts and getting new foreign loans to be able to get by.

The broad masses of the people detest the imperialists and their puppets for the state terrorism that they suffer. The conditions are increasingly becoming favorable for the rise of various anti-imperialist and democratic struggles. There are a number of countries where the revolutionary parties of the proletariat and the people persevere in armed revolution for national and social liberation. These serve as example to all the oppressed peoples and nations in the world.

There are states of underdeveloped countries that are assertive of national independence and socialist aspirations. These include the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba and Venezuela. They are dramatically standing up against US imperialism which is using economic sanctions, military blockades and threats of aggression.

Certain countries in Southeast Asia are also standing up to both the US and China. Vietnam is outstanding in opposing the invalid claim of China over ninety per cent of the South China Sea. It is in this part of the world where China is exposing itself as an aggressive violator of the sovereign rights of other countries in violation of international law and the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea.

But US imperialism still has the worst standing as the aggressor and violator of sovereign rights in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But it is paying dearly for its wars of aggression and military intervention. It is on a course of accelerated strategic decline in an increasingly multi-polar world in which the inter-imperialist contradictions which incite the proletariat and people of the world to rise up.

Since last year, there has been an outburst of mass protests all over the world, in both underdeveloped and developed countries. This is a clear manifestation of the people's resistance to all the evil workings of imperialism such as neoliberal exploitation, the rise of state terrorism, fascism, austerity measures, racism, gender discrimination and imperialist plunder and destruction of the environment.

We are now in the midst of the transition to the global resurgence of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

## **2. The Covid-19 pandemic**

Between the two main imperialist powers of today, the US and China, there are accusations and

counter-accusations regarding the origin of Covid-19 and the malicious criminal motive behind it. There are speculations that one imperialist power is using the Covid-19 pandemic in order to weaken and defeat the other. These are manifestations of the growing contradictions between the US and China.

China accuses the US of having created Covid-19 in a biowarfare laboratory in Fort Detrick in Maryland, USA, and having used the US athletic delegation to the World Military Games in Wuhan in October 2019 to bring into Wuhan the highly contagious virus. In turn, the US accuses China of having created the virus in its virological institute only to leak it to the Wuhan wet market through the sale of laboratory test animals.

There is the third view that the Chinese scientists themselves got the virus from a laboratory operated by the US military and somehow leaked the virus to the Wuhan meat market. Still there is the fourth view that Covid-19 is of purely zoonotic origin and has mutated from a previous virus, generated by an environment extremely devastated and imbalanced by imperialist plunder.

We let the independent scientists do their investigation and let the experts on international criminal law use the scientific findings and conclusions to prosecute the culprit if possible. But in the meantime, we can discuss the impact and consequences of Covid-19 to the world capitalist system and to the people.

Covid-19 has exposed and aggravated the antisocial character of the world capitalist system, the unpreparedness of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the harsh consequences to the people who have long suffered class exploitation, gross inequality, mass poverty and deprivation of social services in the fields of public health, education and housing.

Under neoliberal economic policy, the broad masses of the people have become extensively and extremely vulnerable to the recurrent and worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, to the imperialist sanctions, threats of war, actual wars of counterrevolution and aggression, natural disasters and pandemics.

The vulnerability of the overwhelming majority of the people consists of having no income and property to tide them over in case of unemployment or being out of work even only for a week for whatever reason of emergency. This is absolutely clear in a lockdown situation in which the people cannot go to work and have no public transport to use in order to obtain medical treatment for Covid-19 or any other illness.

Worst of all, when so many people need testing and treatment in time of a pandemic, the public health system has been eroded by the neoliberal economic policy of privatizing and eroding what remains of the public health system so that there are not enough health personnel, facilities, equipment and medicines. The remaining tokens of the public health system are easily overloaded and break down. And the private hospitals can at will turn away patients because they are not intended to serve the public, they have inadequate facilities or the patients cannot pay for the medical treatment.

We have also seen the tragedy of doctors, nurses and other health workers themselves getting sick and dying from Covid-19 because of the lack of personal protection equipment. The neoliberal state and the hospitals have appreciated the role of private profit but have depreciated the role of the health workers and the social service that they must render to the people.

In quite a number of developed and underdeveloped countries, where neoliberalism has been imposed as a policy, there has been the pseudo-scientific notion that it is enough to do washing of the hands and social distancing and at worst lockdown down on communities or entire regions because after the contagion has run rampant and claimed plenty of victims then the herd immunity develops in the rest of the population.

Thus, quite a number of governments have not made timely and adequate preparations and action plans to fight the pandemic. There is no mass testing for a long while. Thus, the spread of the contagion has not been measured well. And there is a lack or shortage of health personnel and resources for the treatment of those afflicted by Covid-19. The lack or shortage of ventilators has caused the death of many patients suffering from pneumonia, whether they are elderly or younger.

The ruling bourgeoisie and the entire ruling system have deprived the overwhelming majority of the people of the means of fending for themselves in time of lockdowns. And their political agents can only promise food rations and some compensation for the wages lost. But the promise is not kept in a timely and sufficient manner. The most victimized are those who are the millions of jobless and homeless as well those imprisoned in congested jails.

But ahead of any reasonable concession to the people, the monopoly bourgeoisie is assured of financial bailouts and stimulus packages in order to make up for their business losses. We are well aware of the policies

and actions being undertaken by the rulers of imperialist countries to override the breakdown of the production chain and the drastic falls in the stock market.

In the underdeveloped countries, especially where the barefaced repressive regimes exist, the tyrannical and corrupt bureaucrats invoke the Covid-19 to divert public funds to their own pockets instead of providing for the urgent needs of the people. Whatever good or service is provided is ascribed to those in power in order to raise their political stock.

Worst of all, the fascist-minded rulers use the lock downs to tighten their command over the military and police forces of the state to promote further the notion through the exercise of repressive measures that they are the saviors of the people. In the meantime, they use state power to aggrandize the private interests of their families, political cohorts and business cronies.

### ***3. The people's response to the Covid-19 pandemic***

It is correct for the people to use disinfectants, do social distancing and respect the rules of quarantine and lockdown whenever these are needed in the face of Covid-19. The people must stay safe from the highly contagious virus and avoid prejudicing the health of other people. But they retain their democratic rights to make demands from the state and health authorities mass testing of the people at the community level and treatment for the sick and the means of survival while they are locked down and deprived of their means of livelihood. They can ventilate their grievances in order to obtain positive results for the common good.

To any positive extent that public officials recognize the urgent needs of the people and try to satisfy them, it is absolutely clear that social needs are being met by policies and actions for the common good and for whoever is dire need. But it is clear from the beginning that capitalism fails in the face of pandemic. What is needed is the spirit of service to the people and the desire for socialism.

In view of the utter bankruptcy and antisocial character of capitalism in a time of pandemic, the people and their anti-imperialist and democratic forces are justly demanding system change from capitalism to socialism and that everyone must be assured of a basic income in order to subsist and the social services like public health, public education and public housing.

Higher economic and social demands can be made in the developed countries, especially the imperialist countries. The level of economic development allows substantial social reforms and even socialism. But of course, the obstacle is the violence-prone rapacity of the monopoly bourgeoisie which would rather repress the people or aggress other countries than agree readily to the just economic and social demands of the people.

Consider the trillions of dollars wasted by the US on its high-tech armaments, overseas military bases and endless wars of aggression. The US military forces have been far worse than Covid19 in killing people. They have killed 25 to 30 million people since the end of World War II.

The huge US military expenditures can be redirected towards the expansion and improvement of social services. Best of all, if the American people succeed at system change. They can build a socialist society of plenty, creativity, justice and peace, if the monopoly bourgeoisie ceased to engage in domestic oppression and exploitation and in wars of aggression and mass destruction abroad.

In the case of underdeveloped, especially pre-industrial countries, the tax levied on the exploiting classes can be increased instead of decreased in order to promote economic development through national industrialization and land reform and provide social services in the spheres of education, health, housing and so on.

But substantial reforms can be achieved only if the people have strong patriotic and progressive forces in order to remove from power those who harm the people; and promote those leaders that work for the benefit of the people. Best of all, the people and their revolutionary forces can strive for system change and achieve national and social liberation towards the goal of socialism.

In any kind of crisis such as the Covid-19 pandemic, the best of the people and their organized forces stand out and shine. The people's social activists make the demands in favor of the people and do what they can to arouse, organize and mobilize them for the common good. They gain the experience and strength for carrying out anti-imperialist and democratic struggle toward the goal of socialism.

At the community level, they create ways for the people to have food, shelter and medical care and to engage in mutual aid. They call for donations from those who can give these. And they do not get paid for the volunteer work that they render. The actions that they can carry out for the common good under the circumstances of fighting the pandemic are a means of gaining public support and strengthening the organized forces.

In certain countries, where the people have revolutionary movements against the ruling system, the leading revolutionary parties have responded to the UN secretary general's call for a global ceasefire in order to fight the Covid-19 pandemic. In these countries, the revolutionary movement have their organizations attending to the economic and health needs of the people.

As a result of the pandemic, the vile character and failings of the world capitalist system are exposed. Even after the pandemic, the systemic crisis will continue and worsen in both imperialist and in nonimperialist countries. And the anti-people regimes and leaders in many countries will be held accountable and hated as enemies of the people not only for mishandling and aggravating the pandemic but for continuing an unjust system.

But wherever they exist, the revolutionary movements of the people will grow further in strength and will make advances. Where they do not exist, they will rise and wage revolutionary struggles. The world capitalist system will continue to be crisis-stricken economically and politically and its crimes will generate more favorable conditions for the rise of the revolutionary movement for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

# ***On the People's Democratic Revolution***

**Questions of host Anghelo Godino Re: Chapter 3 of Philippine Society and Revolution: The People's Democratic Revolution NDLine Online: National Democratic Online School, Pinas Serye with Tito Jo, June 28, 2020**

---

*1. What are the aims of the national democratic revolution? How is it different from other revolution that have happened throughout Philippine history?*

JMS: The most important aim of the national democratic revolution is to achieve full national independence and people's democracy. The old democratic revolution of 1896 was led by the liberal bourgeoisie. This time the new democratic revolution is led by the working class and is aimed at proceeding to the socialist revolution in consonance with the era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary leadership of the working class and its vanguard ensures that the new democratic revolution has a socialist perspective, takes a socialist direction and is the preparation for the socialist revolution. With the peasantry as the main force of the revolution, it is certain that the main content of the democratic revolution is fulfilled with the satisfaction of the peasant demand for agrarian revolution. But the line is set for agricultural co-operativization and mechanization in socialist society.

*2. Why is it necessary for the revolution to study the different classes in the Philippine society?*

JMS: It is necessary to study the different classes in Philippine society in order to know who are the friends and who are the enemies of the revolution. The friends of the revolution are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. They are the motive forces of the revolution.

The enemies of the revolution are the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists. They are the forces of counterrevolution that wish to perpetuate the ruling system of oppression and exploitation.

*3. Please discuss the different classes in the Philippines. How do we determine who is the enemy and who are our friends in struggle?*

JMS: In the long course of the people's democratic revolution, the enemy classes are the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The comprador big bourgeoisie is the chief financial and trading agent of the US and other imperialist countries. The landlord class perpetuates private ownership of lands and subjects the peasants and farm workers to feudal and semifeudal conditions of exploitation. The bureaucrat capitalists are the political agents of the big compradors and landlords but they have become a distinct class by accumulating power and wealth by using their governmental authority. They gained notoriety as political dynasties wanting to perpetuate themselves in power in order to further accumulate private capital and land.

The big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists are considered the class enemies because they exploit the people, especially the workers and peasants, and they use the semicolonial state to oppress the people and keep them within the bounds of the ruling system through violence and deception.

Within the broad united front policy and tactics, the CPP refer to these enemy classes as the reactionary classes in order to focus the term "enemy" on the most reactionary clique that is in power.

The sharpening of the term is meant to take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries and narrow the target to the ruling reactionary clique as the enemy in a given period.

I have previously explained that among the friends of the revolution are the following: a) the working class as the leading class from the new democratic stage to the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution, b) The peasantry (essentially the poor and middle peasants and farm workers) as the main force or democratic majority of the people and c) the middle social strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. They are the friends of the revolution because they constitute the people and are the motive forces of the revolution. Their needs and demands are expressed in the program for the people's democratic revolution (PPDR). And they participate in order to realize the program. Their participation in the revolution spells the growth and advance of the revolution towards victory.

*4. Why are the workers called the leading class of the revolution?*

JMS: The working class is the leading class of the revolution because it is the most advanced productive and

political force among the various classes in Philippine society and in the world. It is the class that can sustain and further develop the industrialized economy even without the bourgeoisie. It is indispensable in the development of an industrialized socialist economy.

It is the class that is capable of overthrowing the state power of the bourgeoisie and replacing it with the state power of the proletariat and fulfilling the historic mission of socialist revolution and construction.

The working class has the most developed theory for revolutionary change and the accumulated practice of leading successful socialist revolutions. The theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism encompasses philosophy, political economy and social science.

The working class has created the Communist Party as the vanguard party focused on revolutionary theory and practice on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. The Communist Party is the instrument of the working class for leading the revolution from the people's democratic stage to the socialist stage of the revolution.

*5. Why are the peasants the "pangunahing pwersa" or the main force?*

JMS: The peasant class (mainly the poor and middle peasants and traditional seasonal farm workers) are still the most numerous class in the Philippines and comprise the democratic majority of the people. The satisfaction of their demand for land through agrarian revolution is the main content of the revolution.

The protracted people's war in the new democratic revolution is possible in the Philippines because the peasant class has provided the people's army with the social and physical terrain as the widest area of maneuver against the enemy that is militarily superior in personnel, equipment and training before the people's army gains the upper hand by capturing the weapons from the enemy.

The actual social investigation and class analysis done by the CPP belies the claim of the enemy that the Philippines is already a newly-industrialized country, even without having to produce industrial capital goods.

The enemy's trick is to claim that of the 45 million labor force or manpower in the Philippines 58 per cent are workers in the service sector and 19.1 percent are workers in the industry sector. Thus, the working class is now 77.1 percent, while the peasantry has dwindled to 19.1 per cent without the need of genuine land reform and national industrialization.

The purpose of the enemy in making the peasantry dwindle and disappear is to conjure the illusion that industrial development is already removing the ground for protracted people's war.

Their statistical trick is to credit the import-dependent service sector, bloated by neoliberal financing, with the employment of most of the rural and urban oddjobbers in the informal economy consisting of outflows from the rural surplus population, who still maintain connections with their peasant families and who seasonally work with them during planting and harvest seasons.

The bourgeois statisticians can further make the peasants disappear by considering the family head as the only peasant in the family, denying the fact that every able-bodied family member of the household participates in agricultural work and by making no distinction between the few whole-year farm workers that attend to hacienda machines and warehouses on the one hand and the traditional seasonal farm workers who existed ever since biblical times on the other hand.

*6. What is the Communist Party of the Philippines and what role does it play in the national democratic revolution?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines is the advanced detachment or vanguard party of the Filipino working class. It is the principal instrument of the working class for leading the national democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. The role of the CPP is to build itself as an ideological, political and organizational instrument of the working class and to realize its class leadership of the working class in the entire revolutionary movement of the people.

As the ideological instrument of the working class, the CPP is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applies this theory on the history, circumstances and revolutionary practice of the proletariat and people.

As political instrument, it draws up the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and with a socialist perspective and does political work to build itself, the people's army, the revolutionary mass organizations, the united front and the organs of power.

As the organizational instrument, it builds itself organizationally under the principle of democratic centralism in order to make collective decisions on the basis of democracy.

*7. Why is it erroneous to put the principal stress of mass work in the cities instead of in the countryside? Can you elaborate on the importance and balance of organizing in the cities and in the countryside?*

JMS: As far as I know, there has never been any CPP policy to put the principal stress on mass work in the cities instead of in the countryside. The objective fact is that historically and currently the urban-based mass movement has been the source of workers and educated youth redeployed for mass work assignment to the people's army in the countryside.

The policy of the CPP has always been to dispatch Party cadres and members and mass activists to the countryside from the cities in order to help strengthen the CPP, the people's army, the mass organizations, the local organs of political power and the united front.

To favor mass work in the countryside, the CPP has always stressed that the general line is people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and that the principal form of struggle is the revolutionary armed struggle which aims to overthrow the ruling system.

The CPP has always expected that the more revolutionaries from the cities joining their comrades in the countryside the faster would the armed revolution grow in strength and advance in building the people's democratic government in the countryside until this can get rid of the government of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats in the cities.

The strategic line of protracted people's war is to accumulate political and armed strength in the countryside until it becomes possible to overthrow the urban-based counterrevolutionary state.

*8. Is armed revolution necessary?*

JMS: History has shown that the proletariat has never won a new democratic revolution and establish socialism without armed revolution. There has never been a case of the bourgeoisie giving up state power and the private ownership of the means of production voluntarily and peacefully.

The necessity of armed revolution is not due to any one-sided desire of the proletariat to use armed revolution. It arises because the bourgeoisie uses its class dictatorship or its organized system of violence called state power to prevent the proletariat from establishing socialism.

*9. Is participating in the parliamentary struggle important?*

JMS: Whenever there is space for participation in parliamentary struggle within any bourgeois ruling system, the communists and other revolutionaries avail of that space while possible in order to push for reforms without becoming reformists and in order to indicate the need for revolutionary change.

Parliamentary struggle has its own distinct importance. It facilitates the spread of the program of struggle for national and social liberation. It contributes to the efforts to arouse, organize and mobilize the people for that struggle. But the genuine communists and revolutionaries are ever vigilant against the counterrevolutionary policies and acts of the reactionary classes.

*10. What are the three weapons of the revolution and what are the roles of each one?*

JMS: The three weapons of the Philippine revolution are the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat, revolutionary armed struggle and the united front. These are embodied by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front, respectively. As vanguard party of the proletariat, the CPP realizes best the leading role of the working class by building itself through ideological, political and organizational work.

The NPA integrates the revolutionary armed struggle with the agrarian revolution and mass base building. Mass base building involves building the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

The NDFP does its best to help build the basic worker-peasant alliance, win over the middle social strata and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries and isolate, weaken and destroy the power of one enemy ruling clique after another.

*11. Please elaborate on the tasks of the revolution on the following fields: a) political field b) economic field c) military field d) cultural field and e) foreign relations field.*

JMS: The main tasks of the revolution in the political field is to propagate and apply the general program of people's democratic revolution and do everything necessary to arouse, organize and mobilize the people for strengthening the revolutionary forces and advancing the revolution towards total victory.

The main tasks of the revolution in the economic field are to uphold national economic sovereignty, protect the national patrimony and achieve genuine land reform and national industrialization. When the revolutionary forces are effective in the countryside, they can carry out land reform and other socioeconomic programs for the



benefit of the people.

The main tasks of the revolution in the military field are to fight the enemy and to build the people's army as the main fighting forces, the people's militia as local police force and as auxiliary of the people's army and the self-defense units within the revolutionary mass organizations as active defenders of the people and reserve force for the people's army and the people's militia.

The main tasks of the revolution in the cultural field are to promote and realize the national, scientific and mass culture and education. The revolutionaries carry out all kinds of cultural work to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the people by undertaking study sessions, agitprop meetings, artistic works and performances.

The main tasks of the revolution in the field of foreign relations are to undertake campaigns of information, organizing and mobilization among the overseas Filipinos and the host peoples in various countries in order to build international solidarity and realize practical cooperation of mutual benefit among all peoples in the common struggle against imperialism and all reaction.

*12. The national democratic revolution has a socialist perspective. How can the transition from the people's democracy to socialism be guaranteed?*

JMS: The national democratic revolution is the preparation for the socialist revolution. Through the national democratic revolution, the working class and its vanguard party learn how to lead the broad masses of the people in waging revolution, set the socialist direction of the revolution and develop the forces and mass strength for establishing socialism.

The successful leadership of the working class in the national democratic revolution and the revolutionary forces it has built guarantee the establishment of socialism. At the same time, there shall still be some transitional measures of a bourgeois democratic character, like completing the land reform and integrating the patriotic bourgeoisie into joint state and private enterprises.

The national democratic revolution is basically completed upon the seizure of political power from the bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes and thus the socialist revolution can commence immediately with the working class and its vanguard party building immediately the political system to unite and govern the people and taking over all the commanding heights of the economy, all strategic industries, main transport lines and all sources of energy and raw materials. The state proceeds to build socialist industry and cooperativize and mechanize agriculture in a series of five-year plans.

*13. What are the major differences between a people's democracy and socialist state?*

JMS: As in the historical example of China, the people's democratic form of government based on the worker-peasant alliance and the broad alliance of democratic forces can be maintained. But the essence and core of state power shall already be the class rule of the working class and shall be socialist. The big comprador-landlord-bureaucrat-capitalist dictatorship shall be ended. Thus, the state power shall exist and run as the class dictatorship of the proletariat.

*14. Do you think Marxism-Leninism-Maoism still be relevant after the national democratic revolution has claimed victory? How?*

JMS: It will become an even more necessary and relevant guide to the socialist revolution that follows the national democratic revolution. The revolutionary teachings and successful practice of the great communists in the fields of philosophy, political economy and social science will shed light on what the revolutionary proletariat and people can do, with due respect to history and circumstances of the country.

The proletarian revolutionaries will be guided by and will apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and apply it creatively in the concrete conditions of the Philippines in order to carry out socialist revolution and construction, combat imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism under proletarian class dictatorship until imperialism is defeated and can no longer obstruct the road to communism.

# **On the Current Character of Philippine Society**

**Ang Bayan interview, August 31, 2020**

---

*Introduction: The question of the character of Philippine society is a key ideological question for the Party and the revolutionary movement. In recent months, there is marked increase in intellectual and political discourse on the matter especially among the Filipino youth.*

*Such interest is the natural outcome of the rising demand for fundamental solutions to the increasingly conspicuous crisis of the ruling system. At the same time, anti-Party elements including Trotskyites, social democrats and others have begun stepping up their anti-Party discourse to question the basic social analysis of the CPP with the aim of stemming the rising tide of new Party adherents. T*

*he people's socioeconomic conditions continue to worsen brought about by more than three decades of neoliberal policies. These have further sharpened recently by the massive destruction of productive forces due to the lockdowns related to the Covid-19 pandemic.*

*To discuss this matter, we have decided to interview Prof. Jose Ma. Sison, the Party's founding chair, and who as Amado Guerrero, authored "Philippine Society and Revolution." In this special issue, Ang Bayan puts forward some critical questions surrounding the Party's analysis of the semicolonial and semifeudal social system in the Philippines.*

*We hope that this interview will help our members in further sharpening their grasp of the issues and help in study and research efforts to deepen our understanding of the mode of production. We invite our readers to send their feedback. Additional questions, as well as information, can also be submitted as these may help in future interviews and articles.*

*1. When you wrote Philippine Society and Revolution in 1969, you described Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal. What did you mean then?*

JMS: By semicolonialism, I meant that the Philippines had been nominally independent since the US formally ended its colonial rule and formally granted independence to the Philippines in 1946. Instead of US colonial officials running the government from the national level downwards, politicians serving US monopoly capitalism and representing the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class have become responsible for the entire Philippine government.

But the US made sure with the US-RP Treaty of General Relations of 1946 and subsequent treaties, agreements and arrangements, that it would continue to dominate the Philippines economically, socially, politically and militarily. The US retained their property rights, their military bases, control over the economy and military and other means of dominating the Philippines. Semicolonialism means that the Philippines is not fully independent but is subject to the dictates of an imperialist power.

By semifeudalism, I meant that the Philippines was no longer fully feudal and was no longer ruled by the landlord class chiefly but by the comprador big bourgeoisie as the chief trading and financial agent of foreign monopoly capitalism that owns large tracts of land and extractive enterprises to serve as base for exporting raw materials in exchange for equipment and other manufactures from abroad.

The natural economy of feudalism began to be undermined when the commodity system of production and the use of money as medium of exchange began to prevail as the production of export crops developed significantly in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the Suez Canal opening, and when crop specialization arose with some regions producing export crops and other regions producing food crops for domestic consumption.

But it was during the US colonial period, when the semifeudal economic system became dominant in the Philippines, with the US colonial rulers opening the mines, granting logging concessions and expanding the plantations for the production of raw-material exports in exchange for larger imports of equipment and other manufactures. The comprador big bourgeoisie arose as the native and mestizo ruling class seated in the major cities and became more powerful than the landlord class ruling in the provinces. In the Spanish colonial period, the big compradors were the colonial officials, Spanish merchants and religious orders.

*2. Are the terms semicolonial and semifeudal still valid? Can we not use the term neocolonial for semicolonial and capitalist for semifeudal?*

JMS: The terms semicolonial and semifeudal to describe Philippine society are still valid. Semicolonialism is a

distinctly political term that refers to the lack of full national independence of the Philippines and to the continuing control of the Philippines by the US and its imperialist allies. This term has been widely accepted and has not been the target of questioning or objection. It is a longstanding term from Lenin who spoke of colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries being subordinate to the imperialist powers.

Like other people, I sometimes use the term neocolony to refer to the Philippines to express the nuance that the Philippines is under a new form of political control by economic and financial means rather than by outright bureaucratic and military control by a colonial power. It was Sukarno and Zhou En-lai who were best known for using this term in connection with the Bandung Conference of African and Asian peoples against imperialism, neocolonialism and colonialism. I find nothing wrong with using neocolony as synonym for semicolon.

Like the term semicolonialism, semifeudalism comes from Marxist-Leninist literature describing the Chinese economy before the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. It is used to describe economies that have long been dominated by the commodity system of production and no longer by a natural economy of feudalism. But it is a merchant bourgeoisie rather than an industrial bourgeoisie that is the chief ruling class based on land ownership or in partnership with the landlord class.

Semifeudalism is a precise term with a definite content. It is a big comprador type of capitalism that is based on feudal and semifeudal conditions and thrives on a lopsided colonial exchange of raw material exports and manufacture imports. It is a term for a non-industrial or pre-industrial and agrarian economy in which the comprador big bourgeoisie has arisen as the wealthiest and most powerful exploiting class from feudal haciendas as resource base for exports and in combination with the landlord class. Influenced by bourgeois economists, right wing social democrats and Trotskyites, some people think that it is a term that has never been valid or has outgrown its validity.

They think that an economy has to be exclusively feudal or capitalist. They do not understand that in its world history capitalism grew out of the womb of feudalism, first in the form of the handicraft business, some light manufacturing and the merchants trading between town and country before industrial capitalism surged forth as the dominant form of capitalism with the steam engine and then with the electro-mechanically powered machinery for the mass production and large-scale circulation of commodities.

Semifeudalism is a term that refers to a kind of economy that evolved from feudalism and became starkly conspicuous in the 20th century in the Philippines with the rise of the comprador big bourgeoisie as the chief exploiting class in collaboration with the landlord class. Big compradors have long been big landlords because they base themselves on large landed estates and use these to produce crops for export in exchange for the importation of finished products from abroad. Prior to the rise of the native and mestizo comprador big bourgeoisie during the US colonial regime, the Spanish colonial bureaucrats, merchants and religious orders played the role of big compradors in the Manila-Acapulco trade and then in the direct Manila-Europe trade in the 19th century.

The big comprador Ayala family and related families have owned banks and trading companies but have also owned or managed big landed estates in Calatagan and Nasugbu, Batangas and elsewhere since the beginning of the 20th century. In recent times in the 21st century, the recently deceased Eduardo Cojuangco owned the United Coconut Planters Bank and came to own the gigantic big comprador firm San Miguel Corporation but he also owned some twenty haciendas in various provinces in the Philippines (Tarlac, Pangasinan, Isabela, Negros, Palawan, Agusan, Albay and so on).

### *3. How do you explain the Philippine economy as semifeudal at the present time?*

JMS: The Philippine economy is still dominated by the comprador big bourgeoisie in combination with the landlord class. It has no industrial foundation of its own. It does not produce the industrial equipment but imports these with income mainly from the export of agricultural products and mineral ores. It does not have an independent steel industry. It has no machine-building industry nor the capacity to produce machine tools, vehicles, computers, basic chemicals, medicines and other capital goods and major manufactures.

Local manufacturing is dependent on imported machines and raw material inputs. So-called export processing zones of multinational firms are detached from the domestic economy and are engaged in semi-processing and assembly. They are mere appendages or segments of the international assembly line of multinational firms.

The so-called service industries serve as adjuncts, not of an independent industrial capacity for the country, but of comprador-type operations in export and wholesale domestic trade, finance, tourism and travel, and the whole gamut of media, communications and infotech-based businesses that merely skim their share of profit

from these basically commercial operations with some globalized character. Such industries may impart a glossy, capitalist-like sheen on the Philippine economy at first glance, but are simply unsustainable outgrowths of the semifeudal economy.

In spite or because of the long running bogus land reform program of the agrarian state, agriculture remains a major base of the economy but it is in the main afflicted by traditional feudal relations of production, by backward, non-mechanized, non-irrigated, and with low output. However, there is the noticeable phenomenon of the scattered use of harvester and thresher combines from China and Japan in small to medium landholdings, displacing farm workers. Large-scale agricultural production with some amount of mechanization and hiring of seasonal farm workers is carried out in foreign-owned and big comprador-owned plantations producing export crops.

*4. Can you explain the impact of the economic policy shifts of the US and world capitalist system on the Philippine economy since the 1950s? Have these policy shifts, which have been followed by the Philippine government, promoted the industrialization of the Philippines?*

JMS: There have been conspicuous and superficial phenomena in the Philippines attendant to shifts in the economic policy of US imperialism and the local reactionaries. Up to the 1950s, US surplus consumer goods poured into the Philippines to exhaust US war damage payments and loans from the US Export-Import Bank. By the 1970s upon the rehabilitation of Japan, the Philippines was being swamped with all sorts of Japanese goods and Marcos went into showy infrastructure projects, using up Japanese reparations and availing of loans from the World Bank.

Some shallow-minded bourgeois economists thought that the Philippines could become a newly-industrializing country when the export-processing zones were launched. But the Filipino rulers proved incapable of overcoming limitations imposed by the Japanese creditors on the Iligan Integrated Steel Mills which were established during the time of Macapagal and would be sold away to Chinese Malaysians in the time of Ramos.

The multilateral consensus among the industrial capitalist countries in IMF, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank was to keep the Philippines nonindustrial and agrarian, a dumping ground of surplus manufactures and cheap source of raw materials, restricted to infrastructure building to enhance the export of raw materials and import finished manufactures.

The share that the Philippines got in the imperialist recycling of petrodollars in construction projects in the Middle East was the desperate shift of Marcos' crony construction companies to this region, the deployment of Filipino construction workers and the start of a significant amount of remittances from migrant workers to keep up the importation of consumer goods under the auspices of the Filipino comprador big bourgeoisie.

But the bigger phenomenon of exporting cheap Filipino labor in far larger numbers has arisen under the neoliberal policy framework to earn foreign exchange and augment foreign loans for covering the growing deficit due to the increased dumping of surplus consumer goods by the imperialist countries and by the neighboring newly-industrialized countries in East Asia.

The US instigated the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization in a futile attempt to override the worsening crisis of overproduction within the US and among its industrialized allies from 1979 onward. This policy has been awesome because it brazenly calls for the unbridled aggrandizement of monopoly capital, the deliberate reduction of the wage income and social services, the denationalization of weaker economies and the abuse of international credit for private construction and the provision of consumer goods.

In the neoliberal framework, the Philippines never had a chance to make its own national industrialization, until now when neoliberalism has become bankrupt and the public debt is already in the process of exploding in the face of both industrialized and non-industrialized countries.

Such new facets of the local economy as the significant rise in remittances of overseas Filipino workers since the late 1970s, expansion of so-called free economic zones, large-scale land-use conversion for real-estate, production of new commodity crops, have only served to aggravate and deepen the backward and nonindustrial character of the domestic forces of production in the Philippines.

Significant external changes like the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and China, the rise of China as a manufacturing giant, technological developments in communications, robotics, and so on have only served to aggravate the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system and have not provided the Philippine reactionary government the opportunity to undertake the industrial development of the Philippines, especially because there has been a lack of political will for such purpose.

5. What is the composition of the Philippine population in terms of socioeconomic class and urban-rural dichotomy?

JMS: Based on the false statistics of the reactionary government, the employees in the industry sector (19.1 percent) and those in the service sector (58 percent) now total 77.1 percent of the labor force against the measly 22.9 percent in the agriculture sector. There are two points missed in the understatement of employment in agriculture: first, almost the entire family of peasants and farm workers, including women and children, do farm work and other productive activities in the natural economy; and second, most of the surplus population and the rural odd-jobbers and many of the urban odd-jobbers are still connected to their peasant families. In considering the class composition of the Philippine population, one must in general count as members of a definite socioeconomic class those family members who are dependent on or assist their parents in work. This is especially in the case of peasants and farm workers because they take part in production and get a definite share of the social product. By this reckoning, the poor and middle peasants are still the overwhelming majority of the people employed in the two basic productive sectors of agriculture and industry. At the least, 60 percent of the population are still peasant and based in the rural areas.

Even the false statistics of the reactionary government admit that there are still more people employed in agriculture than in industry, although the difference has been made incredibly small. The mechanical and superficial definition of “urban” in these statistics have the overall effect of bloating further the number of non-rural employment, where in fact these are typically members of peasant families engaged in sideline occupations in nearby town centers, such as drivers, haulers, vendors, shop assistants, and other casual laborers in the informal economy.

There is a noticeable degree of rural semi-proletarianization, due to the limits of agricultural land, and widespread land-use conversion for real estate, tourism, energy and infrastructure projects. This results in the increasing number of surplus peasants and farm workers who are displaced from the land and could no longer be absorbed in agricultural production.

But they have scant opportunity to become productive since there are limited industries in the cities and the labor export market only absorb so much, large amounts of rural labor are being displaced from the land and forced idle. To feed themselves and their families, they resort to all sorts of productive work from serving as habal-habal transport drivers, engaging in small retail, seasonal swidden farming, collecting firewood for sale, and so on, which are intrinsically tied to the rural economy.

The big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalist families comprise fractions of one per cent of the Philippine population, the stunted middle bourgeoisie cannot exceed two percent of the population, the urban petty bourgeoisie still ranges from 6 to 8 percent of the population. The workers and peasants comprise at least 90 percent of the population, with the nonagricultural workers no more than 30 or 40 per cent. There has been no significant advance of industrial capitalist development to change radically the social pyramid and rural-urban distribution of the population since the writing of *Philippine Society and Revolution*.

The Philippines is extremely underdeveloped if we consider the extent of unemployment as an indicator of development. According to 2019 official statistics, 12 million people or more than 26 percent of the 45 million labor force cannot find work in the Philippines and have to seek jobs abroad. Another 10.6 million or 23 percent of the labor force remain in the Philippines and are admitted by the reactionary government as unemployed. A total of 22.6 million people or more than 49 percent of the labor force are unemployed.

The National Statistics Authority of the government admits that of the almost 70 million Filipinos counted as working-age population (as of the 2017 Labor Force Survey), more than 27 million are categorized as “not in the labor force” (NILF). These include overseas workers, who are even excluded in the NSA’s labor data collection. Other NILF include those who are “not looking for work” for various reasons. This point alone proves the severity of the country’s unemployment problem. Aside from exporting raw materials for foreign monopoly capitalism, the Philippines has exported huge amounts of cheap labor since 1980.

It does this in two ways with huge increases: 1) in overseas Filipinos (with for instance OFW deployment increasing from just 214,590 in 1980 to over two million annually since 2016; the stock of overseas Filipinos meanwhile increased from 7.0 million in 1997 [earliest available data] to 10.3 million in 2013 [latest available data, although Migrante estimates at least 12 million today]); and 2) in employment in special economic zones (increasing from 91,860 in 1994 to over 1.5 million today; this is from how the number of economic zones increased from 16 to 395 and of enterprises [mainly foreign TNCs] in them from 331 to 4,341 over that same period). This grossly

affirms how our lack of an industrial base means that foreign monopoly capital is able to exploit Filipino raw materials and cheap labor.

6. *In 1983 you and Ka Julie, your wife, analyzed the Philippine mode of production and countered the wrong line that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal but capitalist? What was the basis of that line?*

JMS: Yes, we thought in 1983 that it was our duty to counter the erroneous line that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal but capitalist. The implication of the term capitalist was that the Philippines had become industrial capitalist. There would have been no problem if the homegrown capitalism were described as semifeudal capitalism or big comprador capitalism or big comprador-landlord economy. Certain cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines were quite awed by the Marcos fascist regime's infrastructure projects and propaganda that the Philippines was becoming industrial capitalist because of "eleven industrial projects" connected to the infrastructure projects and the promotion of universal banks so-called, no longer merely commercial banks but banks for industrial investment, as in the merger of bank and industrial capital in the emergence of monopoly capitalism in Europe.

Julie and I thought those CPP cadres I have mentioned were under the influence of bourgeois economists and even of Trotskyism. They were short of knowledge about political economy and were lacking in critical ability. They even claimed that the peasantry in Central Luzon was rapidly disappearing because of industrialization and did not recognize that the number of peasants persisted but the surplus rural population was increasing and desperate even for odd jobs on the farms and in Metro Manila. They were also dazzled by the prospects of export processing zones and semiprocessing enterprises.

They failed to recognize that the bureaucrat capitalist Marcos and his cronies were big compradors who were benefiting from infrastructure projects which were grossly graft-laden and dependent on onerous foreign debt as well as on imported construction equipment and structural steel. The so-called eleven industrial projects and universal banks were all balderdash and were subordinate to the infrastructure projects and export-import trading. The export-processing zones were not at all the cutting edge of industrialization but fringe-processing or assembly of finished components.

The errant comrades were completely unaware that Marcos had already exhausted the Japanese war damage payments and that the neo-Keynesian lending under the auspices of the World Bank for the purpose of enhancing the colonial exchange of raw materials from the hinterlands and finished goods from the metropolis was under strain and severe criticism from 1979 onward. The Marcos fascist regime was already in financial trouble due to the dwindling of international credit from 1979 to 1982.

7. *What were the consequences of the wrong line of those who practically praised Marcos for transforming the Philippines from semifeudal to industrial capitalist?*

JMS: The subjectivist line that Marcos had transformed or was transforming the Philippine economy from semifeudal to industrial capitalist bred Right and "Left" opportunist lines. It reinforced the reformist Right opportunist line of the so-called popular democrats. It also whipped up the Left opportunist and Trotskyite line that the Maoist line of protracted people's war was invalid and that victory in the armed revolution could be accomplished through urban uprisings and/or rapid regularization of the people's army. The Left opportunist line manifested Trotskyite notions and did the most damage to the armed revolution from 1986 until 1992, prompting the Second Great Rectification Movement in 1992.

The critique of the wrong subjectivist line about the mode of production in the Philippines in 1983 did not stop the Right opportunists and "Left" opportunists in having their way and inflicting damage to the revolutionary forces at various times in various regions but it reinforced the Marxist-Leninist foundation of the CPP and gathered the support of most cadres and members for the Second Great Rectification Movement. This was an educational movement to repudiate, criticize and rectify the erroneous subjectivist line and the Right and "Left" opportunist errors as well as consequent crimes. It saved the CPP and the revolutionary movement from disintegration.

8. *Now, there are again claims that the Philippines is no longer semifeudal but capitalist. Why? What is the basis for these claims? Has the neoliberal policy really developed beyond what you call the semifeudal economy?*

JMS: As Lenin has taught us a long time ago about the law of uneven development, modern imperialism or monopoly capitalism can make spasmodic investments in colonies, semicolonies and dependent countries but these do not result in an even economic development from one level to a new higher level. The kind of foreign investments that flowed into the Philippines during the time of Marcos did not lift the Philippines from

semifeudalism to industrial capitalism but to a worse kind of semifeudalism that resulted in the downfall of Marcos and the stagnation of the economy during the time of Cory Aquino.

Then from 1992 onward Ramos as president pushed hard the neoliberal policy, privatized state assets to use the sales income for buoying up the budget and to get neoliberal credit for a private construction boom and larger importation of finished manufactures. The Philippine economy actually degenerated and then was adversely affected in a big way by the Asian financial crisis of 1997. The export-oriented processing enterprises collapsed and became subordinated to China as final assembly platform.

The Estrada regime could not last long because of corruption and depressed conditions of the economy. But despite continuing difficulties, the subsequent Arroyo and Aquino regimes seemed to be able to fix the Philippine economy because of low-interest international credit by way of reviving the world capitalist economy, the inflow of speculative portfolio funds which did not build any productive enterprise, the foreign exchange remittances of overseas contract workers and the shift of business processing operations from the imperialist countries to the Philippines.

Philippine economic “progress” since the 2000s is equated or made to appear with the glossy high-rise buildings due to neoliberal funding and a big amount of import-dependent consumption due to a rising level of foreign debt in combination with the remittances of the OFWs which have not been enough to cover budgetary and trade deficits. Thus, there is now an unsustainable public debt of ₱9 trillion without any solid kind of industrial development. The backward nonindustrial character of the Philippine economy when the public debt bubbles of neoliberalism will be exploding in both industrial capitalist countries and in nonindustrial countries like the Philippines.

But there are those who think that the grotesque distribution of employment and outputs in the agriculture, industry and service sectors spells the rise of the Philippine economy, from semifeudalism to capitalism which is implied to be industrial capitalism. According to latest government statistics, agriculture is supposed to account for 22.9 percent employment and 7.4 percent share of the GDP, industry for 19.1 percent of employment and 34 percent share of GDP and service sector for 58 percent of employment and 58.6 of GDP.

These figures are patently false by understating the proportion of those employed in agriculture and disregarding the fact that entire families of peasants and farm workers (including children below the age of 10 years) participate in farm work and overstating employment in the service sector which obviously includes estimates of the big number of odd-jobbers and unemployed. The service sector is not a basic productive sector, unlike agriculture and industry.

Nevertheless, the service sector is highly significant because it is where the comprador bourgeoisie reigns with its big financial, trading and other service corporations. These determine the semifeudal and big comprador capitalist character of the Philippine economy in line which lacks an industrial foundation. But the statisticians of the reactionary government also crowd the service sector with small and medium service enterprises and the far more numerous income-earners working as jeepney drivers, market stall proprietors, gasoline station attendants, sari-sari store owners, street vendors, cooks, waitresses and others involved in the so-called “informal economy.”

That the service sector dominates the economy indicates a grossly disfigured non-industrial state of the economy. The proportions of employment and output ascribed to the industry sector clearly do not make the Philippines industrial capitalist, especially if we consider that the Philippine industry sector is entirely dependent on imported equipment, fuel and other major components and raw materials.

What has been passed off by the reactionary rulers and economists as industrial capitalist development in the Philippines consists of pockets of large-scale industrial capitalist production dependent on imported equipment and components which include electronic parts, electrical wiring production and other export commodities inside the export processing zones. These zones of cheap Filipino labor and tax evasion form part of the international assembly line (now more fashionably called “global value chains”) of multinational corporations.

There are also large-scale extractive industries such as mining operations which make use of giant earth moving machines, high explosives, open pits and heavy doses of cyanide and other lethal chemicals, and international shipping vessels which often avoid customs with the complicity of corrupt officials. Large numbers of the Filipino proletariat are concentrated in these areas of economic activity. The question, however, is whether these form part of, or contribute to domestic capitalist development. The processing of the mineral ores is done abroad beyond the primary stage.

Except for the low wages they pay to workers, the mining enterprises, in fact, do not contribute anything

fundamental to domestic capitalist development. In fact, they prevent local capitalist factors from developing industrially by sucking in domestic resources, and influencing economic policy to the detriment of the national bourgeoisie. The independent local capitalist sector is limited mainly to small and medium-scale manufacturing, with significant numbers in the local food manufacturing.

9. *What are the possible consequences of not describing Philippine politics and economy in the most precise way possible?*

JMS: If the thinking gains ground that the Philippines has become industrial capitalist from being semifeudal, there would be an obfuscation of the three basic problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, with the big compradors and bureaucrat capitalists serving as the bridge between foreign monopoly capitalism and feudalism consisting of traditional rent-taking landlords and export crop landlords, and leasehold contract growers (including commercial livestock and poultry growers for niche markets) who combine some amount of mechanization and the use of seasonal farm workers.

Worst of all, there can be again the illusion that the peasantry is a dwindling or even disappearing class through capitalist development, agrarian revolution is no longer the main content of the people's democratic revolution and that the protracted people's war has lost the wide social and physical terrain for maneuver and growth in stages. The subjectivist line can again be whipped up for the Right and Left opportunist lines that arose from 1981 to 1992 and became very damaging to the revolutionary movement from 1985 to 1992.

Those who spread the aforesaid subjectivist line eventually exposed themselves as Trotskyites. They are again loudly attacking the characterization of the Philippine economy as semi-feudal in order to push the long-discredited Trotskyite line that there ought not to be two stages in the Philippine revolution because socialism is already the immediate issue, that there is no need for the people's democratic revolution, that the peasantry and the middle bourgeoisie are reactionary forces that should be kept out of the national united front, that the strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the country should be discarded and that the workers must do all the revolutionary struggle and share no power with the peasant masses.

However, the semifeudal character of the Philippines will become even more conspicuous as the crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the domestic ruling system worsen, especially after the aggravation of the crisis and large-scale disruptions of global and domestic supply chains wrought by COVID-19. The liberalized trade and investment policies of the reactionary government have favored foreign monopoly capitalists and smugglers through the ports and free economic zones at the expense of local production.

The Philippine economy remains dependent on imported equipment and many kinds of consumer manufactures, foreign debt and investments. It suffers from a rapidly worsening chronic trade deficit and mounting public debt. The people suffer high rates of unemployment, job insecurity, low wages, rising prices of food and other basic commodities, mass poverty and homelessness.

The export-oriented, import-dependent and heavily indebted economy is already reeling from the global economic slowdown and the aggravation done by the destruction of productive forces due to the Covid-19 lockdowns. The private construction boom, real estate development and tourist enterprises are likely to suffer a collapse as they did after the Asian financial crisis of 1997.

The GDP growth last year which slowed to 5.9 percent, the lowest in eight years, is set to be wiped out with the unprecedented contraction of the economy. Sure to further deteriorate are all sectors of the economy in terms of output and employment. Overseas remittances and BPO operations will slow down. The Philippine economy and government have gone bankrupt and will have no way whatsoever to claim any kind of economic development from the underdeveloped and impoverished conditions of semifeudalism.



# ***On the Struggle against the Marcos Fascist Dictatorship***

**Questions by the Host Edna Becher, Anakbayan-Europa,  
September 20, 2020**

---

*1. Even before Marcos proclaimed martial law in 1972, revolutionary forces in the Philippines had been waging the national democratic revolution. How big was this movement before martial law?*

JMS: In the entire 1960s, the national democratic movement against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists grew steadily among the student youth, workers and peasants through activities to arouse, organize and mobilize them.

The Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) made the first major mass action in the struggle for national democracy when it led 5000 students on March 15, 1961 to scuttle the anticommunist hearings of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities of the Lower House of Congress. Those hearings had persecuted the faculty members and student activists of the UP for writing patriotic and progressive essays.

The leading activists of the SCAUP subsequently generated study groups and seminars to promote the national democratic line of resuming the Philippine revolution among the students, young workers, peasants and professionals. They established the Kabataang Makabayan as a comprehensive youth organization in 1964.

The KM gained national prominence as an articulator and militant force of the national democratic movement in 1964. It worked with student organizations, labor federations of Lapiang Manggagawa and the MASAKA led by Felixberto Olalia. It spearheaded demonstrations that peaked with 25,000 rallyists in 1965 against the treaties, agreements and arrangements that bound the Philippines as a semicolony to the US.

It also led the youth demonstration against the so-called Manila Summit in which US president Lyndon Johnson rounded up the Asian puppet government to join the US in its war of aggression against Vietnam. The demonstration was violently dispersed but the student demonstrators were inspired to launch the October 24th Movement for carrying out social investigation and recruiting the youth in urban and rural poor communities.

In 1967-68, the KM led nationwide student strikes against reactionary school owners and administrators; and built school chapters nationwide. In 1969, the KM cooperated with jeepney drivers to carry out transport strikes against rising oil prices.

In the meantime, the Communist Party of the Philippines was established under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism with only 12 delegates representing more than 80 full and candidate members. And it soon established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 with only a few squads in Tarlac but with a mass base of some 80,000 people.

The First Quarter Storm (FQS) led by the KM broke out in 1970. From January to March, a series of mass protests surged, with 100,000 to 200,000 youth and workers joining each protest action. As a result, the national democratic mass organizations increased their membership by leaps and bounds.

The violent dispersal of the mass actions which resulted in the killing and injury of mass protesters only served to arouse popular outrage, inspire further mass actions, drove many activists to study revolutionary theory and practice and embolden many activists to join the CPP and NPA.

The mass protests continued despite the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 until the declaration of martial law in 1972. Against the strident threats of Marcos to declare martial law, the mass protesters shouted people's war as the answer to martial law.

On the eve of the declaration of martial law, the KM had a membership of 15,000. The revolutionary trade unions reached a membership of at least 30,000 and the peasant mass base was at least 200,000 mainly in Tarlac, Pampanga, Ifugao, Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya provinces in 1972.

The CPP membership was approaching 2,000 and the NPA had more than 300 Red fighters with automatic rifles, excluding the people's militia with inferior weapons. Marcos exaggerated the number of NPA fighters as 10,000 in his declaration of martial law.

*2. Please tell us about the First Quarter Storm. What were the significant mass actions? What did it achieve?*

JMS: Metro Manila was the center of the FQS of 1969 but the mass actions spread nationwide. As I have already said, they ranged in size from 100,000 to 200,000. The storm broke out when Marcos ordered the violent dispersal of the students gathered before Congress after he delivered his state of the nation address on January 26, 1970.

The violent dispersal and the death and injury of the student demonstrators provoked further mass actions. The subsequent mass actions involved having assembly points in various parts of Metro Manila and then the demonstrators marched from those points, picking up more demonstrators and mass support along the way before converging on Congress, the presidential palace or the US embassy.

Following the violent dispersal of the rally before Congress on January 26, 1970, the KM mobilized 150,000 demonstrators to march to the presidential place on January 30. The presidential guards and Marines attacked the demonstrators and the demonstrators captured a fire truck to ram through the gate of the palace. A see-saw battle ensued at the Mendiola bridge, resulting in serious casualties on the side of the students and the reactionary side.

Marcos pleaded to the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP) to stop the mass actions. But the KM decided that the mass movement must go on. The next demonstration in February gathered at Plaza Miranda in Quiapo, Manila and then proceeded to the US Embassy. The demonstrators broke into the gate of the embassy and vented their ire on the entire ground floor of the embassy.

The mass movement proceeded with major issues raised against US imperialism and the Marcos puppet regime. After the FQS, more demonstrations occurred on labor and land reform issues as well as on the US military bases and the US war of aggression against Vietnam until the declaration of martial law in 1972.

### *3. What was the effect of Martial Law on this national democratic movement?*

JMS: The martial law declaration of 1972 served to inflame the revolutionary spirit of the Filipino people. They were outraged that Marcos was imposing fascist dictatorship on them in the service of US imperialism and his own selfish interests, despite his propaganda of saving the republic and building a new society.

Marcos outlawed all the legal forces of the national democratic movement and engaged in the mass arrest of their leaders as well as the leaders of the opposition Liberal party. The mass activists who could not be arrested went underground. In Metro Manila alone, 4,000 mass activists went underground with the intention of joining the people's war in the countryside.

The CPP membership leaped to more than 2,000. By 1974, most of the thousands of activists joining the urban underground were deployed nationwide to help build the Party, the NPA the revolutionary mass organizations, and the local organs of political power in so many regions nationwide.

Instead of being able to destroy the legal national democratic movement, with martial law and fascist dictatorship, Marcos unwittingly succeeded in helping the armed revolutionary movement by driving the mass activists from the ranks of the workers and educated youth to join the CPP, NPA and the peasant masses in the countryside.

### *4. What were the different forms of resistance against the Marcos fascist dictatorship?*

JMS: Despite the violence and terrorism of martial law, various forms of legal and illegal resistance were possible against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Only those threatened with arrest, torture and death had to go underground. The civil rights and religious organizations tried their best to defend the human rights of the social activists, the dis-employed print and broadcast journalists, the trade unionists and leaders of the conservative opposition.

There was no way Marcos could stop the patriotic and democratic forces among the workers, peasants, students, professionals, religious people and the legal opposition parties who carried on their daily work to express their views and among themselves, especially because Marcos insulted every one by closing all mass media that were not under his control and by trying to monopolize information.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines was formed on April 24, 1973 to build and strengthen the broad united front against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. This united front was successful in coordinating the legal forms of resistance and the armed revolutionary movement. publications circulated and lightning protest actions occurred.

Under conditions of martial law, both legal forms of struggle and the people's war flourished. That was why the Marcos fascist dictatorship was ultimately overthrown. In class terms, the working class as the leading class relied mainly on its basic alliance with the peasant masses, won over the middle social strata and took advantage

of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the Marcos fascist regime.

5. *The Bangsa Moro led by the Moro National Liberation Front also waged armed struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. Was there an alliance between the CPP and the MNLF? What was their relationship?*

JMS: Nur Misuari and other key leaders of the Moro National Liberation Front got their political education and training from Kabataang Makabayan, which propagated the right of national self-determination among all indigenous peoples in the Philippines. There was therefore a high level of common understanding between the MNLF and the revolutionary movement of the entire Filipino people.

There was at least an objective alliance between the MNLF and the revolutionary movement of the entire Filipino people in fighting the reactionary Manila-based government as the common enemy.

The Moro nation's fight for self-determination had the effect of helping the revolutionary struggle of the entire Filipino people. Reciprocally, the struggle of the Filipino people helped the Moro people.

The CPP and all patriotic and democratic forces succeeded in countering the attempt of Marcos to use Christian chauvinism against the MNLF, the MILF and the Moro nation. The NDFP and the Christians for National Liberation advocated ecumenism and mutual respect between the Christian and Islamic believers. The military minions of Marcos committed atrocities against the Moro people but were condemned by the Filipino people for doing so.

The NDFP and the MNLF agreed to stand together as complainants on behalf of the Filipino and Moro peoples against the Marcos fascist dictatorship as defendant in the trial conducted by the International People's Tribunal in Antwerp, Belgium in 1980. Marcos and his criminal accomplices were convicted by the International People's Tribunal.

6. *Was there an international support in the movement against the fascist dictatorship? If so, what kind and what was its significance?*

JMS: There was abundant international support for the Filipino people and their just struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. As early as 1969, we in the CPP anticipated that Marcos would impose fascist dictatorship on the people. Thus, we started to deploy cadres to conduct solidarity work in socialist countries, in certain countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the US, Europe and in the Asia-Pacific region.

The CPP formed committees and branches in whichever country it had Party members. These engaged in mass work in order to build Filipino community organizations and solidarity organizations with the host people. The NDFP also had its international political work. It was able to form alliances of Filipino organizations and solidarity organizations and develop diplomatic and proto-diplomatic relations with foreign governments and their agencies.

The CPP and the NDFP were open to alliance and cooperation with all Filipino organizations in opposition to the Marcos fascist regime even if they belonged to the conservative opposition. The national democratic organizations abroad were themselves alliances and could include Filipinos of various ideological, religious and political persuasions as long as they agreed to fight against the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

7. *The assassination of Aquino in 1983 upon his return to Manila triggered an upsurge. How significant was this in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship?*

JMS: The Aquino assassination on August 21, 1983 triggered the gigantic mass actions that led to the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. That was the biggest mistake of Marcos. It led to the firm conclusion of the US government that Marcos had become more of a liability than an asset to US interests. The US State Department and the Republican and Democrat parties were offended that Marcos resorted to murder to eliminate a political leader they thought could replace Marcos in a peaceful way.

The Catholic and other Christian churches were also offended. So were most sections of the big comprador and landlord classes that had long been offended by Marcos and his upstart cronies for engaging in flagrant plunder, monopolizing the infrastructure projects and grabbing the enterprises and assets of others.

The Ninoy Aquino funeral was attended by a million people. But the pro-Aquino forces did not have solid mass organizations for launching mass protests. In the interest of the broad united front against the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the forces of the national democratic movement cooperated with the pro-Aquino forces in mobilizing the masses in great numbers to seek justice and effect the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

8. *Could you tell us about the EDSA uprising? How did it happen and what effect? How did the regime respond to it?*

JMS: The biggest contradiction between the Filipino people and the Marcos fascist dictatorship became conspicuous with the rise of the mass actions after the Aquino assassination from 1983 to 1986 and the electoral rallies of the opposition during the campaign period for the presidential snap election of February 7, 1986.

As a result of the electoral cheating of Marcos through his control of the Comelec, the CPP immediately announced intensified armed resistance. The legal democratic forces also announced the intensification of mass protests. Subsequently, Cory Aquino announced a campaign of civil disobedience and the Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter proclaiming the Marcos regime as having no legal and moral foundation. The stage was set for unprecedented mass actions against the Marcos fascist regime.

Meanwhile the contradictions between the side of Marcos and General Ver on one side and defense secretary Enrile and General Ramos on the other side broke out into the open. The former side was able to foil the coup attempt of the Reform the AFP Movement (RAM) as the instrument of the latter side. From Camp Aguinaldo, the Enrile-Ramos side and the RAM called for public support before they walked over to Camp Crame. Cardinal Sin called for public support for the beleaguered military opponents of Marcos and Ver.

Using the radio Veritas broadcast station of the Catholics, Butch Aquino (Ninoy Aquino's brother) called on the people to assemble at the Isetann along EDSA. The forces of BAYAN, Justice for Aquino and Justice for All and Congress for the Restoration of Democracy were the first to appear in significant number. Thus, the great number of people started to build up along EDSA. Colonel Santiago called for volunteers to accompany him in seizing the broadcast station of Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and the government. And 500 members of BAYAN-Quezon City accompanied him.

The people who occupied EDSA from Cubao, Quezon City to Makati, Rizal peaked to as high as two million people to block the Marcos loyalists from attacking the Enrile-Ramos side. Some 80 percent of the people responded to the calls of Cardinal Sin, using the Veritas broadcast station. Twenty percent of the people were mobilized by BAYAN. In the direct encirclement of the Malacañang Palace, more than 90 percent of the 100,000 people were mobilized by Kilusang Mayo Uno and the League of Filipino Students.

Marcos and Ver tried to use force against the Enrile-Ramos side but the gigantic mass of people along EDSA and around the palace was insurmountable. They blocked the army and marine convoys sent out by Marcos from Fort Bonifacio and Sangley Point. At the same time, the US embassy used General Ileto to neutralize the Marcos loyalists in the Philippine Army. He and US ambassador Bosworth remanded the orders of Marcos for the artillery bombardment on Camp Crame from the site of Imelda's Ministry of Human Settlements. Air force General Sotelo of Camp Basa Air Base was ordered to bomb Camp Crame but instead he defected to the Enrile-Ramos side.

At the end of his power, Marcos and his family had no choice but to be airlifted by US helicopters to the Clark Air Base and from there to Guam and further on to Hawaii. If Marcos took the road to escape from the palace, he would have been ambushed by one of the special platoons which had been deployed by the NPA in Manila.

#### *9. What was the role of the national democratic movement in the EDSA uprising?*

JMS: I have already pointed out the particular role of the forces of the national democratic movement in joining the great number of people at EDSA, in seizing the broadcast facilities of KPN and the government and the encirclement of the presidential palace in the final days of Marcos in power from February 22 to 25, 1986.

I have not yet mentioned many other important contributions of BAYAN, like their organizations in several regions and provinces building the united front against Marcos and persuading the pro-Marcos politicians and units of the AFP and Philippine Constabulary to withdraw support from Marcos.

The regional commander of the PC in Bicol General de Villa cooperated with BAYAN in neutralizing the pro-Marcos politicians in the Bicol region. The BAYAN organizations of Angeles City blocked the way of the convoy of Marcos loyalist troops headed by General Palafox coming from Camp Aquino in Tarlac.

But the biggest role of the national democratic movement in ultimately bringing down the Marcos fascist regime was its long resolute and active resistance in the legal forms of resistance as well as in the form of the people's war. As the Marcos fascist dictatorship reigned long and had the illusion of ruling forever, the organizations and local organs of political power grew in strength and spread nationwide.

The legal democratic forces were outlawed and had to go underground but they kept on launching lightning protest mass actions and new legal mass organizations also kept on arising, especially after Marcos pretended to lift martial law in 1981. However, as early as 1974 to 1975, the trade unions were able to carry out a nationwide strike in 300 workplaces; and in 1976 the student masses were already able to re-establish student councils in the

UP and so many other schools.

The people's war was inspirational to the broad masses of the people during all the time that Marcos rode roughshod over them with his armed minions and with US imperialist support. The heroic resistance of the CPP, NPA, the NDFP, the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of political power demonstrated to the broad masses of the people that it was possible to fight the fascist regime.

The inspiration of the revolutionary forces became even stronger when the economic, social and political crisis of the fascist regime and the suffering of the people became conspicuous from 1979 onward. The budgetary and trade deficits were widening and international credit for the regime was tightening.

*10. It was a time of social unrest and political instability. Why was the revolutionary movement not able to seize political power from Marcos at that time? It was a time of social unrest and political instability. Why was the revolutionary movement not able to seize political power from Marcos at that time?*

JMS: As of November 1985, when the Plenum of the CPP Central Committee convened, the New People's Army had already accumulated a total of 5,600 high powered rifles and was already operating nationwide in so many guerrilla fronts, in all rural regions and in the majority of Philippine provinces. That was not a small achievement from having only a few squads with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in 1969. But the strength of the NPA was not yet enough for destroying the armed strength of the enemy and seizing political power in the cities.

The advance of the NPA would have been more rapid if not for the subjectivist line gaining currency within the CPP in 1981 that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal but industrial capitalist and that it was wrong to follow the strategic line of protracted people's war of availing of the peasantry and the country as the social and physical terrain for maneuvering against the militarily superior enemy and for accumulating armed strength from stage to stage and from phase to phase in every stage.

The subjectivist line led to the Right opportunist line of turning the NDFP into a reformist united front by ending the class leadership of the proletariat supposedly to attract more people to the NDFP. But the worst political errors resulting from the subjectivist line were several "Left" opportunist lines of insurrectionism in several regions at several times. These insurrectionist errors resulted in severe losses of mass base and worse in the commission of crimes when the failure of line became a pretext for the so-called anti-DPA witch-hunts. The Second Great Rectification Movement of 1992 to 1998 dealt with and rectified these errors and crimes through ideological and political education.

The Trotskyite urban insurrectionism of Popoy Lagman in the Manila-Rizal region presumed that it was enough for the workers to seize political power in order to win the entire Philippine revolution. And in Mindanao the Reyes-Quimpo Trotskyite Red Area-White Area strategy presumed that people's strikes so-called and armed city partisan warfare were the lead factor of the armed revolution, with the NPA as secondary factor trying to catch up with the urban actions by rapidly organizing companies in an absolutely vertical way without sufficient horizontal deployment of sufficient armed units for mass work and mass base-building.

*11. You were part of this struggle against Marcos dictatorship. Can you share with us your experiences in participating in this struggle?*

JMS: I am happy that I was able to contribute what I could to the ideological, political and organizational development of the revolutionary forces that struggled against the Marcos dictatorship. I took part in the development of labor, peasant and youth organizations and alliances during the entire 1960s. These led to the founding and development of the CPP, NPA, NDFP, revolutionary mass organizations and local organs of political power.

I was in the preparation of the revolutionary forces that anticipated the emergence of fascist dictatorship. From 1969 to 1972 I was already involved in the people's war against the increasing military actions of the Marcos regime against the people and from 1972 to my capture in 1977, I fought what was blatantly a fascist dictatorship. Together with many comrades, I faced the tremendous odds, dangers and risks to life, limb and liberty and became tempered by overcoming them in the course of struggle.

Even while I was under maximum military detention, I continued to fight in the best way I could up to my release after the downfall of Marcos in 1986. I was confident that the revolutionary comrades and the masses outside of prison were doing their best and were advancing the revolutionary struggle according to the founding principles and strategic and tactics already laid.

I was conscious of fighting from inside prison to demonstrate to the people outside that if I could fight under

extremely limited conditions, they could fight the enemy even more and better. I was never discouraged by the various forms of physical and mental torture inflicted on me. These only strengthened my determination to fight.

Since I went out of prison in 1986, I have continued to be guided by the revolutionary principles and to do the best that I could. I have been able to do ideological, political and organizational work to the best of my ability. By being a refugee abroad for a long time and no longer of the age for military combat, I can share my accumulated knowledge and experience with the people in order to offer lessons that they can study and learn from. Thus, I keep on doing research, writing and participating in study sessions like this webinar.

We should be cognizant of the fact that it is now the task of much younger comrades to take advantage of the ever-worsening chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, the nationwide spread of the revolutionary movement and the deep roots of the revolutionary forces among the exploited masses. They can be more daring in the revolutionary struggle and accelerate the offensives for the maturation of the strategic defensive, move into the strategic stalemate and advance to the strategic offensive on time for the unraveling of neoliberalism, the rising tide of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

# *In Prospect of Socialism*

## Questions from Master Class of Paaralang

Jose Maria Sison, January 3, 2021

---

### **Initial questions**

1. *Upon victory of the people's democratic revolution, how will we fight the blockade imposed by US imperialism?*

JMS: Based on the current trend of world events, such as the uprisings of the toiling masses worldwide against imperialism and reaction, the fight of some independent countries against imperialism, and the contradiction among imperialist powers themselves, I have great confidence that upon the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the Filipino people can withstand and overcome the blockade that US imperialism will impose.

The Philippines can still use the strategy and tactics used by the Soviet Union and China when they won their respective revolutions and built socialism. They followed the principle and policies of relying on their own strength and planned efforts of the toiling masses, obtaining assistance from the international working class movement, cooperating with other countries that are independent of imperialism, and taking advantage of the contradictions among imperialist powers.

2. *China had the advantage of the support from the Soviet Union at the time of their victory, which helped in starting industrialization. Are there countries which we can approach to help us in our industrialization?*

JMS: It is true that the Soviet Union helped in building the industrial foundation of socialism in China from the start until 1959 but this was accompanied by the entry of modern revisionist influence. There are still other countries that have socialist characteristics and have advanced expertise in metallurgy and production of machine tools and electronic equipment like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

The Philippines can acquire higher technology from the different independent countries and from the rivalry and competition of imperialist countries. There is a high potential that the Maoists in India can win their revolution. The former socialist countries that turned capitalist and imperialist have the potential to be squeezed by the capitalist crisis, turn fascist or become socialist again with the rising up of the proletarian masses.

It is difficult to give details on the future environment of the victory of the people's democratic revolution. But it is sure that the crisis of world capitalism today is worsening, the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles are spreading and we can see the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

3. *In socialism, we respect the right to religion. It is clear that the Catholic Church, as an institution, is reactionary. How do we deal with Catholic schools like Ateneo, De La Salle, UST, etc.?*

JMS: It is correct that the right to one's belief will be respected under socialism as long as religious organizations also respect the principle of the separation of church and state and the power and responsibility of the socialist state to spread and advance the patriotic, scientific and pro-masses education and culture. The socialist state can take over the universities and schools that are controlled by religious institutions and are bulwarks of anti-socialism similar to those in Poland. The state should be in charge of education and be involved in determining the content of the curriculum and implementing socialist and scientific education.

4. *Under socialism we will change culture. Commercialization is widespread and in the cities, going to the malls owned by bourgeois compradors like Shoe Mart's Henry Sy has become a habit. Under socialism, what can be the function and purpose of these malls?*

JMS: With big spacious former commercial buildings, space could be given to productive work to improve the economy and to cultural work to advance socialist, patriotic, scientific and pro-people culture and education. Space should be given to cultural and educational institutions and mass organizations.

5. *Modern revisionist China is criticized for its strict control and censorship of the media and internet. It is clear that under socialism the freedom of expression is respected. But is there a limit to this? If they are peddling fake news, is it correct to ban them or tighten the control on social media platforms or ban them?*

JMS: The socialist state is a class dictatorship of the proletariat against the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the socialist state will not allow the imperialists, old reactionaries and revisionists to use the right of the people to free expression in order to fight proletarian state power and violate the rights and interests of the people and allow the interest of the bourgeoisie and counterrevolutionaries to grow and prevail.

It is in the nature of capitalist and imperialist countries such as China, US and others, and puppet reactionary governments to suppress the right of expression and to spread lies and deception to maintain an oppressive and exploitative system. When the crisis of the bourgeois ruling system worsens, it sheds its democratic pretensions and shows its fascist fangs, a regime's open reign of terror.

In a socialist society, the people have the right to free expression, criticize errors and weaknesses and propose solutions to problems. It is correct to prohibit the spread of lies because the toiling masses gain nothing from it except harm or injury. To violate the truth and spread lies can only be used by the enemy against socialism and the people.

*6. In the former socialist countries, USSR and China, are there emerging new revolutionaries carrying the MLM?*

JMS: Especially in China, there are groups and Maoist movements existing and growing in strength among the toiling masses and the youth due to the inspiration of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the worsening exploitation and oppression brought about by the betrayal of socialism and the rule of monopoly capitalism in the state and private sectors. The contradiction among classes in China is intensifying more so now that its rivalry with the US as imperialist powers is escalating.

In the entire scope of the former USSR, in Russia itself and other republics, oppression and exploitation are intensifying due to the betrayal of socialism and the rule of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, born from and aggrandized by revisionism and social-imperialism of the former USSR, is excessive, openly greedy and cruel. In line with the tradition of the Bolsheviks and the impulse of the rapidly worsening crisis, the groups and movement of proletarian revolutionaries among the ranks of the toiling masses and intelligentsia are growing stronger.

*7. Will the day care system under socialism be widespread so that workers can do their work well while others take care of their children, like in DPRK?*

JMS: In countries striving to remain socialist like the DPRK and Cuba, there is a day care system to take care of the children while the parents are working. In the above-mentioned countries, there is still a strong system of social services in the field of child care, education, health, housing, aid and support against pandemic, protection of the environment, etc.

*8. If the Trotskyites do not believe that the Soviet Union and China were socialist in the past, what kind of socialism are they espousing? Is it scientific or utopian? How will they be dealt with during the time of victory?*

JMS: They reject the fact that Lenin and Stalin were able to build socialism in the Soviet Union from October 1917 to 1956 and Mao in China from 1949 to 1976. They claim that the bourgeoisie used Stalin and Mao so that the bourgeoisie and capitalism would eventually win. That is how they mock at the people's democratic revolutions with a socialist perspective and the socialist movement in industrial capitalist countries today .

Their contradictions among themselves and their being socialists and their being counterrevolutionary are blatant. While they want socialism to be the immediate line in all types of countries, they also say that socialism cannot be realized in any country unless all or majority of countries simultaneously become socialist. They come out zero and crazy. It cannot even be said that their empty socialism is utopian because utopian socialists partly use some amount of reality and cooperative work on which to base their dreams of a just society of socialism and from which socialism shall emerge from the goodwill of the people. The Trotskyites are special anti-communist agents of imperialism.

Beginning with Trotsky, they are ultra-Left in their writings and speeches "surpassing" and maligning the Left but in effect, they help the Right to misrepresent and vilify the Left. That is what they did in the Soviet Union. They fought against the socialist line of Stalin to connive with the Right opportunist Bukharinites. Because of their putschist line, they endangered and harmed the Chinese revolution in 1927 and favored Chiang Kaishek. They sided with fascism before and during World War II in order to fight communist parties; they were instruments of the US in the Cold War; and until now, they focus their attacks on revolutionary movements led by Communist Parties. Currently, their principal target is the Maoist Communist Party and they are shrewdly aided by the evil regime of Duterte in spreading lies that the communists are responsible for this regime. This is an example of the ultra-Left and anti-communist line to support the Right or counterrevolution.

#### ***Additional Questions from Audience:***

*1. What is the commune as a basic unit of socialism, how big is it, how should it be run? What is its difference or similarity with the Soviet, what is its difference from an industrial commune, and what is its administrative system?*

JMS: The Paris Commune became a model because it was used in establishing political power. But in essence,



the communes were run by the revolutionary committees of the workers.

What became the trend was the soviet which in essence followed the commune — council of workers, peasants, and soldiers in their respective sectors. The soviets were leading committees or councils. These were the centers of power at the basic level upward. In China, when the political power was being established at Jing-gangshan, the workers' political power was also called soviet. Later, when they won victory, it was also called the same, soviet or council.

At present in the Philippines, the equivalent of the commune or soviet are the local organs of political power. They are the center of the people's power under the leadership of the proletarian class.

In the course of the cultural revolution (GPCR), especially in 1967 when the Shanghai Commune arose, the workers of Shanghai rose in revolt. They took power from the former municipal party committee. They called themselves Shanghai Commune, but they were told to call it a revolutionary committee, and this became the model of revolutionary committees established in different parts of China among the ranks of workers, peasants, and localities. It functioned as organ of political power and had representatives as delegates to the 9th Congress. Most of the delegates came from the revolutionary committees.

In the various parts of China, followers of the GPCR took over political power and overthrew leaders of party committees treading the bourgeois or revisionist line. In essence, the leading organs can be called committees or councils and have a structure from the basic level upward, collectively led, and have a republican character because it is the lower committees that send delegates to the higher level committees.

In China, what had been called communes since the Great Leap Forward were particularly those in agriculture, and it was the highest form of cooperativization at the scale of a county.

You know, the most rudimentary base of the agricultural cooperative is the household. Then from this basic agricultural cooperation, production teams covering villages were established. Thereafter, agricultural cooperatives of the siang or municipality were established.

After this, the commune covered a wider area equivalent to a county, or if in the Philippines its closest equivalent would be a district or congressional district and possibly up to provincial level. But the commune had a particular meaning in the terminology of the Chinese revolution. It refers to the highest stage of agricultural cooperation. But its essential content was the collective leadership through a committee of peasants. The structured committee covered the entire commune and also the production brigades and the production teams, respectively at the level of townships and the villages.

Under the new socialist society, what Marx called the capitalist birthmarks of the new society will not be immediately eradicated. There are elements in the former old society that can be of use or appropriated by the socialist state or proletarian class.

Marx said that that one cannot just spread the fruits of production in terms of the absolute equality of individual toilers. Whatever is the level of production, the fruit of production must be spread to all equally in several ways. He showed that in a socialist system, there is no longer private profit or the full claim of the surplus value from the workers by the capitalists but instead, the new accumulation of capital is divided into different components. One part is for the expanded reproduction of the means of production, another part is for increasing wages, still another part is for the development of the social services or welfare system and a further part is for the cost of administration and defense.

But in the actual building of socialism, even under Lenin during the time of the New Economic Policy, the NEP was undertaken out of necessity. In a transition period, the Soviet Union had to take into account the destruction of the economy due to the civil war and foreign intervention. That was why Lenin thought of undertaking several measures to immediately revive the economy, especially food and other necessities, whose lack or scarcity had caused the fall of the Kerensky government. The Kerensky government wanted to continue involving Russia in WWI, and inevitably continued the civil war and foreign intervention which of course caused destruction.

So what Lenin did was to give concessions to the rich peasants and the small and middle-level entrepreneurs and traders. Instead of separating them to do what they wanted and embark on counterrevolution, he gave them concessions on enterprises in the middle level of industry and trade, and even granted concessions to rich peasants. He also raised the pay of the managers so that they would not flee. Lenin's logic was one he called buying-off policy. He used this policy, instead of compelling the non-proletarian elements running, moving away or continuing to fight. It was better to integrate them in the effort of economic recovery and rehabilitation. The NEP went

on from 1922-1927 to enable the Bolsheviks to administer and revive the economy.

In 1927 Stalin launched the Socialist Campaign of Socialist Industrialization, collectivization and mechanization of agriculture. As in the Soviet Union, transition measures were undertaken in China to prepare for the Great Leap Forward in both in socialist industry and collective agriculture. From 1949 to 1952, this was the time of rehabilitation, consolidation and giving support to Korea which was the target of aggression by US imperialism. The Korean War was a big event. It was a great problem to which China gave attention. Socialism could not be immediately realized in China. But the political power was already socialist because it was already in the hands of the working class through the Chinese CP as the advance detachment of the working class.

Even during the first Five-Year Plan, in 1953-57, concessions were given to the capitalists. Previously, the state-private joint corporations were used to integrate the national bourgeoisie, and also the friendly elements of big compradors who were willing to function as national bourgeois and not just as agents of the foreign monopolies. The national bourgeoisie were allowed to exist because they followed the socialist policy of the state and agreed to play a secondary role. But they were given dividends and later during the new first five-year plan, they could receive a fixed interest on their capital. It was not as big as the dividend amounting to 25 percent of net incomes of joint state-private enterprises. Mao wanted to dissolve the private ownership of capital and the payment of dividends to the capitalists through the Great Leap Forward. But Liu Xiaogi and Deng Xiaoping were against the line of Mao and actually supported the openly revisionist line of Peng Dehuai, Chen Yun and others. And the fight between the proletarian revolutionaries and revisionist continued and escalated in the cultural revolution over the question of the share of the capitalist in the new material values created by the working class. The gains that went to the capitalists reached 25 percent. To give this much to them was like retaining the capitalist system for their benefit

In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx stated that in the beginning wage differentials could not immediately be eradicated. There would be wage differentials that should be taken into consideration because you have to consider the difference in the ability and actual contribution of the workers. But there should be a deliberate policy to raise the general level of wages and improve the living conditions of the workers. That is the difference in the time of socialism from that of capitalism.

Eventually, when the buying-off policy ends and the private capital dissolves, the social profit will increase, this profit of the whole society from the annual production of the workers can be used to improve the wage and living conditions, among the major benefits from capital accumulation and economic growth. The dissolution of the characteristics of the old system will be by stages. Its dissolution cannot be implemented immediately. But under the leadership of the working class the dissolution of private profit for the capitalists is ensured and can be done as soon as possible.

What we are discussing are the transitional measures to full-scale socialist revolution and construction. The direction of socialism is to dissolve the privileges and private profit of the bourgeoisie in the socialist stage of the revolution and advance to the ultimate goal of communism. This direction is guaranteed by the party of the working class. Essential is its hold on state power and the issuance of policies and plans to firmly advance the socialist economy, politics and culture, and resolutely advance the eradication of class differences and move towards communism.

We can see that during the early part of socialism, there are necessary transition measures from capitalism to socialism because there are parts of the old society that could be appropriated. For a while, you can avail of joint state-private corporations and then dissolve them. You can also recruit experts and managers from the nationalized enterprises and do your best to educate them on socialism. It is wiser and more economical to do so because if they flee from the country or if they rebel you will spend more by hiring foreign experts. Even if they come from comradely socialist country, you have to give the foreign experts higher salaries, housing and other costly accommodations.

In the reactionary government, you can retire or remove those incorrigible officials at the top level of bureaucracy and they can be tried and punished if they have committed any serious crime like plunder and murder.

As regard the general run of bureaucrats at the lower levels, give them study courses on socialism and it is up to them to adopt socialism. It is more expensive to get foreign experts. The forces of the revolution cannot cover all the kinds of work in the revolutionary government. That is why long before the victory of the revolution, it is good that there are progressive unions of state employees. the Soviet Union was hit with destruction due to the civil war and foreign intervention; that was why Lenin thought of undertaking several measures to immediately

revive the moribund economy which caused the fall of the Kerensky government. The Kerensky government wanted to continue involving Russia in WWI, and inevitably fought the civil war and foreign intervention which of course caused destruction.

So what Lenin did was to give concessions to the capitalists. Instead of separating them to do what they wanted and embark on counterrevolution, he gave them concessions on enterprises in the middle industry and trade, and even granted concessions to rich peasants. Lenin's logic was one he called buying-off policy. That is instead of these non-proletarian elements running, moving away or continuing to fight, it was better to integrate them to a recovery effort or a rehabilitation effort. The NEP operated from 1922-1927 when Stalin launched the Socialist Campaign of Socialist Industrialization, collectivization and mechanization of agriculture. It was just transitional. That was also done in China. During 1949 to 1952, this was the time of rehabilitation, consolidation and giving support to Korea when US imperialism was creating trouble. The Korean War was a big event. It was a great problem to which China gave attention. Socialism could not be immediately realized nor completed. But the political power was already socialist because it was already in the hands of the proletarian class through the advance detachment of the working class.

Even during the first Five-Year Plan, in 1953-57, concessions were given to the capitalists. Before, with the state-private integration to integrate the national bourgeoisie, and also the friendly elements of big comprador. The nationalist bourgeoisie were allowed to exist because they followed the socialist policy. But they were given dividends and later with the new first five-year plan, they could receive a fixed interest on their capital. It was not as big as the dividend could be in the development of production. Those were what they wanted to continue and to expand – the interest of the capitalists. Eventually private capital would be dissolved. But Liu Xiaoli and Deng Xiaoping blasted against it. And the fight continued until the cultural revolution, the fight on what is the share of the capitalist in the new material values created by the working class, so there is a surplus value that goes to the capitalists and the old system. The gains that went to enterprises reached 25 percent.

Therefore, among the ranks of the capitalists, there still existed the old system, the surplus value. When it came to the likes of the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx stated that in the beginning wage differentials could not immediately be eradicated. There would be wage differentials that should be taken into consideration because you have to consider the difference in the ability and actual contribution of the workers. But there should be a deliberate policy to raise the wages and improve the living conditions of the workers. That is the difference in the time of socialism.

Eventually, when the buying-off policy ends and the private capital dissolves, the social profit will increase, the profit of the whole society from annual production of the workers and raise in wage and living conditions, from increase of capital construction and accumulation. The dissolution of the characteristics of the old system will be by stages. Its dissolution cannot be implemented immediately. But under the leadership of the working class the dissolution of profit of the capitalist will be ensured.

But what we are discussing here is the transitional method during the early part of socialism. The direction of socialism is to dissolve the divergence of classes until these disappear and reach communism. This direction is protected by the party of the working class. Essential is their hold on the political power and issuance of policies and plans to firmly advance the economy and society, and resolutely advance the eradication of the divergence of classes and reach communism.

We can see in the early part of socialism, there is for sure a transition from capitalism to socialism because there are parts of the old society that could be appropriated. Taken into account, for example, is the ousting of the cooperative capitalists and even those who acknowledge your political power. But if you oust them and remove even their managers, you will spend more if you pay foreign experts. Even if they come from comradesly socialist country, you have to give them foreign experts level salary, housing. It will be more expensive.

With the reactionary government, you will only remove those in the top level of bureaucracy, the stubborn ones. Those in the high level and have not committed any crime or serious crimes, you can retire them.

But the enthusiastic bureaucrats, give them study courses on socialism and it is up to them to adopt socialism thoroughly. It is more expensive to get foreign experts. The forces of the revolution cannot cover all the kinds of work in the old system. Therefore, during transition use those who are no longer fighting and are not an obstructive element of society and are now being encouraged to work for the new system. The revolutionaries are doing work for the masses and government employees. Which is the same even in the level of supervisors and

managers, although they are still inclined towards the orders of the owners of the factories, the unions know who follows the socialist system once the system has changed.

Nothing abrupt will be done that the revolutionary forces cannot take on. But ultimately, in the running of all the work in a socialist society, majority of these will be done by those already trained by the new system. The number of proletarian revolutionaries should have increased. To grab power upon victory of the Soviet Union, Bolshevik members were only around 80-100 thousands. Watch out for the opportunists. Give the correct education to the people who were not totally with the revolution. They were also part of the revolution upon victory. Once the working class is in power, it finds out what is applicable from the former system.

There are benefits from the former system that are carried into the new system. The machineries, these came from the capitalists. The proletariat should take over these to produce more.

Elections will be held but the running of the elections will not follow the Philippine or US system of running elections where there are 2 or several competing parties who have the capacity for big spending for elections. The bourgeois election is a costly election. In the elections, there will be representatives from the different classes, sectors and parties. There would be the multiplicity of parties. In the Soviet Union, we saw that on the basic level, the elected leaders of the workers and peasants were revolutionaries.

But there are competition of several parties. I will give a short history on alliance. There is a wrong notion that the Bolshevik did not enter into an alliance. There was a time when the Bolsheviks entered into an alliance even with different bourgeois parties they were in contradiction with on policies. But on the issue of bringing down Czarism they were united. It was proven that the constitutional democrats and other bourgeois democrats dominated by Kerensky committed a policy error in Russia's continued participation in the war. This is what caused their destruction. They allowed the economy to fall. The Bolsheviks continued its alliance with the revolutionary socialist for it had a strong following among the peasantry and the peasants had a strong influence on the soviets.

But eventually, there was a split, the socialist revolutionaries took another path. Therefore, in the history of the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks prevailed as seemingly the sole party. That is what the critics called the one-party system. But the matter of having several parties, this went into a historical process.

In the case of China, even when the Communist Party of China won, democratic parties remained. And these parties, including the communist party, were represented in the Consultative Assembly up to the National Congress. Until now, there are what are called democratic parties and there are alliances. But the leading party in the socialist state is the communist party as the advance detachment of the proletarian class. Because of their record in revolution and socialist construction they have good reputations and are elected into leading committees from the basic level up to the level of the party, state and different parts of the state.

So there is the principle of election of representation but non-existent is the personality-centered politics of the bourgeoisie whether in a multiparty system, or two-party system, or in the case of a fascist state, a one-party system but still personality centered. In a socialist state, what is discussed is the policy to expand, practice and develop socialism.

*What is the role of the mass movement?*

JMS: The mass movement will continue to exist. It is a decisive political element of a socialist society. It is the base of the communist party. It is organized, mobilized and given education by the communist party. The laying down of all kinds of policies under socialism is based on the power and conformity of the mass movement. One thing that cannot be averted is the continuation and existence of the mass movement.

Did not the manifestation of revisionism reach the CPC when they launched the cultural revolution? This was considered as the widest and most intensive form of democracy in the whole history of the Chinese people and humankind. One could see the unprecedented and largest mobilization of the mass movement.

The power, energy and nuclear and whatever technological development, if they already exist, they already exist. What is important is how you will control and use these based on correct principles and policies. On having nuclear weapons, it is due to the US which first acquired nuclear weapons and used these in the form of atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. It is a good thing that there were revolutionaries in the project, the Manhattan project, who helped and speed up the technological development of the Soviet Union. In a short time, by 1949, it also had nuclear weapons. Its purpose was to neutralize the nuclear weapons of the US. If these were not neutralized, these could have been used during the Korean war. In the case of the US, if it knows there is no counterattack, it will use whatever kind of weapon and method of mass killing as long as it can continue to

dominate as an imperial power.

But a nuclear balance was established when the Soviet Union acquired nuclear weapons. And as long as there are imperialist powers, socialist countries are forced to have weapons to counter or to neutralize. And if imperialist countries have the unlimited use of weaponry, socialist countries have the right to defend themselves. Because the imperialist countries can see that the socialist countries are able to fight, a nuclear stalemate has thus existed for a long time. Since 1949, the nuclear blackmail of the US has become inutile. If there was no defense to its nuclear weapons, it will not only use blackmail but would actually use these during times when it sees a chance to dominate. In Korea, there was a stalemate because it could not use the bomb on the Chinese volunteers and against the Koreans. In Vietnam, the US nuclear monopoly was disregarded because the Soviet Union had acquired nuclear weapons and China, too, in the 1960s. Thus, the US could not possibly use nuclear weapons in Vietnam. Currently, there are different kinds of conventional and modern weapons in the Middle East and other areas.

But no one has used a weapon that kills thousands or millions upon millions of people in an instant. An important point. While the imperialists are still existing, socialist countries must be vigilant and develop their defense so that the imperialists can be stopped from using aggression and weapons that kill a great number of people.

*How is the judicial and court system in a socialist system?*

JMS: Of course, there is a judiciary and juridical structure. There is a judicial system. It is also the state, the state of the proletariat, so like the bourgeois state, there is the executive branch, judicial and parliamentary or legislative. On the judicial and court system, there is the Supreme Court that handles the most important cases. Most important because of the weight of the law in question or the case being tried. But the most essential that we must understand, in a socialist country, there are two types of contradiction. There is the contradiction among the masses, and the contradiction between the people and the enemy.

In general, the contradiction among the ranks of the people can be the lightest or the heaviest. The lightest is one which need not be brought before the court of the judicial system, but could be settled by arbitration on the administrative level. There is difference in the class interest among the people. Many cases are light which could be settled by arbitration, through the rank of local organs of political power by administrative measure. But there are also cases of abuse, grave violation of the rights of others. For example, the contradiction among the people, case of stealing from a neighbor or whose property has been snatched on the street. Worse than these is homicide or murder. These cases are being tried.

There is also the contradiction between a particular individual within the socialist country. There should be a court that would handle worst cases that involve contradictions between individuals. Cases emanating from cheating on transactions, robbery could also lead to life and death cases. There are also cases of crazy people violating the rights of other people but aside from investigating, one also tries to find out if the person needs psychiatric treatment or confinement to a mental asylum. But these are particular cases.

In the cases of contradiction between the people and the enemy, there is the case of being an agent of the bourgeois counterrevolutionary, who would like to topple the socialist state from within. These counterrevolutionaries are representatives of the exploitative class or sprouting new exploiters. It is possible for this to happen in a socialist country if one is not vigilant. There is also the contradiction due to subversion and aggression from outside launched by a foreign imperialist in power. The locals who become agents when caught, would be brought before a court and the appropriate charges for their counterrevolution will be filed against them.

The socialist state will need these but there would still be public authorities who will ensure there is order of the communist society. But while the society is still socialist, there are internal and external dangers and these can be brought before the court.

For example, the difference in nature of a bourgeois state is it is oppressive because the power and privilege of a few are upheld against the interest of the toiling masses and people. On the other hand, in a socialist state, the state protects and uses itself as an organ of violent force to defend the rights and welfare of the majority and the Filipino people against those who would like the return of the old system of the bourgeoisie, the old system of their oppression and exploitation. About the current political situation and the news on the statement of the CPP that it would allegedly create city partisan units and punish the incorrigible human rights violators and most corrupt and plunderers of the public funds of the people.

Just a few days ago, I gave an opinion as a guest in a zoom meeting here in Europe. I gave a statement as an observer of the Communist Party of the Philippines. There is a need to explain, that there should be a caveat because I might be accused of giving the order. I am just an observer and analyst.

I do not understand why the armed city partisan (ACP) have disappeared. In my view, that is a manifestation of conservatism. That in the name of focusing on mass work and protecting mass work, especially in the cities, what have disappeared even with the modification in policy.

That the ACP shall come from the guerrilla fronts of nearby cities, and the team members have a knowledge and experience of the cities. Lessons have been learned during the period of dissolution of the ACP when the state ran after the KADENA. So there were caution and assurances. But these amounted to the dissolution. You know, to my knowledge since 2016 there has been questions from journalists interviewing me. The progressive journalists, who say "how come the ACP no longer exists? The Duterte administration is too brutal, killing thousands of people in the name of the bogus war on drugs, and it is obvious that he is waging an all-out war. And regarding his relations with the revolutionary forces, he did not fulfill his promises to grant amnesty and free political prisoners. And this Duterte, under the prodding of Trump when he visited and met in November 2017, this puppet Duterte.

Duterte, on December 2017, issued a declaration designating the CPP/NPA as terrorist organizations. Upon Duterte's order, the military and police killed a number of suspected revolutionaries. That is how brutal this regime is, from its leader Duterte up to his paid killers. He deliberately corrupts and makes criminals out of those in the police force so they would serve as his menial servants and his private army. So many are asking, "why does the ACP not just respond?" You know, it is possible that the ACP has a strategic value. It could not replace the firm strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside because this strategic line produces many weapons for the expansion of armed revolution.

But the ACP has a strategic value. Not only to render justice on human rights violators, criminals and thieving politicians like Duterte. The people want these. This is what will happen. Because if there are ACP, these violators are punished, the enemy will use many troops of police and military to serve as their bodyguards. Therefore, the number of their forces in the countryside will decrease. So there is value. Not only justice has been served by the punishment but the enemy is forced to use more troops for defensive or bodyguard duty. Then the forces that attack the countryside will be lessened.

That is one of the strategic value. And the armed movement's mastery of explosives is already well developed. Before we leave the topic of using the gun by revolutionaries to render punishment, only a few long arms are needed. Most would be short arms. Even homemade guns and knives are possible.

But the most damage, the strategic damage that could be inflicted upon the enemy would come from the skill reached by the revolutionaries in the use of mine explosives placed along the route of attacking soldiers. This means the NPA has the capacity to blow up installations of large economic interest owned by the biggest comprador landlords. The installations in plantations, mines and logging. Their business will be crippled and they will spend a large amount of money and personnel for protection. In other words, the number assigned by Duterte to the guerrilla fronts would decrease.

Even then, the ACP urban operations and operations against major installations in the mines, plantations and logging have not happened.

Based on what I read from reports, the military has 140 to 150 battalions. The operations for this number can already cause bankruptcy, a big expense, because of corruption in the procurement of foreign and local supplies, food and whatever needs. And those fake surrenders or killings made to appear as real encounters, Duterte gives rewards to his military officers but through corruption. The regime of Duterte seems like a monster which you can analyze or divide into two. In the view of a Marxist-Leninist, there is no object which could not be analyzed and divided into two. And there is no object you cannot strike piece by piece until it is completely destroyed, an object which you thought was an indestructible or unbeaten monster or giant. That is the principle of revolution. In a quick glance, you think your enemy is made of steel that is indivisible. Just like a poor person who admires a luxurious sports car. But that sports car has a weakness, just remove its piston and it will not run. Likewise, in a guerrilla war, if you cannot withstand the enemy's attack, you retreat. But you plant explosives along its route and launch sniping operations.

Ambush the enemy in formations you are able to. And if it thinks it has kicked out the NPA from the area the

reality is the NPA has only traded space for time or shifted location. It will watch which part of the enemy it will attack. Once the enemy thinks that the area is under its control, the NPA can harass. Because of its nightly carousing, or due to slight sound or few firings, the enemy troops lose sleep and will leave the area and then be hounded by the guerrilla fighters. That is the pattern.

Mao's 16 character formulation on military principles: 'Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.' 'The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.' And usually, it leaves an area because other areas have better conditions for guerrilla actions, for offensives, they are pulled to these areas. The enemy will come to the rescue of its soldiers that are being attacked. Now, in the basics of people's war the enemy is defeated, and you give it a big headache. This is the threat of Duterte, he will finish off all the patriotic and democratic forces in the cities.

Does he not know that the revolutionaries can also do something when he is killing democracy or any manifestation of democracy. The revolutionary movement then is forced to use the armed city partisans extensively and intensively. The mines and logging and plantations of big compradors and landlords are open targets.

I am just giving an observation and view according to the flow of events. We analyze and this is our democratic right so that we can tell the crazy people in power that they are not the only ones who can make decisions and prevail so they can oppress and exploit the toiling masses without getting any response from the oppressed and exploited. Now, on the issue of what is going to happen to Duterte, that is the essence I get.

Duterte is predictable. He is a coward, scared and thinks like a thug and a thief, scared that once out of power, he would be arrested by a new government of the Philippines which is not on his side. He can also be arrested by the revolutionary movement. And from other countries, because of human rights violations he has committed, the International Criminal Court can ask for his arrest. That is why this lunatic is doing everything to stay in power. He is a coward. His style of leadership is to rule through violence and killings. That is what he did in Davao, and is now turning the whole Philippines into Davao.

It is predictable that he still has ambition to be a fascist dictator. And if that cannot be, because I heard there are groups of soldiers against him as he said he would be shot in the head if he rules after 2022. But he is a liar.

It is easy to say "You can kill me if I continue after 2022." Or he could not do it because he already stinks. He is a fool if he does not know that he already stinks.

He just pays those polls. Those surveys are stupid. What he wants is his daughter, Sarah, who is also a thug, an expert in stealing ghost payroll in Davao like her father. It is obvious how Duterte imposes his dynasty upon the whole Philippines. That cannot be. The whole Philippines is not Davao. The people of the whole Philippines are diverse and there is already a revolutionary movement in its length and breadth. Duterte is really stupid if he thinks he can remain in power. He is also sick in body and mind, he is crazy. Something is wrong with his head. Nothing will become of him but end up in the dustbin of the history of the Philippines.

# On the Five Golden Rays

January 6, 2021

---

1. How may the "Five Articles by Chairman Mao Zedong" (1968) in its English translation and "Five Old Articles" in the original Chinese have become "Five Golden Rays" (FGR) in the Philippines?

JMS: We thought the title of "Five Golden Rays" to emphasize its character as the brilliant guide of proletarian revolutionaries in the struggle. The original title, "Five Old Articles," lacks luster.

2. How and when did FGR (in its first form) come to Filipino activists? Was it through activists who had gone for exposure in China? Was the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (Association of Democratic Youth SDK or the Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth KM) the first to recognize FGR as an important reading?

JMS: Coincidentally, I was in China when the GPCR started in 1966 and I returned to China in 1967. Because my entry into China was secret in 1966, I was careful and did not take home the literature that I accumulated. On the next trip, I was able to take home the books and pamphlets of Mao's writings and so did the other Filipinos.

These included the book *Selected Writings of Mao Zedong* and the pamphlets "Three Constantly Read Articles" (1966) consisting of "Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." KM's Propaganda and Education Bureau and its Cultural Bureau have published and distributed these pamphlets since 1967.

3. When you traveled to Indonesia in the 1960s, before the crushing of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and the launch of the cultural revolution in China, what did you notice about Mao Zedong's influence on the PKI during those times? Were there any writings of Mao that they valued principally?

JMS: Mao Zedong's influence on the Communist Party of Indonesia was comprehensive and profound in the years 1962-64 when I traveled to Indonesia. The PKI's description of Indonesian society was semicolonial and semifeudal as Mao's description of China was before the Chinese revolution won in 1949. Earlier, around 1953, Aidit thought that Indonesian society was still feudal. He wrote this to Stalin and the latter replied that the whole of Indonesia's economy was semifeudal.

The PKI was close to the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the years 1962-63. Until 1963, the CPI's tendency was centrist in the ideological debate between the CPC and the CPSU. But soon the CPI became more biased towards the CPC. Although the CPI agreed with the line that Indonesia was semicolonial and semifeudal, the CPI under the leadership of Aidit did not adopt the line of waging a protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside. This is emphasized by the self-criticism of the CPI Politburo regarding the crushing of the PKI since 1965.

4. During the period 1962 until you parted in 1966, what was the old CPP's view of Mao Zedong and the CPC?

JMS: In the so-called Executive Committee formed by Jesus Lava in January 1963, I was the only one who mentioned Mao's writings in relation to the revolutionary line in the Philippines and also in relation to the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute. Jesus Lava's two nephews said nothing inside the Executive Committee. But they did neither objected to what I was saying in favor of Mao and CPC in the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute until 1965-66 when the Lava bias for the CPSU emerged.

The CPP ties with the Chinese Communist Party were severed since the establishment of the CPP Politburo-In in 1949. Earlier, the CPP sent Teodosio Lansang as the CPP's representative to the CPC in 1948 but after about five years he moved to the Soviet Union.

I was already the one who reconnected the CPP and the CPC in 1963 through the CPI. And I was also the first one to arrange for the first Filipino to work in Radio Beijing in 1965. When I went to China in 1966, I no longer represented the old CPP but the group of cadres who were planning to form a new party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

5. What is your first memory of this FGR? And what did the first edition you read look like? (mimeographed newsprint or booklet? Or still the Chinese edition in English?)

JMS: My first memory of FGR was in the form of the Chinese edition in English followed by the mimeographed FGR booklet. The CPP Central Publishing House had also repeatedly mimeographed FGR.

6. In the early days of the movement, was the dissemination and propagation of the FGR spontaneous among



*activists or was there a formal decision regarding its use or dissemination as reading or study material for activists?*

JMS: The KM Party group had a formal decision to use and disseminate FGR as a reading and study material for advanced activists to prepare them for becoming Communist Party candidate-members because the five articles are simple, informative, interesting and effective in explaining and inspiring the spirit and morality of communism: service to the people, proletarian internationalism, perseverance in the struggle, combating liberalism or individualism and correcting mistaken ideas within the Party.

*7. How was it decided, conceived and designated as an activist text in the movement? Did the English-language copy contain commentary on the articles (which came from the issues of the "Peking Review") or did the Philippine comrades add them only? (In the small format of the original English translation of 1968 there are no footnotes and commentaries included.) What are the main purposes of reading it to activists? At what stage / time was it studied in an activist's educational program? Was there any similar study material in the old Party?*

JMS: Initially, we identified FGR as a significant activist text for the movement based on comments on the articles in *Beijing Review* issues. In the study meetings, it was proven that activists could easily grasp the meaning and spirit of the articles. As a result, FGR became more and more popular. FGR was studied in the basic mass course. There was no study material of this kind in the old Party.

*8. When was it translated into Tagalog / Pilipino / Filipino? Were there translations into other Philippine languages? Can you say something about its translation (either in English or in Filipino)? Was it probably translated in China (like the Little Red Book) or in the Philippines? Do you still remember who its translators were?*

JMS: Probably the FGR was translated into Filipino by the KM Propaganda and Education Department in 1967 or later in 1968. Ilokano, Cebuano and Bikol translations followed. And it is also likely that the Filipino translation was further improved during the time of the CPP Translation Bureau in 1969. I do not know of any translations made by Chinese comrades in Beijing. And what the Filipinos in Radio Beijing did was to translate the news.

The translation of the Red Book was done in the Philippines by Ka Jose Luneta and those in the Translation Bureau would know who were the other translators. Regional organs should also be asked if there were any translations in their language and who made the translations.

*9. How may have it been first propagated among the activists? Was it spread quickly and embraced by the activists? Can you estimate how many editions of it have been printed in Filipino and English in the Philippines from the movement's central publishing house? Are there knowledgeable people from whom we can find out the estimated number of copies that circulated in the Philippines in the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s?*

JMS: In the years 1968 until the 1972 martial law declaration, it was still possible to publish the *Red Book* and the PSR in English and Filipino. Then, mimeographing became the principal method of reproduction. The practice was print on demand with no notation of the edition or of the year. The KM Prop-Ed was the most active in the reproduction for national capital region (NCR) and other regions. Monico Atienza and Hermenegildo Garcia knew the flow of reproduction.

The CPP Central Publishing House started in Capas, Tarlac and focused on the CPP's basic documents in the first half of 1969 and then the list of the publication became longer. But only master copies were made for reproduction by the regions. I think there are still comrades in the center and in the regions who can figure out what was the estimated number of copies that circulated in the Philippines in the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s.

*10. What was called the "Three Constantly Read Articles" (1966) consisting of "Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," were first circulated in China and afterwards "Combat Liberalism" and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (1968) were added. Why then from three, did it become five? What do the last two essays add to the reading and interpretation of the first three? Did the essay "On Correcting..." have special significance in the Philippines during the first rectification movement?*

JMS: The first three articles are simple, concise and focus on self-sacrifice to serve the people. The point in the first article is: for whatever reason you die in performing any duty in the service of the people, like Chang Szu-teh who died in an accident, you are a martyr and a hero. The second article about the Canadian Dr. Norman Bethune focused on proletarian internationalism as a hero by his sacrifice and service to the Chinese people. In the third article, Mao uses a fable or legend to focus on the decisive importance of the Old Fool's determination and efforts to level the mountains of imperialism and feudalism. Thus, God (equivalent to the masses or the entirety of the masses) was persuaded to dispatch two angels (equivalent to the people's army and the organized masses) to level the mountains.

Appropriately added were the two more comprehensive and analytical articles to combat selfishness and to correct mistaken ideas that undermine the Party unity and collective and service to the people. The article on combating liberalism lists down eleven forms of individualism as against self-sacrifice for the benefit of the collective and the entirety. The article on correcting mistaken ideas within the Party focuses on the necessity of rectification in order fulfill service to the people until the complete victory of the revolution. This essay is by far the longest and most comprehensive. It is a criticism of the purely military viewpoint, ultra-democracy, disregard of organizational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, subjectivism, individualism, roving rebel ideology and survival of putschism. This essay has special value to the First Rectification Movement as well as to the Second Great Rectification.

11. *In the Philippines, the three components “Revolutionary Study and Correct Method of Analysis,” “The Mass Line,” and “Democratic Centralism and the Committee System” were added to form the ARAK (Activist Study). What year did the first edition of ARAK come out (the second edition with some changes was published in 1999)? What is the reason for this addition or enrichment to the FGR text?*

JMS: I'm not sure when was the first edition of ARAK. The logic of enriching the course is obvious by adding three articles. In the “Revolutionary Study and Correct Method of Analysis,” there is a focus on the need to know the situation and make the analysis. Thus, “The Mass Line” can be set to motivate, organize and mobilize the masses. Throughout the revolutionary process, the leadership of the Party, which implements democratic centralism and the committee system, is needed.

12. *Why is FGR still used when the use or reading of the “Little Red Book” is no longer widespread? Is it related to the comments that have spread in China itself that the quotations from Mao's writings are very lacking in context, or are there other reasons?*

JMS: The context of the topic or main idea in each FGR article is very clear. But I do not think it is wrong to use excerpts from the *Red Book* as long as there is an explanation or context based on Mao's source article or in relation to a clear concrete situation. Criticism in the Philippines about reading *Red Book* passages contradicts the dogmatist style of preaching the passage without explanation or concrete context. It is also likely the effect of the claim of its being Lin Biao's *Red Book*. But still the excerpts are from Mao. And the essence of the passages is correct, especially if explained or contexted.

13. *How would you evaluate FGR as one of the most popular study material for Filipino activists? How would you explain its long-term effectiveness on the Philippine revolution and the continuing value it has for activists? Which of its parts or ideas / saying had the greatest influence on the ideological development of the activists? Could there be other study materials in the Philippine movement Mao's writings whose depth and impact can reach that of FGR on Filipino activists?*

JMS: The significance of the FGR is decisive and important for focusing on the revolutionary and communist spirit to sacrifice of fully serving the Filipino people and on combating selfishness to uphold the rights and welfare of the toiling masses and realize the unity, collective action and welfare of all of the people.

Many Filipino activists and comrades have read the *Red Book*, *Selected Writings* and the five volumes of Mao's works. What we learn from Mao concerns the application of Marxism-Leninism to the analysis and concrete practice in a semicolonial and semifeudal country (China in the past and the Philippines today), in carrying out the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective through of the protracted people's war, in the conduct of socialist revolution and construction, in the fight against modern revisionism in socialist society through cultural revolution and in the continuous resistance and victory over imperialism and reaction.

14. *Do you think it is still appropriate to use examples such as Chang Szu-teh, Norman Bethune, and the fictional “Old Fool” as examples of loyalty, determination, and whole-hearted service in the present day? Wouldn't it be more appropriate to use examples from the experience of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines?*

JMS: It is still appropriate to use examples such as Chang Szu-teh, Norman Bethune, and the fable of the “Old Fool” as examples of loyalty, determination and whole-hearted service to the people currently. But it is true that with the length of our struggle and the abundance of our tributes to our Filipino martyrs and heroes, we have long collected and selected tributes for the inspiration of our comrades and activists. It has long been appropriate for us to use examples from the experience of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines.

15. *In what sectors is it primarily usable or effective? Is it among the students or petty-bourgeoisie? Among trade unionists? Or in the countryside? What is the explanation here? Is there a difference between receiving FGR in urban and rural areas?*

JMS: Tributes and inspirational essays like the FGR content are necessary and appropriate for all exploited classes and sectors. We must honor the martyrs and heroes to be role models and inspirations for the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces so that they can advance our revolution. The style of honoring the revolutionary martyrs and heroes differs only because of the place and circumstances. In the Red areas in the countryside, there are calls for armed struggle and honor guards from the people's army. But in white districts, there are precautions against open actions, especially in times when the enemy is very fierce.

*16. What is the significance of the reprint under the heading “Five Golden Rays” for the international reader of Foreign Languages Press (2020)? (Also, a recent publication of the same “Activist Study” by the same.)*

JMS: That is the discretion of the publisher of Foreign Languages Press in Paris. He is a Maoist and can be said to be a sympathizer of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines. He recognizes the historical and continuing importance of FGR and Araling Aktibista (Activist Study Material ARAK). The decision to collect and select works written by Filipinos to spread teachings and inspiration such as the content of FGR and ARAK belongs more to the Filipino revolutionaries.

# ***On Proletarian Stand and Outlook***

**Episode 2 on Introduction to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the auspices of Anakbayan-Europa**

**ND Online School,**

**Questions by Anghelo Godino, January 17, 2021**

---

## ***1. Why is studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (MLMZT) a basic task of a Communist?***

JMS: At the outset, let me state that the Communist Party of the Philippines originally used the phrase Mao Zedong Thought like the Chinese Communist Party to signify all the major contributions of the great Mao to the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and social science and his own signal contributions, such as the rectification movement in Party building, protracted people's war and the theory and practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. For the purpose of symmetry, the CPP has used the word Maoism to align it with Marxism and Leninism.

It is the basic task of a communist as proletarian revolutionary to study Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the universal theory of the revolutionary proletariat. Marxism is the stage when Marx and Engels laid the fundamental principles of the theory in the era of free competition capitalism. Leninism is the stage when Lenin developed Marxism in the era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution. Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism is the stage when Mao put forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution in order to combat modern revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism.

Every communist must understand the three stages of development of the universal theory of proletarian revolution: Marxism, Leninism and Maoism; and learn the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in materialist philosophy, political economy, social science, party building, strategy and tactics and opposing revisionism in socialist society. Such basic principles ought to be learned soonest by Party members after comprehending the Constitution and Program of the Party. For the purpose, I wrote the Basic Principles of Marxism-Leninism in 1981 in which I describe Mao Zedong Thought as the third stage of development as I had done since 1966.

## ***2. Why is MLMZT only truly upheld by applying this universal theory to the concrete practice of Philippine revolution?***

JMS: This universal theory has been developed on the basis of previous studies of nature and society, various forms of societies and the transformations of one form of society to another. It shows the similarities and differences of the international and Philippine history and situation and the impact of such world phenomena as colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism on Philippine history and situation. It has therefore significance and relevance to the semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society and can be applied in the concrete study and analysis of concrete conditions of Philippine society and also upon the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

Such basic problems of the Filipino people as imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are inter-related and interconnected with the history and development of capitalism on a world scale. Spanish colonialism came to the Philippines to impose colonial and feudal rule in connection with mercantile capitalism. US imperialism came on the crest of monopoly capitalism. It is necessary to relate world history with Philippine history and concrete conditions with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the universal theory of proletarian revolution.

## ***3. How do Communists develop the correct stand and outlook in studying MLMZT?***

JMS: Communists must consciously take the proletarian stand and outlook in studying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They must accept that the industrial proletariat is now the most progressive productive and political force that can lead the Filipino people to victory in the new democratic revolution and to advance further in socialist revolution.

They develop the correct proletarian stand by studying MLM because this provides the most comprehensive and most profound integration of the most advanced scientific knowledge and practice in the service of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution. MLM integrates philosophy, political economy, social science, party building, the strategy and tactics and the cultural revolution in the service of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

4. *What is revisionism and opportunism? Why do we have to oppose them resolutely?*

JMS: Revisionism involves the systematic departure from and violation of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. It misrepresents bourgeois ideas as proletarian and socialist ideas. It is the adoption of the bourgeois class stand against the proletarian class stand. The classical revisionism of the social democrats in the Second International involved socialist phrase-mongering to dress up petty bourgeois liberalism. Modern revisionism, which started in the Soviet Union, involved the abandonment of the proletarian class stand in favor of the bourgeoisie stand by Party and state bureaucrats and intelligentsia.

Opportunism has essentially the same meaning as revisionism but has the nuance of being of a less systematic and less blatant kind of violating the fundamental principles of MLM.

A Right opportunist professes to be a communist but he adopts a line of capitulating to the bourgeoisie. A "Left" opportunist thinks that he is more communist than others and adopts the language of ultra-Leftism and the line of acting in the extreme, isolating the communist party and bringing about disaster to the revolutionary process.

5. *Why does the duty of Communists to uphold Marxism and combat revisionism not cease for as long as there are classes and class struggle?*

JMS: It is the duty of communists to uphold Marxism and combat revisionism so long as classes and class struggle do not cease. In the Second International, revisionism arose when Bernstein systematically promoted the line that capitalism could peacefully evolve into socialism and thereafter when Kautsky made the socialist parties support the war budgets and aggressive actions of bourgeois states in the name of social chauvinism and social pacifism.

In socialist society, the ground for revisionism was laid when Stalin made the mistake of prematurely declaring the end of classes and class struggle in 1935. This tended to obfuscate the persistent old ideas, culture customs and habits of the vestigial members and representatives of the exploiting classes as well as unhealthy petty bourgeois and bourgeois currents among the bureaucrats and intelligentsia who wish to enlarge their privileges against the class interests of the proletariat and other working people.

6. *What is the meaning of total and complete service to the people?*

JMS: Total and complete service of communists to the people means being ready to sacrifice one's life, being tortured and imprisoned and killed in the course of the revolutionary struggle. Under conditions of armed revolutionary struggle or otherwise, communists do not expect and are not promised by the Party any compensation other than what is reasonably set and honestly earned. To wage and advance the struggle, every cent is well-spent and accounted for.

Chasing after high positions, fame or fortune is frowned upon among communists. Recognition, honors and promotions are decided on the basis of merit and bestowed by collective organs and assemblies in order to inspire comrades and the people. The highest honors are accorded to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. Outstanding thinkers and leaders are recognized on the basis of their works.

7. *What is the meaning of boundlessly valuing one's task?*

JMS: Whatever your task is, whether small or big at a given time, you must perform it seriously because it is interrelated and interconnected with the tasks of other communist party members. If you fail to do your assigned task, you can prejudice or foul up the collective effort of all party members.

You can prejudice even the life of your entire collective, if you sleep while on guard duty and you fail to sound off the alarm when the enemy is approaching or creeping on the position of your camp. You must be vigilant and diligent for the love of your comrades and the people.

8. *What is the correct outlook of a Communist towards hardship, sacrifice, difficulty and death?*

JMS: The correct outlook of a Communist towards hardship, sacrifice, difficulty and death is to understand that they arise as the price for making advances and achieving victories against an enemy that can still cause or inflict these and to adopt all measures of being vigilant, being more effective and avoiding unnecessary sacrifices.

Even when communists win victories, there can be certain costs in the course of fighting or as a result of certain errors. In any case, communists must honor and be inspired by the revolutionary martyrs and heroes. They must be encouraged to fight even harder and more effectively when sacrifices occur. Errors must be corrected promptly through criticism and self-criticism and adoption of the correct measures.

9. *What is the mass line, and the correct basic attitude towards the masses?*

JMS: The mass line is to learn from the masses their conditions, needs, demands and aspirations through social instigation and class analysis. Thus, we know how to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses more effectively than ever before in accordance with the general line and program of the party.

What we can learn from the masses can improve our work and style of work and further enrich and substantiate the existing program and the party's stock of knowledge in order to advance revolutionary practice. Revolution is a mass undertaking. It is impossible without the masses rising up and overthrowing the enemy state.

*10. Why must a Communist become better in uniting with the broad majority of cadres and members of the Party?*

JMS: A Communist become better in uniting with the broad majority of cadres and members of the Party because it is the democratic thing to do and because it is the way to strengthen the entire Party and the entire revolutionary movement. If a party member of whatever rank acts in a selfish or arrogant way, timely comradely advice and criticism must be made in order to preserve and strengthen unity. Criticisms and proposals must be motivated by a desire for unity and must result in a higher level of unity and strength.

*11. Why is it only on the basis of MLMZT that it is possible to forge a genuine and steady unity of proletarian revolutionaries?*

JMS: MLM is the only basis existent to forge a genuine and steady unity of proletarian revolutionaries because it is the most comprehensive and profound source of knowledge and guidance for carrying out the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. By availing of this theory, it is possible to make new contributions to enrich it and further develop it. There is a wave-like advance in the dialectical relationship of theory and practice, as Mao demonstrated in his theory of knowledge and practice.

*12. What is the correct attitude towards comrades who have an outlook different from ours, those who are relatively backward, or if not, those who have erred?*

JMS: The correct attitude is to cure the patient who is sick and help him become a healthy and stronger part of the party and the revolutionary movement. It is a matter of comradely sharing of knowledge and persuasive reasoning to overcome any backward attitude and to correct wrong ideas and actions or any shortcoming. It is the task of more advanced members to educate further those who are relatively backward. Errors and shortcomings can be criticized in a timely manner on the spot and these can also be taken up in timely and periodic sessions of criticism and self-criticism.

*13. Why is active ideological struggle most important? What is liberalism and what harm does it bring the Party and the revolution? How do we combat it?*

JMS: Active ideological struggle is important because it is the way to raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and militancy of party members and the entire party. It must always be characterized by comradely discussion, persuasive reasoning and avoidance of the bureaucratic and bullying style. A stern attitude and stern measures may be adopted only in relation to serious errors that have resulted in serious damage.

In a previous episode, we discussed Comrade Mao's "Combat Liberalism". He pointed out as many as eleven examples of liberalism. These are generally characterized by individualism, selfishness and sometimes safe-playing. We avoid criticizing comrades just because we do not wish to offend them. A criticism is well-done when it is fact-based and the constructive proposal is made to correct it. Someone properly criticized can appreciate the criticism if correctly done. In the first place, a good communist must criticize himself upon recognition of his own error for the purpose of instructing or educating others.

*14. What is subjectivism? What harm does it bring the Party and the revolution? How do we combat this?*

JMS: Subjectivism means depending only on one's fixed ideas or narrow personal experience. It is dogmatism when one depends on one's fixed ideas and denies or obfuscates objective reality and social practice. It is empiricism when one depends on one's own sense-data and personal experience and denies or fails to take into account the social practice and knowledge of collectives and other people.

*15. Why is the Communist an internationalist?*

JMS: The Communist is an internationalist because he is for the unity of the workers of all countries in order to ultimately defeat the bourgeoisie completely on a world scale and realize communism as a classless society. Communism is impossible so long as imperialism continues to exist and has the strength to oppose socialism. The Communist is for the people's democratic revolutions and socialist countries to arise, develop and win victories in various countries until imperialism is finally defeated, the proletarian class dictatorship can wither away and communism is realized as a classless society.

*16. What is the outlook of a Communist towards nationalism?*

JMS: The Communist outlook and view on nationalism is that it is a bourgeois political ideology reflective of the phenomenon of nation-states that have arisen as a result of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. At the same time, Communists and socialist states recognize the principles of people's national sovereignty and independence of nation-states against colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism.

Bourgeois nationalism goes astray when it is used to oppose and attack communist parties and proletarian internationalism and to generate chauvinism, xenophobia and fascism. Socialist states cannot wither away so long as imperialism, revisionism and reaction persist. It is their duty to strengthen the proletarian class dictatorship until all the anti-democratic, anti-socialist and anti-communist forces are defeated and the classless communist society becomes realizable.

# ***On the Launch of Upsurge of People's Resistance***

## ***in the Philippines and the World***

**Answers to Initial Questions, February 7, 2021**

---

1. *Among the topics of your book is the capacity of the revolutionary forces and the masses for waging revolution. The people's war has been going on for more than 50 years. In your opinion what would it take to attain victory in the coming years. What else must the people do? Or what are we not doing or doing wrong?*

JMS: The self-reliant nationwide building of the CPP, the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of political power in more than 110 guerrilla fronts is a great historic achievement of the Filipino people in the last 50 years, despite the major setbacks suffered by the forces of national liberation and socialism during the same period outside of the Philippines. The revolutionary forces here can further grow in strength towards total victory as the crises of both the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system worsen.

The people's democratic government will keep on growing in the countryside until the revolutionary forces gain sufficient armed and political strength to overthrow the reactionary state in certain key regions and ultimately in Metro Manila. The basic alliance of the workers and peasants, further alliances with the middle forces and contradictions among the reactionary forces will facilitate the victory of the people's war against the enemy.

The intensification of the people's war in coming years will make the ruling system bleed to death from thousands of wounds, with the most strategic battles to be won by the revolutionary forces in Mindanao, Cordillera, Samar and Panay in order to facilitate the final offensives from revolutionary bases in Central Luzon and Southern Luzon against the final holdouts of the enemy forces controlling Metro Manila.

The error of conservatism, which is the current target of rectification, is not as grave as the subjectivism, ultra-Leftism and militarism that were corrected by the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM). The correction of the error of conservatism this time is to use the mass base, created by the prolonged emphasis on mass work, as the basis for intensifying and expanding the people's war. There are no serious selfdestructive problems like those that had to be solved by the SGRM.

2. *Why do you say there is a resurgence of world proletarian revolution?*

JMS: The worldwide upsurge of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the people against neoliberalism, fascism and other ultra-reactionary currents and the wars of aggression since 2019 have signaled the potential resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The so-called Great Recession which started with the financial meltdown of 2006 to 2008 has become the Great Depression of 2019 onward, further aggravated by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and thereafter.

All basic contradictions in the world are sharpening: those 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 socialist aspirations. The sharpest of contradictions are now between the erstwhile main partners of neoliberal globalization, the US and China. These are indeed the most bitter economic competitors and political rivals in the world today.

The rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is already driving the proletariat and people all over the world to form and strengthen revolutionary communist parties, mass organizations and mass movements and to wage struggles for national and social liberation in the direction of socialism. The situation is drastically different from the time when, because of the revisionist betrayals in the Soviet Union and then in China, the US emerged as the winner in the Cold War and the sole superpower in 1991. And the camp followers of US imperialism used to prate about the permanent death of socialism and the end of history with capitalism and liberal democracy.

Now, it is the turn of US imperialism and the world capitalist to expose their fatal flaws. Both the neoliberal economic policy and the neo-conservative security policy of the US have accelerated its strategic decline. US imperialism is desperately trying to wrest back the economic, trade and technological concessions to China and strengthen a bloc of imperialist allies against it. But China is trying to take advantage of its two-tiered economy and its huge size, continue its economic and military rise, strengthen its own bloc, try to disrupt the US-headed



bloc and challenge US hegemony in various parts of the world. A new Cold War is now running between the two strongest imperialist powers.

# *On the Life of Jose Maria Sison*

## Questions from the JMS School

February 12, 2021

1. *On February 8, you will be 82 years old. At your age, what do you want to attain or what is your birthday wish?*

JMS: As a birthday wish, I would want the revolutionary forces and the wide oppressed masses to intensify their struggle for national independence and democracy against US and China imperialism and the exploitative classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. To attain more victories for the Filipino people in their new democratic revolution.

2. *Despite your class origin of being from the clan of landlords, there were many instances when you could turn your back on the struggle and live a life of wealth or follow the path of a traditional career. Why did you choose to serve the people and sacrifice for them?*

JMS: There is no loftier meaning or mission in one's life than to serve the people and sacrifice for them so they will be free from the dearth of injustice, oppression and exploitation. If one is lucky to be born from a rich family and to be able to reach the highest level of studies, it is his or her duty to use their ability to join the struggle of the oppressed and exploited and not take the side of the exploiters and oppressors.

3. *At your age, many are retiring and relaxing at this stage in their lives. Why did you choose to continue in the struggle?*

JMS: I am fortunate that today, even at my age, I am still relatively healthy. I am able to write and join in the discussions to advance the Philippine revolution and world proletarian-socialist revolution. Many of my comrades in struggle have passed away or are sickly. I should make use of my fortune and opportunity to contribute more for the advancement of the struggle of the oppressed masses.

4. *You are known not only for being a cadre but also for being a cadre of the family. Can you share your experience in balancing family and struggle? What advise can you give unmarried and married couples in the revolutionary movement?*

JMS: It is better that unmarried and married couples in the revolutionary movement understand and support each other. There is a balance on being a cadre of the revolution and a cadre of the family, depending on the work and danger in struggle. If a cadre is in the legal form of struggle and there is no basis nor plan for his arrest or murder by the enemy, he or she could still go home to his family like I did from 1959 to 1967 when I was still a legal activist and employed as a teacher.

When a stabbing attempt was made against my life in February 1968, I stopped going around without companions and weapon for defense. I planned to go underground. It was opportune that my collective had plans to re-establish the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

Julie and I planned that she followed me in the underground after leaving our children under the care of some relatives. Today, the revolutionary movement is far stronger than during our time. There now exist a child care system through comrades, allies and organizations.

5. *You have written so many books and articles. It seems you are tireless in writing statements on correct position on current issues. How do you maintain your sharpness of mind? As a writer, what advise can you give our propagandists?*

JMS: Since 1988, when I cannot go home to the Philippines, what I could really do for the benefit of the toiling masses and revolution is to research, write, issue statements and interviews. My passport was canceled in 1988 to force me to go home, have me arrested and killed. Although it was Cory Aquino who canceled my passport, a report was informally sent to me that the military had evil plans against me.

As a writer, my advise to my co-writers and propagandists would be to read and study the flow of news that comes out of the papers and to research on books and other publications on the Philippines. Do not stop gaining knowledge about correct theories and political line to apply on gathered data.

Most important of all, you must be constantly in touch and discussing with those participating in struggle. Even though I am abroad, I gather information and opinions of comrades and friends who visit or write to me. We must be alert and prompt in fighting the enemy and in giving correct guidance to the toiling masses we want to mobilize.

6. *In your poem "Sometimes, the Heart Yearns for Mangoes", what kind of mango are you referring to? What food do you miss from the Philippines? Do you have a favorite dish?*

JMS: In my poem, the mango I had in my mind and heart is the Ilocano mango. It is not so big, very sour if unripe and very sweet when ripe. The dishes I miss from the Philippines are bagnet (crackling pork), delicacies made of sweet glutinous rice and tasty, dried sweet mango and the tupig from Ilocos. My favorite food is one that is full of flavor.

*7. The time of the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines or SCAUP was marked with intense red-tagging due to the anti-communist witch-hunt. What are the major similarities or differences during the '50s and '60s to the present red-tagging under the NTF-ELCAC of Duterte? How did you mobilize the thousands upon thousands of youth to fight the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities in Congress?*

JMS: In 1959-1961, the revolutionary movement was at an ebb due to the errors of the line of the leadership of the old CPP. But the anti-communist propaganda of the US in the Cold War and the spread of McCarthyism in the Philippines were very intense. US imperialism and its reactionary followers in the Philippines wanted to liquidate the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and any other successor, extension or so-called front of the CPP. Therefore, it promulgated the Anti-Subversion Law that threatens to punish with the death penalty anyone "proven" to be a leader of the CPP based on the testimony of just two people.

Instead of being scared of the Anti-Subversion Law and the witch-hunt led by the Anti-Filipino Activities or CAFA, we were challenged to fight and so we established the SCAUP to criticize the said law and anti-communist witch-hunt. We promoted academic freedom and openly studied and followed the ideals of the Philippine revolution from Andres Bonifacio. We intensively studied Marxism-Leninism and the history of socialism. On March 15, 1961, we carried the main issue of academic freedom, built the united front of student organizations and organized the anti-CAFA rally of 5,000 students and we entered Congress to literally bring down the anti-communist hearing.

The big difference today is the brutality and thirst for killing of the president himself, the military and police. They accompany their anti-communist propaganda with red-tagging, kidnapping, torture and murder of activists as in Oplan Tokhang. The fascist executioners are the real terrorists. In addition, they created the Anti-Terrorism Law to easily red-tag, arrest, kill and expropriate bank accounts and properties of people they consider as communists even if they are not members of the Communist Party and are just mass activists, critics and legal opposition against the Duterte regime.

Because the Duterte regime is extremely treacherous, brutal, corrupt and mendacious, many are fighting against it through different forms of struggle and are ready to join the armed struggle. Instead of being threatened by the regime, it forces the Filipino masses to fight and take up arms. This is what happened during the time of Marcos, the small force of the CPP and NPA grew bigger because of the brutality and greed of the fascist dictatorship. And because today, the CPP and the NPA are far stronger nationwide, the masses are highly confident to participate in people's war.

*8. You were witness to the way each past regime ran the country. We know that every president is the chief representative of the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal society. Who do you think is the worst president?*

JMS: Duterte is the worst and most evil president in the history of the Philippines. Even if he is just five years in his presidency, he has killed more people without due process. More than 30,000 is Duterte's score in extrajudicial killing, 10 times more than the 3,000 killed under Marcos.

When it comes to plunder, Duterte plundered far more during his five years in office than Marcos in more than twenty years. Duterte flagrantly steals from the national treasury through the intelligence and discretionary funds, overpriced supplies for the military and police and fake infrastructure projects and getting kickbacks from debt contracts.

*9. Perhaps you are the hottest revolutionary at present because of your role as founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines and your continuing guidance for the past five decades. How do you counter the black propaganda of the state that you still lead the CPP?*

JMS: The final decision of the European Court of Justice, which removed my name from the EU terrorist list on December 10, 2009, declared that I am not the operational leader of the CPP. It is really impossible for me to be the operational leader because of the distance between Europe and the Philippines and because of the passing of time since my arrest in 1977. It is my fundamental democratic right and freedom to write, speak and state my position on any issue.

The Duterte regime and his military cohorts themselves are in a self-contradictory trap. They always say I still

lead the CPP and the revolutionary movement in the Philippines and made me a principal target of their propaganda. But they also often say that I no longer lead because I have left the Philippines a long time ago.

They even mocked the revolutionary movement as being headed by a leader who is separated from the Philippines and knows nothing about the country, especially the revolutionary movement. I always say that the central leadership of the revolutionary movement is in the Philippines. The stupid fascists refuse to accept that the cadres in the Philippines who lead the expansion and advance of the revolutionary movement are intelligent and capable.

*10. What is your message to the revolutionary youth?*

JMS: They should continue the people's democratic revolution until victory and then follow with the socialist revolution. This is what we had in mind and had become our commitment since the years of SCAUP, Kabataang Makabayan (KM-Patriotic Youth), expansion of the legal national democratic movement, First Great Rectification Movement and the preparations for the reestablishment of the CPP and the NPA.

In the past 50 years of revolutionary struggle, the victories of the revolutionary proletariat or communist in the field of ideology, politics and organization are very substantial. The revolutionary forces are deeply rooted among the toiling masses nationwide: the Party branches, units of the people's army and their support armed forces such as the militia and self-defense units, revolutionary mass organizations, alliances, and organs of political power in more than 110 guerrilla fronts.

The future is bright for the Philippine revolution. The revolutionary movement will surely achieve bigger victories during this decade because of the severe intensification of the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines and the crisis of the world capitalist system. There is a need for more revolutionary youth to join the people's war to defeat the imperialists and local reactionaries and win the people's democratic revolution.

***Additional questions:***

*10. Can you narrate how Amado Guerrero was able to connect the young revolutionaries with the good cadres of the old HMB to form and establish the NPA? Who were the prominent personalities of the old HMB that joined or defected to the NPA aside from Commander Dante? Can you also narrate behind the scene stories or anecdotes? These are legends that inspire the youth ala "founding of our army".*

JMS: The establishment and expansion of the Kabataang Makabayan as a comprehensive youth organization, reached many barrios where the former HMB operated. In recruiting the worker youth, the Lapiang Manggagawa and federations of union helped the KM. In recruiting the peasant youth, the KM had the support of MASAKA which first spread in the former base of the HMB.

Aside from Ka Dante, we had Ka Eddie Layug, a legendary personality of the HMB. He was a former regimental commander of the HMB during the Japanese occupation and later, he joined the bigger and victorious attacks on Camp Makabulos and other enemy camps. He was with Ka Dante and me during the training of cadres for the NPA expansion in Central Luzon and to expand in Isabela and the entire Cagayan Valley.

When the strength of the HMB in Tarlac fell in the 1950s, Ka Eddie was arrested and imprisoned. After he left prison, he purposely became an insurance agent so he could freely visit the barrios and offer insurance to public school teachers. In that way, he was able to continue with his mass work in many barrios in Tarlac. He played a big role in establishing the mass base during the time of the HMB and the NPA.

Many old cadres of the PKP since the 1930s supported the First Great Rectification Movement and the Congress of Re-establishment of the Party. Together with Lucio Pilapil, Max Gutierrez, Cesar Lacarra and many others. There is not enough time in our discussion today to narrate their contribution in the re-establishment of the Party and people's army.

*11. What is your personal assessment of the GPCR? What is your assessment of Zhou Enlai? Why were Deng Xiaoping and the capitalist roaders and modern revisionists able to return to power despite the GPCR? What is your assessment with the trial of Jiang Qing and the "gang of four"?*

JMS: The theory and practice of Mao and the CPC is important for the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through GPCR to counter modern revisionism, prevent the return of capitalism and consolidate the achievements of socialism. It is clear that the GPCR prevailed in its first five years, 1966 to 1971. During this period, the Red Guards Movement and revolutionary committees as organs of political power of the working class expanded.

But the combination of the Centrists led by Chou Enlai and Rightists led by Deng Xiaoping in dividing the Left was successful and resulted in the defeat of Lin Biao and later on the isolation of the Shanghai Group of 4 during

the second half of the GPCR from 1972 to 1976. Even if Deng fell in the first quarter of 1976, he was able to launch a coup d'etat when Mao died and he was supported by the Centrists in the arrest of the Shanghai Group of 4.

The Rightist and the Centrist accused the Left of creating anarchism and factionalism in the spread of the Red Guards Movement and the emergence of Shanghai Commune and revolutionary committees. Lin Biao was also accused of wanting to hurriedly replace Mao and planning a coup d'etat and assassination against Mao. In 1972, after the death of Lin Biao, Nixon visited China. Following this, the line of détente with the US to counter the Soviet Union took off. The line of stabilizing China, modernization and capitalist reform of the economy and opening to the capitalist world ran on. Proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity were seen as closing the doors to the world.

The trial and conviction of the Shanghai Group of 4 were held to condemn and make them accountable for the alleged chaos of the GPCR. The GPCR was initially branded as a catastrophe and 100 percent error of Mao. In the rumors circulated by the Right and Centrist, they spread the line that it was not the Group of 4 but the Group of 5 (which included Mao) that was crushed. In 1980 Liu Shaochi was given 100 percent rehabilitation. Since 1978 the commune system, which was called "feudal socialism", was dismantled and the line of capitalist reforms and opening up to the capitalist world took off. The return of capitalism was quick and complete until US and China became main partners in neoliberal imperialist globalization.

12. *The PSR is one of the books that made great impact on every generation of activists. How long did it take you to write it? What were the challenges you faced in writing it and in its publication? Is there any particular book that had a similar "life-changing effect" on you?*

JMS: I started to write the book chapter by chapter in Sta. Rita, Capas, Tarlac as study material for Party members. I finalized it within three months, from June to August 1969 while I was editing *Ang Bayan*, in an attic in Baguio City. This is where I returned to after almost being arrested in Sta. Rita in May 1969 but was able to side-step in the nearby Barrio Talaga. While I was writing the book, comrades brought me reference materials which I used. After I had written the book, it was then published by the *Philippine Collegian* under the title *Philippine Crisis and Revolution* in the last quarter of 1969.

The PSR was also published by the Central Publishing House of the CPP in 1970. The next publication was by Ta Kung Pao of Hong Kong. It was the first to distribute the book in China and the whole world under the title *Philippine Society and Revolution*. The Red Star edition was published in 1972 and its distribution got caught up with martial law. But it was still distributed in the underground.

I have also written many documents of importance and having "life-changing effect". We used mimeographing to enable the CPP Central Publishing House speedily publish books and other materials. Among these were the English and Filipino editions of the Basic Documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines. In the first half of 1969, I wrote the Declaration of the New People's Army and the Basic Rules of the NPA for the establishment of the NPA on March 29, 1969. In the first quarter of 1970, I wrote articles that constituted the book *The First Quarter Storm of 1970*.

## Foreword

### (to *The Gumamela Is Still Red*)

---

I am delighted and honored to write this foreword to Joven Obrero's *The Gumamela Is Still Red*, the sequel to her *Warriors, Poets and Friends*. These two books of poetry reflect the revolutionary struggle of the people for national and social liberation in Mindanao and the outstanding participation of the author, especially in educational and cultural work.

Like its antecedent, *The Gumamela Is Still Red* is mainly a book of poems but appropriately includes brief items in prose, such as narratives and correspondences, in order to contextualize the poems in historical, class and personal terms from the revolutionary viewpoint of the proletariat, all toiling masses of workers and peasants and the Lumad communities.

I appreciate Obrero's use of the gumamela as the metaphor for the revolutionary struggle of the people. It is a plant with large vibrant red flowers that grows abundantly on the mountains, hills and plains of the Philippines. This key metaphor indicates the keen poetic imagination of the author who grasps what is meaningful and beautiful in what many other people may overlook.

The current book of poems of Obrero deserves to be read by all Filipino patriots and revolutionaries and by all foreign friends in solidarity with them. She is an excellent poet with the noblest sense of revolutionary vision and mission. Her 11 poems are finely crafted to express in concrete terms and natural imagery the heroism, hard struggle, sacrifices and aspirations of the communist cadres, Red fighters and the masses.

Like I do, Obrero writes poetry in the tradition of Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh, Pablo Neruda and Maya Daniel (Felix Salditos) who has a number of poems included in the book. Even in a few poems which appear to be rough-hewn, Obrero suits the literal expressions to the actual direct language of the masses and to the need for spelling out the problems that afflict them.

Once you start to read the book, you are drawn in by her personal involvement and commitment to the revolutionary struggle, especially by her perseverance despite tremendous odds and sacrifices, including the martyrdom of excellent cadres like her husband Ka Deo. Then you wish to know further about her self-fulfillment in the struggle and what about other women in the struggle.

You find out the self-fulfillment of Warmina and other women who join the tactical offensives after complaining that they are limited to nonmilitary tasks and demanding the equal right of women to participate in fighting. You appreciate the fact that the people's war offers everything to everyone who desires liberation from imperialism and all forms of reaction.

As you read further, you come to know and respect the man who never said no to any plea for help from the masses in need and to find ways of solving the problem. And for all his goodness and service to the people, the enemy would hate him and kill him. But his martyrdom becomes an inspiration in the most difficult 12 times of walking and climbing on rough terrain in order to elude the enemy.

The book presents the plight of the tribes who have been repeatedly pushed out of their ancestral domain by the logging, mining and plantation operations of the land-grabbing multinational corporations and their traitorous local partners. You share with the poet what she learns from the tribal chief Matigsalug. Thus, you admire the eagerness of the 19-year old Lumad to join a guerrilla operation and you feel angry that the enemy would kill him.

Obrero is not confined to the fastnesses and communities in the countryside. The scale of her poetry keeps on widening. She knows the mass protests in the cities and celebrates them.

She bewails the violence of the enemy in the streets. She is in touch with a friend in prison and with a child whose parents are missing and who is in the care of comrades. She criticizes gently the youth who are obsessed with selfies, posing as cute in Facebook and unmindful of the gravely sick social system and the need for social revolution.

She reflects on the Covid-19 quarantine and communicates with a slum dweller who represents the people most hard hit by the pandemic, the loss and jobs, the lack of ayuda and the aggravation of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the berserk tyranny, treason, butchery and plunder under the Duterte regime. To demonstrate how well the revolutionaries learn from the masses, Obrero Obrero presents their

conversation with the agriworkers. We learn how they lose their land to the multinational corporations 13 and their local partners through lease and growers' agreements and how they are exploited through labor 'cooperatives' which are in fact labor contracting agencies no different from the old cabo system.

Obrero indicates that the consequence of social investigation is the publication of the oppression and exploitation and of course the actions by the masses and the revolutionary forces to fight back. But twice in the book she finds the occasion to dream about genuine land reform and peasant cooperatives in sharp contrast to the current suffering of the peasants and farm workers.

The book concludes that the gumamela is still red and urges the youth to rise up against the despotism of Duterte and the entire ruling system under which the broad masses of the people are suffering intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation.

Obrero sings odes to the Communist Party of the Philippines and to the protracted people's war. She does not mind the long wait so long as all efforts are exerted to make the long leap.

The protracted people's war has created the basis for accelerated people's war in stride with the worsening crisis of the semicolonial and feudal ruling system and that of the world capitalist system.

---

Jose Ma. Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
August 25, 2021

1. *Calls for creativity have emerged as responses to a criticism of the Left being “passé” and “dogmatic.” The command to be creative is being considered seriously for activist practice in response to this criticism, but what does this call achieve?*

JMS: It is a good policy for any anti-imperialist and formation to pay attention to criticisms and proposals from any source. It does not take much time to distinguish a good criticism or proposal from a bad one. A sweeping criticism of the Left as being “passé” and “dogmatic” comes apparently from either a hostile or ill-informed source and should be subjected to a critical examination to find out exactly what is the basis of the criticism behind the proposal of creativity.

If there is a basis of any kind, degree or scale that is cited, then it can be critically examined and creativity can be applied in the correction of any error or solution of any problem. If there is no basis for the criticism and its objective is merely to malign the movement and mislead the people, then the attack has to be countered immediately and sharply.

2. *How does it apply to the propagation of ideological education, political campaigns and overall organizational maintenance and sustainability?*

JMS: Creativity can be the discovery, working out and adoption of new ways of understanding, presenting, realizing and improving the factors, methods and conditions of ideological education, political campaigns and overall organizational maintenance and sustainability.

In the propagation of ideological education, we must be updated on the content that is to be imparted and innovative in the presentation. We have a stock of knowledge but we must read and study further and learn from the people, their conditions and needs in order to apply correctly revolutionary theory. We must adopt the methods and means by which to engage more activists in programs and courses of study and learning through publications, study meetings and webinars.

In the work to achieve organizational maintenance, sustainability and growth, we must build the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the mass organizations of the classes and sectors of the people who suffer various types and degrees of oppression and exploitation in any country within the world capitalist system. The aforesaid party and mass organizations must assert, defend and advance the fundamental rights and interests of their constituencies.

In undertaking the political campaigns, the organized masses must be mobilized to engage the unorganized masses according to their common and specific interests. There must be a united front within every class and within every sector and there must be also a broad united front embracing all the oppressed and exploited classes and sectors and taking advantage of the contradictions among the reactionary classes in order to isolate and defeat the enemy at every given time.

3. *As a demand for a modified activist practice, is creativity merely a protest aesthetic attuned to the demands of populist market ideology?*

JMS: The revolutionary forces are always ready to undertake criticism and self-criticism to correct errors and shortcomings and raise the level of their ideological, political and organizational work. The timely and sharp counter must be made to the malicious demand for modified activist practice that is calculated to malign or mislead the revolutionary movement under some notion of “protest aesthetic” or cosmetics in commercial advertising that suits the bourgeois populist market ideology.

The anti-imperialist and entire revolutionary movement has a comprehensive array of formations and masses that can make the struggle against the enemy always interesting and inspiring in so many ways in the various fields of struggle: ideological, political, socioeconomic and cultural. What can be more exciting than an honest-to-goodness struggle against imperialism and all reaction. We can trust the activists, their organizations and the masses in expressing their needs, demands and aspirations.

The people's democratic revolution in the Philippines is one of the best examples in the world for overcoming so many campaigns of anti-communist suppression and the setbacks suffered by the anti-imperialist and socialist cause because of the revisionist betrayal and capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union and China. But all



forms of struggle are being carried out and developed in the most creative ways by integrating revolutionary theory and practice.

*4. What sort of activist formations has this demand for creativity spawned and actually created for broad united front building?*

JMS: We must first identify those imperialist powers and big bourgeois elements that finance and direct the state agencies, schools of thought, think tanks, corporate media, academic pedants, prostitutes, bourgeois ideologues and influencers and other entities that specialize in playing up supraclass notions of idealism and subjectivism, magnifying any fragment or aspect of history and society and misinterpreting old terms or generating new terms in the direction of drawing away the intelligentsia and the toiling masses from the anti-imperialist and class struggle.

The broad united front has a definite anti-imperialist and class line in the current people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. To the activist formations themselves, the proletarian revolutionary party is the leading class in the people's democratic revolution. Consequently, it must build the basic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry in order to gain the majority of the people, win over the middle social strata (urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie) and take advantage of the contradictions within the reactionary classes servile to foreign monopoly capitalism in order to isolate and defeat the enemy (the most reactionary puppet ruling clique or the foreign aggressor) at every given time.

To lose sight of the revolutionary anti-imperialist and class line in building the united front is to go shallow, fragmentary, impertinent or completely out of the struggle. A demand for creativity that ignores and lays aside the revolutionary anti-imperialist and class line will mislead the activist formations. There is a revolutionary class line to pursue in waging struggles against monopoly capitalism as it exploits and oppresses the proletariat and peoples of the world, plunders the environment, engages in genocide through state terrorism and wars of aggression and threatens the very existence of humankind with nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, pandemics and global warming.

*5. New challenges and contradictions emerge as activists interpret and practice this call to be creative. May you give examples of these challenges and contradictions?*

JMS: New challenges and contradictions arise as the revolutionary forces and objective conditions change for the better or for the worse by any significant degree or scale. Critical thinking and creativity are required to raise a given level of development to a new and higher one or to determine the causes of failure or defeat and solve the problems in order to advance on the road of revolution.

In the course of revolutionary practice, there are periodic and timely sessions of criticism and self-criticism in order to correct mistakes and improve the work, the style of work and the outcome of the work. As a matter of course, the revolutionary party and the mass formations make their annual summing up of experience, analysis of the objective conditions and subjective forces and setting forth of new tasks. Rectification movements are carried out on a wide scale and for an extended period to criticize major errors and rectify them.

# ***Solidarity Message to the Forum on Democracy, Socialism and Communism***

**November 14, 2021**

Dear students of political science, I wish to convey my warmest greetings of solidarity to all of you attending the forum at Adamson University on the relation of democracy to socialism and communism. I agree with you that there are historical and continuing relations among these as concepts and as major phenomena in the development political systems in the world.

Let us dispense right away with the naive notion that there was Athenian democracy, when in slave society representatives of big and small owners of slaves legislated the laws in contrast to the tyranny of the king who issued decrees that were arbitrary and harsh. Let us also dispense with the notion that democracy arose from the demand of the feudal barons on the king of England for representation in a law-making body in exchange for taxation.

Let us begin to study democracy as a term in the development of the bourgeois state in European history from the time of the Italian city states of the 13th century under royal franchise through the French liberal democratic revolution in the late 18th century to the proliferation of bourgeois democratic states in the 20th century on the basis of the advance of industrial monopoly capitalism and the expansion of the right to vote as a privilege of property owners and males to universal suffrage irrespective of property ownership and sex.

The bourgeois state could not have become dominant in any society without the bourgeoisie becoming dominant as the owners of the means of production in the capitalist mode of production.

But being a small part of society, the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution raised the rags of the poor as its flag in order to gain the political initiative and the mass support of the city plebeians and the widespread peasant masses who were also in social unrest against the feudal monarchy and aristocracy.

Indeed, the intellectuals of the bourgeoisie were the first to put forward the modern concept of the liberal democratic state as based on the sovereign will of the people irrespective of estate or class, the constitution as social contract among the people and between the state and the people and the rule of the majority in settling issues. They were good at defining individual rights and duties but these were abstract in relation to the reality of exploiting and exploited classes.

Earlier in the sixteenth century, mercantile capitalism became the driving force for colonial expeditions. The moneyed bourgeoisie funded the expeditions even as they had to get royal approval and patronage. Colonial plunder became a major factor in the primitive accumulation of capital by the bourgeoisie in addition to the extraction of surplus value from the workers and proletarianization of the surplus peasant population in Western Europe.

The rise of industrial capitalism from the latter half of the 18th century would eventually make the capitalist class the grave digger of European feudalism. But soon enough while the Industrial Revolution was progressing rapidly in England, Marx studied the political economy of capitalism and together with Engels laid the fundamental principles of Marxism in philosophy, economics, politics and culture. In the earlier political economy of Adam Smith, he laid stress on the need for the economic freedom of the capitalist class and the invisible hand of self-interest in the market as being responsible for the public good. But he also recognized labor as the creator of new material values. It became the revolutionary role of Marx and Engels to proclaim the proletariat as the grave digger of capitalism and the bourgeois state.

They teach us in the *Communist Manifesto* that for the first time in the history of mankind an exploited class, the proletariat, has arisen to make a radical rupture from the millennia of private ownership of the means of production and has the capability of emancipating itself and all other exploited classes. They also teach us that the proletariat must win the battle for democracy, gaining the support of all exploited classes, in order to establish socialism.

Socialism is truly the system in which the leading class, the proletariat, combines with all other erstwhile exploited classes in order to end the oppression and exploitation of the people by a ruling class or ruling classes that own the means of production and to build a truly democratic political system of the people and an economic system in which the toiling masses are no longer preyed upon by the capitalist class.

Socialism is developed in the transition from a world capitalist system to a world system in which socialism becomes dominant in the world, imperialism is defeated and communism as a classless society is possible. Lenin teaches us that it will take a whole historical epoch for socialism to achieve worldwide victory and that the advance of socialism is not on a straight line but goes through twists and turns.

The worldwide victory of socialism and defeat of imperialism are preconditions to the emergence of communism, which is even fundamentally more democratic than socialism because it does away with the state as a coercive instrument of class rule. However, there will still be nonclass public authorities freely elected by the people in order to preclude anarchy.

In the wake of World War II, several socialist countries arose in addition to the Soviet Union and national liberation movements spread in Asia, African and Latin America. But modern revisionism gained power in the Soviet Union in 1956 and in China in 1976. The US unleashed a series of offensives against the socialist cause, such as the anti-communist Cold War, neocolonialism, neoliberalism and the neoconservative policy of endless wars to impose Pax Americana or US imperialism on the people of the world.

After the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US launched ideological, political, economic and military offensives against the just cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism. But the crisis of the US and world capitalist system continued to worsen. By the time of the 2006-08 financial meltdown, the strategic decline of the US became conspicuously worse than ever before and the partnership of the US and China in promoting the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization began to unravel.

All major contradictions in the world capitalist system are intensifying: those between labor and capital in the imperialist countries, those between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations, those among the imperialist powers themselves and those between the US and China. Anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles are becoming widespread and intense. They are the harbinger of the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

Thank you.

***Remarks at the Launch of the Two Volumes  
of On the Communist Party of the Philippines  
in Sison Reader Series Book Nos. 5 and 6***

**February 6, 2022**

---

Distinguished guests and friends, I am delighted that the Sison Reader Series has published in two volumes the most important documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines since its founding congress on December 26, 1968. I thank the International Network for Philippine Studies for accomplishing this, the NDFP International Information Office for organizing this book launch, the book reviewers and all other participants.

The CPP was re-established on December 26, 1968 as a result of the desire of the Filipino people for revolutionary change of the chronically crisis-stricken semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and also as a result of the struggle against revisionism in the old Communist Party and in the now-collapsed Soviet Union. Since then, the CPP has served as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and has led brilliantly and successfully led the Philippine revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The CPP has applied the universal theory of the proletariat on the history and concrete conditions of the Philippines, defined the character of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and set forth the general line of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. It has integrated the protracted people's war with agrarian revolution and the national united front. It has adopted democratic centralism as its organizational principle.

The CPP started from scratch with only with a few scores of cadres from the mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth amounting to some 50,000. Three months thereafter, on March 29, 1969, we were able to establish the New People's Army after we united with the proletarian revolutionaries in the old people's army after they broke away from the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. We started with only nine rifles and 26 inferior firearms and with a peasant mass base of 80,000 in the second district of Tarlac in early 1969.

Now, the CPP has more than 150,000 members. The New People's Army has thousands of Red fighters with automatic rifles and operates in more than 110 guerrilla fronts nationwide. It is augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations. Within the frame of the NDFP, the revolutionary mass organizations and local alliances have millions of members.

The local organs of political power, which constitute the people's democratic government, encompass both the organized and unorganized masses in more than 90 per cent of the Philippine provinces. The enemy, the renegades and other detractors of the revolution say that 53 years of revolutionary struggle have passed and yet the presidential palace in Manila is still held by the reactionaries. But the people's democratic government is built widely in the countryside and aims to advance wave upon wave to wars towards the urban areas.

The great victories of the CPP have been achieved self-reliantly through the revolutionary dedication, hard work and fierce struggle by the cadres and members of the CPP, the Red commanders and fighters and the broad masses of the people in an archipelagic country without the benefit of cross border advantages and with the revisionist betrayal of socialism at first restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and Easter Europe and then defeating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and restoring capitalism in China.

Out of fear that the CPP and NPA would rapidly become far stronger than it was, the US decided to junk its puppet Marcos after he ordered the killing of his political rival, Benigno Aquino, in 1983. The legal patriotic and democratic forces and anti-Marcos conservative forces coalesced to fight the fascist regime. It was in 1984 that US recognizing the growing strength of the revolutionary movement decided to junk Marcos.

In 1986 president Corazon Aquino negotiated a ceasefire agreement with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines but broke this agreement with the Mendiola massacre in January 1987. In 1992 the Ramos puppet regime sought to engage the revolutionary movement in peace negotiations with the NDFP. More than ten major agreements were forged?. But every post-Marcos regime has tried to use the peace negotiations as a mere device for surveillance and intelligence, sowing political intrigue and seeking the capitulation. of the revolutionary forces.

The worst of the post-Marcos regime is that of Duterte who has terminated the peace negotiations and

scrapped all the agreements so far made and has vowed to destroy the armed revolution before the end of his term in 2022. He will surely fail because his grave crimes of treason, state terrorism, plunder and misuse of public resources and the persistence of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and the rapid worsening of the crisis of the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system provide the favorable conditions for the continuing rise of the armed revolution.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces can be expected to fight more fiercely than ever against the Duterte terror regime and the entire ruling system when Duterte rigs the elections this year as Marcos did in 1986. They are now far stronger and more tested in struggle than in earlier decades. They are more than ever prepared to wage a resolute and relentless struggle because the chronic crisis of the ruling system is rapidly worsening, they are more desirous than ever for revolutionary change and the CPP and other revolutionary are stronger than ever before.

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

# ***Introduction to the Screening of El Barro de la Revolucion***

**AT THE AUDITORIUM, UNIVERSITY OF MURCIA, SPAIN**

**February 18, 2022**

---

Dear comrades and friends, warmest greetings of solidarity to all of you! I salute the organizers and all of you for coming together to watch and appreciate Paloma Polo's *El Barro de la Revolucion* and to draw information about the ongoing people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war in the Philippines. Thank you for your act of solidarity.

It is an honor and privilege for me to introduce the film screening. This is not just an informative documentary. It is an artistic masterpiece of Paloma Polo. Out of so many aspects of the revolutionary movement, which she studied for over three years in the Philippines, she chose to focus on the life, work, behavior and articulations of communist cadres and Red fighters in a study camp in a forested area in Mindanao.

She was after the quintessence (the essence of the essence) of a revolutionary movement that had developed for more than half a century and wanted to capture and distillate it truthfully and artistically in a film of about two hours. What can be more quintessential than the activities of revolutionaries in a study camp where they deepen their commitment to a just cause, study revolutionary theory and practice, share experiences and knowledge about concrete conditions and learn more about the tasks to be carried out in various fields of revolutionary work.

She is brilliant in terms of thematic focus, aesthetic sense and artistic skills. She is also commendable for integrating with the Filipino revolutionaries, learning to live and communicate with them and taking the risks of going to and staying in a guerrilla front, and going out. From scene to scene in the film, you can learn the everyday tasks in the camp, from scheduled study meetings and timely work meetings, reporting and assessments to spontaneous personal conversations and confidences, moments of contemplation, solitude and rest.

The armed revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines has been described widely as the longest running in the world. It is also known to be self-reliant in an archipelagic country with no cross-border advantages and has not been pushed down by the revisionist betrayal of socialism and proletarian internationalism in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. It has overcome fourteen years of Marcos fascist dictatorship and the anti-communist campaigns of military suppression by the post-Marcos regimes, from that of Aquino to Duterte.

You must have learned somehow that the current Duterte tyranny has been publicly predicting from month to month and from year to year since 2017 that it can destroy the revolutionary movement. Indeed, the Duterte regime has been carrying out an all-out war policy at first surreptitiously since 2016 and then openly since 2017, after terminating the peace negotiations between the reactionary government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and vilifying the revolutionary forces as "terrorist".

The regime has unleashed so-called focused military operations, extrajudicial killings, localized surrender negotiations, fake surrenders and fake NPA casualties and false promises of jobs and cash rewards to surrenderers, community support and barangay development. But all these have failed to destroy the revolutionary movement. Instead, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have raised their revolutionary strength to a new and higher level.

Let me tell you the current state of the revolutionary movement. The CPP has more than 150,000 members. The New People's Army has thousands of Red fighters with automatic rifles and operates in more than 110 guerrilla fronts nationwide. It is augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations. Within the frame of the NDFP, the revolutionary mass organizations and local alliances have millions of members. And the local organs of political power, which constitute the people's democratic government, encompass both the organized and unorganized masses in more than 90 per cent of the Philippine provinces.

In 1972, US imperialism directed and supported Marcos to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people in the vain hope of destroying the CPP which had only 2,000 members, the NPA only 300 automatic rifles and the

revolutionary mass organizations only some 300,000 members. The puppetry, brutality and corruption of the fascist dictatorship failed to destroy the revolutionary movement but merely served to cause its growth in strength and advance nationwide by driving the Filipino people to join and support it. To this day the crimes of the Marcos fascist regime have continued to weaken and degrade the semicolonial and semifeudal system.

The revolutionary movement in the Philippines is invincible because it is guided by the proletarian revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, carries out the general line and program of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective, wields the three magic weapons of CPP leadership, armed struggle and national united front, employs the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war, integrates the armed struggle with agrarian revolution and mass base building, builds various types of class and sectoral mass organizations and alliances within the NDFP and creates the local organs of political power from the village level upwards to constitute the people's democratic government.

Since the overthrow of Marcos in 1986, the worst regime that has arisen in the Philippine is that of Duterte who idolizes Marcos as an icon of state terrorism and unbridled plunder. Since the overthrow of Marcos, Duterte has been the worst as chief political representative of the comprador big bourgeoisie, landlord class and bureaucrat capitalists. His regime has become nationally and internationally notorious for its criminal policies and acts of treason, tyranny, mass murder, plunder and deception.

Duterte previously wished to perpetuate himself in power. But because of his failing physical and mental health, he has the scheme to rig the forthcoming presidential elections in order to put in power the junior of Ferdinand Marcos as president and his own daughter Sara as vice president. These represent the worst political dynasties of the Philippine oligarchy. He can easily commit electoral fraud in combination with state terrorism terrorism because he controls the reactionary armed forces, the Commission on Elections and the electronic vote count.

We can expect that the Filipino people, the legal patriotic and democratic forces and the revolutionary movement will rise up against the rigging of the elections as in 1986 against Marcos. They are now far stronger and more tested in struggle than in earlier decades. They are more than ever prepared to wage a resolute and relentless struggle because the chronic crisis of the ruling system is rapidly worsening, they are more desirous than ever for revolutionary change and the CPP and other revolutionary are stronger than ever before.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces wish to achieve greater victories in the Philippines not only for their own benefit but also to make great contributions to the advance of the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles and the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. At the same time, they are desirous of obtaining greater moral, political and concrete support from the proletariat and people abroad. We must uphold, defend and promote proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of the people for a fundamentally better and brighter future of national independence, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

# ***On the Experience of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Combating Modern Revisionism and Opportunism***

February 27, 2022

*(The following lecture is delivered in conjunction with a lecture of comrade Pao Ching-ming in a web forum held by the National Students' Federation of Pakistan and entitled "Lessons from the Pilipino Struggle Against Modern Revisionism, Opportunism, and All Reaction".)*

---

Dear comrades, I am happy to be informed that Pakistani comrades who are inspired and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism are striving to combat modern revisionism and opportunism and build a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party that is capable of leading the people's democratic revolution in Pakistan against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

I welcome the position and efforts of comrade Dr. Syed Azeem, former General Secretary of the Mazdoor Kissan ("Workers and Peasants" Party) and present Senior Advisor to the National Students' Federation of Pakistan, as well as other comrades guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to combat the dominant reactionary and opportunistic lines plaguing the "Left" wing of Pakistani politics, including those who seek to court the favor of imperialist China, the counter-revolutionaries who forsake the armed struggle to jockey for power in the fascist Government, and so on.

I also welcome the cooperation of the Maoist youth leaders and cadres of the NSF, who are critical of the liberal and reactionary elements in the old crop of student leaders (many of whom are diasporic) and whose Revival Convention on March 12 promises to heighten the struggle against native feudalism (khanism), bureaucrat-capitalism, and imperialism of both the traditional and new capitalist powers.

Finally, I welcome the enthusiasm of our Maoist comrades in Pakistan to learn from the revolutionary struggles in India, Nepal, the Philippines, South and Central America, Africa, and elsewhere in the Global South in connection with the determination to hold the said Revival Convention on the ideological foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and in consonance with the luminous, valiant legacies left by those great revolutionaries of the past, like that of the late Dr. Rasheed Hasan Khan.

By way of informing you about the experience of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in combating revisionism and opportunism, I propose to discuss at length the developments that followed the nominal grant of independence to the Philippines in 1946 and were pertinent to the national liberation movement during the reactionary puppet regimes of Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal, Marcos, Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo, Aquino II and Duterte.

Then it shall be easier for me to discuss the necessity of the Party as borne out by history to the present day: how the CPP arose under the guidance of MLM to rectify ideological, political and organizational errors, defeat revisionism and opportunism and revive and advance the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective through protracted people's war; and the methods employed by the revolutionary movement to combat revisionism and the fascist Government seated in Manila: the CPP, New People's Army and United Front as weapons, with armed revolution as the main form of struggle plus the legal movement as the secondary form.

In order to provide the needed context for the emergence of a revolutionary movement in the semifeudal and semicolonial Philippines, my comrade Pao shall also deliver a compendious outline of the general features and natural wealth of the country in which our exploited people reside, their history before and during the periods of direct colonial subjugation from the Spaniards, Americans, and Japanese, and their revolutionary tradition from the initial arrival of the conquistadores to the rising of 1896 helmed by the Katipunan. This section is to come before mine.

I hope that our presentation can aid you in learning, at least in general terms, how to identify the errors of revisionism and opportunism, criticize, repudiate and rectify them in a wholesome rectification movement that has an essentially educational character. Only you, the Pakistani proletarian revolutionaries, can do the best possible concrete analysis of your history, concrete conditions and concrete revolutionary practice.

***A bit of background before the puppet regimes of semicolonial Philippines***



After merging with the rural-based Socialist Party in 1938 under the auspices of the Comintern and the Communist Party of the USA and in accordance with the Popular Front, the old Communist Party of the Philippines laid a sound basis for forming the People's Army against Japan (Hukbalahap) on March 29, 1942 after the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in December 1941.

But soon after the founding and spectacular guerrilla offensives of the Hukbalahap in Central Luzon, the Japanese invaders launched a counter-offensive which demoralized the Vicente Lava leadership and made it adopt a Right opportunist line of "retreat for defense" by dividing the Hukbalahap squadrons (companies) into small, ineffective teams of three to five combatants and adhering to the US line of making Filipino guerrilla mere spies to prepare for the US reconquest of the Philippines.

In September 1943, the old CPP held the Bagumbali Conference to correct the Right opportunist error of "retreat for defense" and rebuild the guerrilla companies for offensives against the Japanese occupation forces. These offensives would make the people's army strong in the entire region of Central Luzon, outskirts of Manila and parts of Southern Luzon up to the total defeat of Japan in 1945.

But the aforesaid conference also made a new Right opportunist or reformist decision to welcome the return of US imperialism and allow it to establish a semicolonial Philippine state in 1946. This fell into line with the "peace and democracy" call of the revisionist Earl Browder who wanted to convert the CPUSA to a mere political association within the bourgeois state.

The old CPP conformed to the nominal grant of independence by US imperialism to the Philippines and let the US retain its military bases and the property rights of US corporations and citizens under the US-Philippine Treaty of General Relations in 1946. It formed the "Democratic Alliance" (DA) to combine with the Nacionalista Party of the outgoing Osmeña Government and engage in electoral struggle against the US-supported Liberal Party whose presidential candidate was the former pro-Japanese collaborator Manuel Roxas.

The DA succeeded in electing six congressional candidates whose number was enough to block the Parity Amendment. This constitutional amendment allowed the US corporations and citizens rights equal to those of Filipinos in exploiting natural resources and operating public utilities. Based on trumped up charges of electoral fraud and terrorism, the DA members of Congress were kicked out by the Liberal Party majority.

### ***During the Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay and Garcia regimes***

Such an anti-democratic act by the Liberal Party against the DA added fuel to the continuing outrage of the people over the arrest of labor and peasant leaders and massacres in the countryside by the Philippine Constabulary and paramilitary forces (so-called "civilian guards"). These despicable acts were calculated to allow the landlords to recover their land from the peasants in Central Luzon and destroy the people's army. They were carried out under the direction of the US by the regime of Manuel Roxas from 1946 to 1948 and that of Elpidio Quirino from 1948 to 1953.

They pushed the people and the revolutionary forces to resume the armed struggle against the US and its puppet government. Thus, the old CPP under the leadership of Jose Lava decided to resume the armed struggle but it took the erroneous "Left" opportunist line of winning the revolution in only two years by relying on the spontaneous uprising of the people against the Quirino regime without painstaking mass work, agrarian revolution and mass base-building beyond the regions of Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal and the Southern Tagalog.

The old CPP was able to launch spectacular and successful offensives against major enemy military camps in Central Luzon in 1949. But later, within the same year, the enemy was able to launch bigger offensives by some thirty battalions against the 2,500 fighters of the People's Liberation Army (HMB, Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan) based mainly in the Sierra Madre and to round up and arrest the entire Politburo Bureau leadership of the old CPP based in Manila.

Jesus Lava assumed leadership as General Secretary of the old CPP in 1951 and increasingly failed to counter effectively the enemy campaign of military suppression. In 1955 he put forward the Right opportunist line of converting the people's army to an organizational brigade for legal struggle and in 1957 issued the "single file policy" which liquidated the collective life of CPP leading organs and branches by requiring all CPP members to join a queue merely for receiving "political transmissions" written solely by the General Secretary who was detached from the masses and concentrated on hiding himself in Manila.

Since their reconquest of the Philippines, the US had directed, trained and equipped the Filipino puppet troops to carry out the armed counterrevolution. The Central Intelligence Agency groomed the defense secretary Ramon

Magsaysay to replace the discredited corrupt president Elpidio Quirino in the elections of 1953. After running an extremely pro-US and anti-communist regime, Magsaysay died from a plane crash and was replaced by his vice president Carlos P. Garcia.

The Garcia regime pursued a pro-US and anti-communist policy. It was during his term that the Anti-Subversion Law of 1957 was originally drafted by the US Central Intelligence Agency and was enacted by the puppet Congress despite the defeat and disintegration of the old CPP and HMB. The law provided for the death penalty to officers of the CPP and life sentence to CPP members upon the presentation of two prosecution witnesses.

But President Garcia pretended to be an economic nationalist by Filipinizing the Chinese-owned retail trade enterprises and by maintaining foreign exchange controls until the end of his term in 1961. Thus was maintained the long tradition of the ruling classes to use the local Hokkien Chinese minority as an “alien” scapegoat to obscure their puppetry to foreign despots and their own exploitation of the masses.

It was during the Garcia regime that a new crop of proletarian revolutionaries would arise from 1959 to 1961 through study groups in the University of the Philippines to learn the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the new democratic revolution, to continue the unfinished Philippine revolution and to fight immediately the witch hunt being carried out by the reactionary Congress in accordance with the Anti-Subversion Law.

To avoid being charged as communist subversives, the young proletarian revolutionaries let themselves be called widely as “nationalists” in the anti-imperialist sense. They succeeded in gaining mass support and in stopping the witch hunt by organizing a demonstration of 5,000 students that scuttled the anti-communist congressional hearings on March 15, 1961.

They began to link up with labor and peasant organizations. Jesus Lava noticed my anti-imperialist writings and the student mass actions and tried to contact me in 1961. But it was only in December of 1962 that his intermediary could link up with me. I agreed to the proposal for reviving the old CPP and in early 1963, I became a member of the 5-member executive committee which was created for that selfsame purpose.

### ***During the regimes of Macapagal and pre-fascist Marcos***

Diosdado Macapagal became president in 1961 with a program of so-called free enterprise, decontrol of foreign exchange, open door to foreign investments and bourgeois land reform. Due to the intensity of the Cold War, the anti-communist crackdown and the disintegration of the old CPP and People’s Army, the trade union and peasant movement were in the main openly led by reformists who were associated with the reactionary regime, the US Embassy, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and the Jesuit-run Institute of Social Order.

But there were the anti-imperialist and progressive labor leaders who formed the Lapiang Manggagawa or Workers’ Party in 1962. The young proletarian revolutionaries started in June 1962 to be active in holding seminars for trade unions under the auspices of the Lapiang Manggagawa, in holding protest mass actions against the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with the US and against the puppetry of the Macapagal regime.

They also sent youth teams to the factories and the urban and rural poor communities to do social investigation and mass work in preparation for the organization of Kabataang Makabayan (KM, Patriotic Youth) as a comprehensive youth organization of young workers and peasants, students and young professionals. The Kabataang Makabayan was formed on November 30, 1964 and became the spearhead of protest mass actions of youth, workers and peasants against US imperialism and the reactionary regime.

In 1965, the young proletarian revolutionaries together with veteran worker and peasant cadres were already demanding that a congress of the old CPP be held and that a provisional Central Committee be created for the purpose. I was assigned by the Executive Committee to draft a political report in preparation of the Congress. I drafted a report which identified, criticized and repudiated the major errors that had afflicted the old CPP since 1942.

The Lava revisionist renegades were offended by the report and tried to trash it. They refused to criticize the subjectivist and opportunist errors of the brothers Vicente, Jose and Jesus Lava who had succeeded each other as CPP General Secretary. They blocked the implementation of the plan to hold a congress of the old CPP and to plan the resumption of revolutionary armed struggle on the basis of the progress of the mass movement. They wanted to prolong the thoroughly stagnant condition of the old CPP.

Worst of all, they were already in contact with and under the influence of the revisionist CP of the Soviet Union through William Pomeroy who was positioned in the United Kingdom. And they began to echo both the

Khrushchovite slogans of “party of the whole people” and “state of the whole people” (bourgeois populism) and “peaceful transition to socialism”, “peaceful economic competition” and “peaceful coexistence” (bourgeois pacifism) and the Brezhnevite slogans of social fascism, social-imperialism, and the “international dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.”

Thus, the proletarian revolutionaries and the veteran worker and peasant cadres decided to break away from the old CPP in April 1966, launch a rectification movement and prepare for the re-establishment of the CPP under the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, today called “Maoism”. The conditions were ready for the establishment of the CPP on December 26, 1968 and the founding of the New People’s Army on March 29, 1969.

The Macapagal regime became discredited enough by its unfulfilled promises of economic development and prosperity and was replaced by the Marcos regime in 1965 on the vague bombast of “making the Filipino nation great again”. Marcos had no better idea than to use foreign loans to improve the infrastructure for the continued colonial exchange of Philippine raw materials and foreign manufactures. At the same time, he overpriced the infrastructure projects in order to cut into contracts and accumulate bureaucratic loot.

From the start of his rule, Marcos focused on having a personal grip on the reactionary armed forces, promised to increase their funding, troop strength and equipment with US support in exchange for the use of the US military bases. He was obsessed with staying in power beyond the constitutional limits and plundering the economy through graft-laden infrastructure projects, tourist facilities and related contracts financed by foreign direct investments and loans.

### ***During the Marcos fascist and post-Marcos regimes***

After his first term in office from 1965 to 1969, Marcos increasingly prated about the social volcano about to explode in the Philippines and ultimately he took advantage of the clerico-fascist demand for amendments to the Philippine Constitution and controlled the constitutional convention in order to insert provisions in the constitution that would enable him to become a fascist dictator.

He engaged in false flag operations like the Plaza Miranda grenade attack on the opposition party in 1971 and other bombing incidents in 1971 and 1972. He ascribed these to the CPP and the NPA in order to slander them and set the stage for the 1971 suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the 1972 declaration of martial law and imposition of fascist dictatorship on the people. He undertook a campaign of anti-communist hysteria, claiming that the CPP and NPA were already about to seize state power.

But the CPP had only 1,000 members, some 300 Red fighters in a few guerrilla zones and mass base of at least 200,000 in urban and rural areas. The organized strength of the revolutionary movement was still small and weak. Marcos exaggerated in his 1972 martial law proclamation that the NPA had 10,000 Red fighters and he was out “to save the republic and build a new society”. He succeeded in imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people for 14 years from 1972 to 1986.

But this US-supported fascist dictatorship drove the broad masses of the people to join and support the new democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. By 1986 the CPP membership had more than 10,000 members and the NPA had more than 6,100 Red fighters aside from the far greater number of personnel of the people’s militia and self-defense units.

The revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and others had millions of members and the National Democratic Front and the local organs of power of the People’s Democratic Government had many more millions under governance and influence. All these revolutionary forces were nationwide and deeply rooted among the toiling masses in more than 90 percent of the Philippine provinces.

All the post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes from that of Corazon Aquino to that of the Rodrigo Duterte have engaged in US-supported campaigns of military suppression against the armed revolution, despite the short period every regime has devoted to using peace negotiations to try to hoodwink the revolutionary movement and to win across the table what it cannot win in the battlefield. The US-directed reactionary armed forces have always fouled up the peace negotiations.

The incumbent Duterte regime has turned out to be the worst of the pseudo-democratic regimes as it has tried to copy and surpass the brutality of the Marcos fascist regime in trying to wage an all-out war policy and destroy the revolutionary movement. But it has failed to destroy the revolutionary movement and has generated far worse conditions of oppression and exploitation that are more favorable than ever before for waging revolution.

The CPP membership has grown from about only 100 in 1968 to 150,000 now, the ranks of whom are now organized across the entire nation and rooted deeply amongst the toiling masses. Due to the leadership of the CPP, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the NPA has grown from only 9 automatic rifles to thousands of such rifles, with auxiliaries and reserves of tens of thousands in the people's militia and self-defense corps of the revolutionary mass organizations. The enemy has admitted recently that the NPA has wiped out 15,000 troops in battles. In contrast, the enemy has killed more than 50,000 non-combatants in malevolent attacks on the civilian population.

The mass base of the revolutionary movement has grown from around 50,000 in 1968 to millions in revolutionary mass organizations, under alliances mainly within the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and under the organs of political power which constitute the People's Democratic Government. There are now two governments in the Philippines. One is the revolutionary Government of workers and peasants under the leadership of the CPP in the countryside; and the other is the reactionary Government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists directed by US imperialism in the cities.

### ***Necessity of the CPP as the advanced detachment of the proletariat***

Based on the short historical narrative that I have just given to, you can see the necessity of having the Communist Party as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and as the leading force in the revolution. While the old CPP was afflicted by subjectivism and opportunism it could not lead effectively the national liberation movement against the Japanese Occupation during World War II. The Right opportunist Vicente Lava leadership of the old CPP welcomed the return of US imperialism and failed to carry forward the revolutionary struggle of the people for national and social liberation.

The Jose Lava leadership adopted a "Left" opportunist line of striving to win the revolution in two years' time but this line was definitely defeated by US imperialism and Filipino puppets as early as 1951 and the Jesus Lava leadership did not want to rectify the previous errors and proceeded to take the Right opportunist line of liquidating the people's army in 1955 and the old CPP in 1957 and to echo the Khrushchovite line of bourgeois populism and pacifism and indefinite legal struggle without any definite plan to resume the people's democratic revolution.

The CPP became an effective advanced detachment and leading force of the proletariat and the entire people when it was re-established on December 26, 1968, adopted the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism, the general line and program of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism and carried out the rectification movement to criticize and repudiate the grave ideological, political and organizational errors of the series of Lava general secretaries in the old CPP.

The First Great Rectification Movement against the subjectivist, opportunist and revisionist errors of the Lavas contributed greatly to laying a strong Marxist-Leninist-Maoist foundation of the reestablished CPP. The CPP has grown in strength and advanced as the leading force of the Philippine revolution, has overcome tremendous odds and major errors confronted by the Second Great Rectification Movement, and has won brilliant victories against every major campaign of military suppression unleashed by the US imperialism and its Filipino puppets.

### ***Methods of waging the rectification movement and the revolution***

In carrying out the rectification movement against the Lavaites errors of revisionism and opportunism from 1942 to 1966, we had to read the available documents of the old CPP and in the main interviewed many veteran cadres, including the Lavaites and those critical of them, who were directly and personally knowledgeable about the policies and actions of the central leadership of the old CPP from 1942 onward. Then we analyzed and drew conclusions from the facts in order to draft the rectification document, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party".

We have carried out a comprehensive and thoroughgoing campaign of education among the Party cadres and members and the revolutionary mass activists on the threshold of joining the CPP. We have undertaken study meetings of various sizes at different levels on the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, on the political program of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country and on the principle of democratic centralism.

We have prepared and used texts and study courses at the basic, intermediate and advanced levels for the training and development of CPP cadres and members as well as revolutionary mass activists. We have learned in theory and in practice how to build the CPP, the New People's Army and the united front as the three magic

weapons of the Philippine revolution. We have learned how to build revolutionary forces by building them. And we have learned how to fight by fighting the enemy, seizing arms and accumulating armed and political strength self-reliantly.

To enhance our strength, to correct errors and shortcomings, and to improve our work, fighting skills, and manner of work, we have engaged in timely and periodic meetings to assess and evaluate our work and engage in criticism and self-criticism. To confront and deal with major errors and shortcomings, such as the subjectivist and opportunist errors from 1980 to 1991, we have carried out the Second Great Rectification Movement as an educational movement from 1991 to 1998, with “Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors” as the main document.

As the most progressive political and productive force, the CPP is needed to lead the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. The NPA is needed to seize political power from the exploiting classes through protracted people’s war in order to complete the new democratic revolution and consequently to be able to carry out the socialist revolution. The united front is needed to reach the broad masses of the people in their millions and facilitate the formation of local organs of political power of the People’s Democratic Government.

It has always been made absolutely clear to the CPP rank and file and to the revolutionary masses that armed struggle is the main form of revolutionary struggle even while legal forms of struggle are also undertaken. Without the People’s Army, the people have nothing. The People’s Army is needed for winning victories in the armed struggle, for carrying out the agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution and for guaranteeing the basic worker-peasant alliance as the foundation for building the People’s Democratic Government in the countryside before the seizure of cities.

I hope that I have said enough to help you understand the reestablishment of the CPP under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, the program of people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war and the principle of democratic centralism. I hope, too, that my presentation helps shed light on the problems that you must solve and the tasks that you must carry out out to build your own party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Moreover, I wish you the utmost success in building the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of the proletariat, the People’s Army for waging the armed revolution and seizing political power, and finally the United Front for gaining the active support of the people in their hundreds of millions.

For further reading, I recommend the Books No. 5 and 6 of the Sison Reader Series on the Communist Party, from its reconstitution in 1968 to the present day, as well as other books in the aforesaid compendium. Both digital and physical copies of these are available for procurement from major electronic publishing outlets, including Amazon, Barnes and Noble, Kobo, and many others.

Thank you.

# ***Rabid Anti-Communists Unwittingly Help the Armed Revolution of the Filipino People***

March 14, 2022

---

The huge crowds attending the electoral rallies of the tandem of Maria Leonor Robredo and Francis Pangilinan as presidential and vice presidential candidates of the Liberal Party and 1Sambayan are disproving the fake poll survey results claiming unbelievably high majority scores for their respective rivals Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. and Sara Duterte in the tandem of the Duterte ruling clique.

Thus, the Duterte regime, the National Task Force-ELCAC and pseudo-independent attack dogs like Panfilo Lacson, main sponsor of the law of state terrorism under the pretext of anti-terrorism, are now panicking. They are frantically reacting to the ground swell in favor of the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem by red-tagging its party and accusing it of having been infiltrated by communists and having forged a coalition with such revolutionary forces of the people as the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).

The aforesaid revolutionary forces are all banned by the counterrevolutionary state from participating in its electoral exercises. And they have repeatedly declared that that they have nothing to do with these but observe the growing rifts within the exploiting classes and that it is idiotic for anyone or any state agency to claim that the revolutionary forces are one and the same as the legal patriotic and democratic organizations and parties which abide by the 1987 Constitution and have the freedom to participate or not in the electoral exercises of the reactionary state.

The rabid anti-communists in power like Duterte, Lacson and the National Task Force-ELCAC are being absurd and dim-witted by being unable or by pretending to be unable to differentiate the legal democratic forces within the ambit of the GRP 1987 constitution from the revolutionary forces of the people's democratic revolution that are engaged in the protracted people's war.

The state terrorists do not care that their red-tagging violates and attacks the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people and puts those arbitrarily red-tagged in grave danger of being abducted, tortured and murdered by the regular units and death squads fielded by the reactionary armed forces and police under the fascist direction of their commander-in-chief as he has so often admitted directly and indirectly in the bogus war on illegal drugs and in the anti-communist campaign of military suppression.

Rabid anti-communists and notorious human rights violators like Rodrigo Duterte, Panfilo Lacson and the National Task Force-ELCAC are unwitting promoters of the armed revolution by constantly trying to prevent and suppress the participation of legal patriotic and democratic organizations, parties and alliances in the electoral processes of the reactionary state in accordance with its 1987 Constitution.

They fail to understand that Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. compelled the mass leaders and activists of the legal democratic forces to go underground and join the armed revolution in great numbers when he declared martial law in 1972 and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. Thus, he unwittingly helped to enlarge and strengthen rapidly the revolutionary forces of the people which were then very small and weak.

In the last six years, the Duterte tyrannical regime has accomplished the same thing as the Marcos fascist regime did from 1972 to 1986. It has unwittingly helped the revolutionary forces of the people grow rapidly in strength by aggravating the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and by carrying out an all-out war policy, terminating the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and going on anti-communist rampages of abductions, torture and mass murder.

Contrary to the repeated false claims of the Duterte regime that it has already destroyed more than three times the estimated strength of the revolutionary forces, the CPP has multiplied the number of its cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters of the NPA, the members of the various types of revolutionary mass organizations, the underground alliances within the NDFP and the revolutionary organs of political power under the people's democratic government because of the rapidly worsening crisis of the ruling system and the bankruptcy of the reactionary state, according to reliable CPP publications.

The worst is still to come while the tyrannical, traitorous, murderous, plundering and swindling Duterte regime is still in place. According to the tyrant himself, the Catholic Church hierarchy, the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem and party, the Makabayan Bloc and key members of the Makati Business Club concur with the CPP, NPA and NDFP that the Marcos-Duterte tandem and party represent the worst plunderers (magnanakaw) and murderers (mamamatay tao) in the Philippines and must be prevented from staying in power.

On the basis of mixing up and equating the aforesaid various entities to each other, the rabid anti-communists in the current ruling clique and in the National Task Force-ELCAC headed by Duterte are plotting to combine the rigging of the 2022 elections with a martial law declaration to be done before or after said elections supposedly in order to preserve and expand the gains that they have made to suppress the communists and the revolutionary movement of the people.

Their Plan A is to declare martial law sometime before election day by carrying out a false flag operation by which to claim “disruption of elections by terrorists” and by which to prevent the opposition from demonstrating electoral mass strength through rallies. Their Plan B is to declare martial law after the rigging of the electronic vote count and prevent the people from rising up as in the aftermath of the 1986 elections.

The entire Filipino people must be forewarned, become vigilant and prepare themselves to launch all necessary forms of struggle in order to frustrate Duterte’s scheme of martial law declaration and rigging of the 2022 elections and to continue the struggle with ever greater resolve, vigor and effectiveness until victory if the plunderers and mass murderers of the Marcos-Duterte type stay in power longer than the fascist dictator Marcos could in 1986. Indeed, if these monsters manage to stay in power any longer, they would escalate the oppression and exploitation of the people and unwittingly intensify the people’s democratic revolution in the most unprecedented way.

***The Filipino People in Struggle***  
***During the Duterte Regime***  
***and Perspective Beyond the 2022 Elections***

April 23, 2022

---

Dear friends, warmest greetings of peace and solidarity! First of all, I wish to thank the Friends of the Filipino People in Struggle (FFPS/FRIENDS) for inviting me to speak at this conference with the theme, “Building Solidarity for the Filipino People in Struggle” in order to celebrate the 1st anniversary of the revival of FRIENDS and the 49<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and to strengthen international solidarity with the Filipino people in their revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.

Indeed, in these trying times, international solidarity building and all round support is of utmost importance to the people’s struggle in the Philippines or in any other country where the people are oppressed and exploited. I welcome the experience-sharing among participants coming from struggles in various countries. This sharing is intended to deepen our understanding of the Filipino people’s revolutionary struggle and strengthen solidarity for the Filipino people and encourage them to contribute to the worldwide struggle of the people against imperialism and all reaction.

Let me proceed to discuss my assigned topic, “The Filipino People in struggle during the Duterte Regime and their perspective beyond 2022 elections”. I shall try to present to you the current national situation in the Philippines, especially the crisis of the ruling system; the forces of the counter-revolution; the forces of the revolution; and the way forward that the people and revolutionary forces are taking on the road of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class.

***1. The crisis of the ruling system and the way forward***

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in an ever-worsening chronic socio-economic and political crisis because three monsters, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, are always sucking blood and sweat from the toiling masses of workers and peasants. All these monsters have been favored by the US-instigated policy of neoliberalism under the dogma of unbridled private greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie as the chief motive force for wealth creation in opposition to the truth that labor power creates wealth.

The basic lines of operation of the three monsters are as follows:

- a. Imperialism keeps the country underdeveloped in order to take superprofits from the export of cheap raw materials, agricultural products and semi-manufactures, importing higher-priced manufactured and luxury products for the exploiting classes and providing the onerous loans to cover the perennial trade deficits.
- b. Feudalism in the form of landlord-tenant relations is predominant in the countryside despite so many bogus land reform programs and development of a certain amount of semi-feudal relations. In the absence of national industrial development, bourgeois land reform programs have always retrogressed to the revival of traditional feudalism in old and new settlements.
- c. Bureaucrat capitalism is what characterizes the highest officials of the reactionary state who use their offices to accumulate private wealth in the form of bureaucrat capital in bank deposits and urban property as well in big comprador enterprises and agricultural landholdings. The favorite methods of corruption by bureaucrat capitalists include the so-called pork barrel in infrastructure projects, cutting into private contracts, government purchases of equipment and the like.

In all the years that he is president, Duterte has followed the policy dictates of the US government, the multilateral financial institutions and foreign credit rating agencies, as well as the promptings of the local American Chamber of Commerce and their local big comprador partners. These are in line with expanding the interests of the US and other foreign big banks and corporations and local big bourgeois compradors, big landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The economic policies adopted by subservient regimes have caused the Philippine economy to stagnate and remain underdeveloped, agrarian, semifeudal and non-industrial. Production remains import-dependent, export-oriented and debt-burdened due to trade and budgetary deficits. Limited industrial production is low-value added



and involves mainly the assembly of imported components or packaging. Agriculture remains largely small-scale employing hand tools and very limited use of machinery.

Under the Duterte regime, the ruling system has become even more rotten and unable to address the needs of the Filipino people who suffer from a high rate of unemployment, grossly low wages, loss of income, landlessness and land grabbing, rising prices, grave lack or inadequacy social services in education, health and public housing and other serious social ills. The regime has bankrupted the economy and has sunk into deeper into crisis.

In less than six years, the public debt doubled from PhP5.9 trillion in 2016 to more than PhP12 trillion last March, and is expected to rise further to PhP13.42 trillion by end of this year. Large-scale corruption, wasteful and anomalous infrastructure projects and military overspending have bankrupted the government, resulting in record levels of deficit spending reaching a high of PhP1.67 trillion last year.

The traitor Duterte regime has allowed the foreign monopoly firms and banks to tighten their control and expand their domination of the local economy through amendments of the Foreign Investments Act, the Retail Trade Liberalization Act and the Public Service Act which all circumvent and violate the categorical limits in the 1987 Constitution against full foreign ownership and operation of businesses. These laws will now allow the imperialists to fully own and operate enterprises in all fields of investments, except defense, certain public utilities such as distribution of electricity and water, and in smaller retail trade.

Duterte has signed the Corporate Recovery and Tax Incentives for Enterprises (CREATE) Law that reduces corporate taxes by 5 percent (which equates to PhP600 billion in lost revenue over the next five years) as supposed incentive to attract more foreign investments. He has lifted the moratorium on open-pit mining and other mining operations which allows foreign mining firms to further plunder and extract mineral resources from the country's mountains, rivers, land and sea. He has allowed the Chinese Coast Guard, militia and fishing fleets to take over the West Philippine Sea and drive away Filipino fishermen.

He has enacted the Rice Import Liberalization Law in order to flood the domestic market with imported state-subsidized rice and to harm the interest of rice farmers who have suffered from the low buying price of palay set by the government. Vegetable farmers and meat producers are also being subjected to unfair competition by rampant smuggling under the cover of all-out liberalization. Chinese industrial fishing in and around Philippine territorial waters have depleted the country's marine resources making life difficult for Filipino fisherfolk.

He has expanded the business privileges of the foreign monopoly firms and has reduced their taxes. But under the Tax Reform for Acceleration and Inclusion (TRAIN) Law, he has required the people to shoulder onerous excise taxes on commodities and services. It is at the expense of the poor consumers and working people that he seeks to cover the mounting debts and revenue losses due to tax cuts in favor of foreign and big comprador corporations. He and his subordinates are further concocting additional taxes on workers, peasants, the underpaid employees and other toiling people.

As bureaucrat capitalists, they use their power to accumulate ill-gotten wealth. Corruption continues to worsen in the form of kickbacks and bribes in exchange for government favors in state-related contracts and white elephant projects that are reminiscent of and comparable to the wasteful infrastructure spending under the 14-year Marcos dictatorship. Many of these graft-laden bridges, coastal roads and land reclamation are unnecessary and take away the source of living of peasants and fisherfolk.

The Filipino people have suffered greatly from Duterte's overspending on the military and police for the purchase of overpriced surplus military equipment from the US, and to raise above standard the salaries of officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and Philippine National Police (PNP) in order to buy their loyalty. It is now a big problem for the finance officers of the reactionary government to raise the yearly amount of PhP800 billion to maintain the salary increases for uniformed personnel and upward adjustment of their pensions. And we do not yet speak about providing for military corruption under such accounts as the Anti-Terror Council, the National Task Force to Eliminate Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Program.

Due to military overspending and corruption, public education, public health and other social services have suffered from lack of funding and from drastic budgetary cuts. Consequently, students, their parents and teachers suffer from classroom and teacher shortages, slave-level salaries, and lack of infrastructure for distance learning and facilities for the safe reopening of in-person classes. The Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted the gross shortage of doctors, nurses and medical workers in public hospitals and high costs of laboratory tests and treatment

and brought to light the Pharmally racket and scandal in which Duterte, his mistress Honeylet and his valet Bong Go have rechanneled to their private pockets tens of billions of pesos from the national budget for the public health campaign against Covid-19.

Right now, the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, are overburdened by displacement from work and the rising prices of fuel, food and other basic commodities and utilities while big comprador companies rake in gargantuan profits. Under Duterte, the toiling masses have suffered from wage repression and wage cuts which can no longer cover the daily cost of living of the majority of Filipino families. The exploitation and oppression of workers are intensified through short-term job contracting, other flexible labor arrangements and outright dismissals.

Millions of jobless people are desperately cramped in large shanty towns in cities. In the countryside, rampant land-use conversion and land grabbing by big landlords, mining companies, infrastructure projects and expansion of plantations have forced the displacement of hundreds of thousands of peasants from their land. All in all, up to 70 percent of Filipinos precariously live on or below the poverty threshold, while 10 percent to 15 percent are in danger of falling into extreme penury and poverty.

It is preposterous that the Duterte regime and its followers still boast that the Bongbong Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate of crooks and butchers are so popular that they will win the 2022 elections. They can do so only through fraud and terrorism. The Filipino people abhor the Duterte regime for its treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt rule. They perceive and detest Marcos presidential candidate and Sara Duterte the vice presidential candidate as the combination of the worst of the political dynasties that have ruled the Philippines. The Duterte regime is extremely isolated.

But Duterte's lust for power knows no bounds, especially because he wishes to avoid prosecution for his crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court, for crimes of plunder before the courts of his own state and for his crimes of counterrevolution before the people's court. His scheme to use the Marcos-Duterte tandem to avoid criminal accountability has heightened contradictions among rival factions of the big comprador-landlord ruling class.

He is hellbent on rigging the 2022 elections in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate. And he is inclined to declare nationwide martial law supposedly to preempt the "disruption" of the electoral process and ensure a "seamless transition" to his chosen successors. But this will certainly incite widespread mass protests and cause further instability of the ruling system. Mass rallies being mobilized by the main political opposition party and the progressive forces continue to grow large, disprove the false claims of popular support for Duterte and his candidates and indicate the victory of the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem and slate.

But among the major factions of the ruling classes, there is also a trend to support a Robredo-Duterte tandem as a compromise for the presidential and vice presidential posts. The US imperialists have delayed in indicating their choice of candidates for such posts, although calculations are rife that the US wants the state terrorism and brutal counterrevolution to continue, with some softer gloves.

There is certainty or at least high probability that Duterte will rig the vote count and even declare martial law in the remainder of his term in May and June to declare martial law. But the huge mass rallies being mobilized by the opposition, the churches and the legal democratic forces can still dissuade or prevent him from committing electoral fraud and declaring martial law. But of course US imperialism and its Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency operatives and assets within the reactionary armed forces will provide the puppet Duterte with the most weighty advice.

Whatever the outcome of the May elections, the broad masses Filipino people are determined to continue with their struggles to assert, defend and promote their national and democratic rights and aspirations. They can rise up to overthrow the usurpers of political powers as swiftly as in 1986 after the Marcos fascist dictatorship rigged the elections or they must wage a relentless struggle for a longer period of time just to overthrow the usurpers.

In any case, the Filipino people will have to deal with the consequences of the 2022 elections within the frame of the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war in order to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, end the oppressive and exploitative semicolonial and semifeudal system, strengthen the people's democratic government under the leadership of the proletariat and lay the foundation of a socialist society.

## ***II. The forces of the armed counterrevolution***

Despite the attempts of the Duterte regime to sell out the sovereign rights of the Filipino people to China in the West Philippine Sea and to lure China to extend a loan of USD24 billion for infrastructure projects, the US remains the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and retains command and control over the puppet reactionary armed forces.

The US provides military indoctrination, training, intelligence, military supplies by grants and credit sales within the frame of the Mutual Defense Treaty, the Visiting Forces Agreement, the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, and its Operation Pacific Eagle – Philippines. US troops, military equipment and weapons are permanently stationed in AFP camps and elsewhere in the Philippines alongside China telecom towers. To enhance its command and control over the AFP, the US has conducted more than 1,300 bilateral military activities in the Philippines and docked their war ships at least 850 times over the past six years.

Under the direction, planning and funding of the US Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency and openly known American military advisers in the US-RP Military Advisory Group, the Philippine reactionary state has brazenly adopted fascist policies, militarized the bureaucracy, suppressed civil liberties and human rights and unleashed brutal attacks, including abductions, torture, assassinations and massacres. They have put counter-insurgency and anti-communist suppression at the center of state policy. They have enlarged the power of the military and police, under the so-called Anti-Terror Law of 2020. The bureaucracy has been reorganized to place civilian state agencies under the control of the Anti-Terrorism Council and National Task Force-ELCAC. These constitute a civil-military junta that actually commands the entire government.

Violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the military and police have run rampant both in the cities and rural areas. Labor unionists, community organizers, youth and women activists, as well as human rights advocates, progressive religious leaders, teachers and health workers have been subjected to surveillance, red-tagging, harassments, arbitrary arrests and extrajudicial killings. The situation is even worse in the countryside. Gross and systematic violations of human rights by the military and police are under-reported by reactionary government agencies and corporate media.

Entire villages or clusters of villages are placed under military rule, bringing about a climate of terror and hardships on the peasant masses. AFP detachments turn civilian structures into barracks, deploy perimeter guards to hamper people's movements, set up checkpoints to control commerce (under the pretext of stopping the NPA's food supplies), prevent them from going to their farms and the forest, and obstructing production on the false claim that the extra harvest will go the NPA.

The troops and police incessantly harass the peasant masses, arbitrarily accuse them of supporting the revolutionary movement, make them sign attendance sheets in meetings and make them pose on camera as "surrenderers", subject them to surveillance, conduct night raids on their homes, force them to disaffiliate from their legal community organizations, abduct or arrest people on false charges and murder peasant leaders and activists.

Despite repeated claims that 24,000 NPA commanders and fighters have either surrendered or have been killed, that so many guerrilla fronts have been broke up and that the total destruction of the NPA is imminent before the end of Duterte's term, the AFP and PNP continue to increase its counter-guerrilla combat forces and receive a bigger budget. There are now 166 combat battalions of Army, Air Force, Marines, Scout Rangers, PNP Special Action Forces and other military and police units deployed against the NPA, 21 more than the previous year. The AFP can deploy 5 to 6 battalions against "priority" or "focused" guerrilla sub-regional or front areas of the NPA, and deploy 2 to 3 in non-priority areas.

Almost 60 percent of enemy combat troops are concentrated for large-scale and focused military operations in five of thirteen regions. There is also a marked increase in the deployment of troops in six other regions. But at any given time, the AFP and the PNP cannot cover and control more than 20 percent of the Philippine population and terrain despite huge military overspending. There is wide popular support and space for the maneuver of the guerrilla units of the NPA.

Duterte's budget for the military further increased to PhP221 billion this year from PhP217 billion last year. Despite questionable spending, the budget of the NTF-ELCAC further increased to PhP17.5 billion (from PhP4.2 billion) although PhP10 billion is categorized as unallocated. Most of the public money being allocated for state terrorism is actually the object of massive corruption by the Duterte ruling cliques and a handful of military and police top brass, especially through overpriced payments for domestic and foreign supplies.

Even then, in the past six years, the AFP has received a total of USD1.14 billion worth of military assistance in

the form of Foreign Military Financing, military training programs and others. The Duterte regime has spent hundreds of billions of pesos to purchase attack and combat utility helicopters, jet fighters and attack aircraft, cannons and artillery systems, 500-lb and 250-lb bombs, rockets and missiles, drone systems, tanks, armored personnel carrier, electronic surveillance and communication equipment, rifles, ammunition and so on.

The US has provided GPS tracking systems, button-sized cameras to track guerrilla movement in forested areas, equipment for cellphone surveillance, and so on. It has trained AFP personnel to enhance their cyber-warfare capabilities in internal communication systems, real-time monitoring of the battlefield and improve command capability and mobilization of forces. It directs AFP to control the “information environment” through psy-ops and disinformation and to mount cyber-attacks against the websites of the CPP and NDFP, and other patriotic and progressive websites that are critical of the Duterte regime.

The AFP tries vainly to politically undermine the revolutionary movement by parading “surrenderers” and corpses and claiming that they were “deceived by promises of a better life,” by criminalizing revolutionary forces through lawfare, and making repeated fake news of receiving “information from civilians” against operating NPA units. It unleashes campaigns to glorify the AFP through tokenistic and palliative “livelihood” or “housing” projects and misrepresents infrastructure projects and social services of civilian agencies as those of the military.

But by far the atrocities inflicted by the reactionary armed forces and police on the people outstrip the hypocritical attempts to “win the hearts and minds of the people. The coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state cannot be but instruments of the gross and systematic violation of human rights. The main drive of the Duterte regime is to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people and whip up fascist brutality, guarantees impunity and emboldens the violation of the people’s democratic rights and freedoms.

The evil purpose is to preserve the ruling system and serve the interests of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. The reactionary state under Duterte has ruled through unbridled terror against the people, from the sham “war on drugs” to the counterrevolutionary war of military suppression. State forces have wantonly committed crimes against the people including the massacre of civilians, the abduction, torture and murder of activists, as well as unarmed revolutionaries and even peace consultants of the NDFP, aerial bombing and shelling of civilian communities and so on. The number of political prisoners who languish in jail for prolonged periods continue to rise despite the priority given by the regime to the murder of suspected revolutionaries.

### ***III. The revolutionary forces of the people on the way forward***

Let me now discuss the status of the revolutionary forces in the Philippines and shed light on the way forward that they have taken in the struggle for national and social liberation. I rely mainly on the publications issued by the CPP, NPA, NDFP and other revolutionary organizations of the Filipino people, by legal patriotic and progressive publications and by scholarly sources of information.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the advanced detachment of the proletariat. It is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applies it on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. It leads the people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. It builds the Party branches and Party committees at all levels of the NPA and the revolutionary mass organizations and at all territorial levels nationwide. It has a general membership of more than 150,000.

The people’s democratic revolution has persevered for so long and has grown in strength. It is invincible because the Party keeps on raising the level of revolutionary consciousness and practice of Party cadres and members, commanders and fighters of the NPA and auxiliary forces, the activists of the revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary alliances and the officers and personnel of the people’s democratic government.

The Party wields as main weapon the armed struggle waged by the NPA in order to smash the state power of the counterrevolutionary class and establish the organs of political power which now constitute the people’s democratic government. It also wields the national united front built by the National Democratic Front in order to win the active support of the Filipino people in their millions and prepare the higher levels of the people’s democratic government.

The national united front involves the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, winning over the petty and middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, be it the worst reactionary faction in the civil war or the foreign aggressor in the war of national liberation.

The anti-feudal united front policy of the Party is important because it is at the foundation of the national

united front main form of struggle being carried out by the NPA. It involves the Party relying mainly on the masses of peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry and isolating and destroying the power of the local feudal tyrants.

The NPA has enjoyed the wide and deep-going support of the peasants masses because they have been a decisive factor in the implementation of genuine land reform, from the minimum to the maximum program, and have courageously and have indefatigably defended the people against the feudal and semifeudal tyrants and the fascist onslaughts of the AFP and PNP under the Duterte and previous regimes.

The NPA has thousands of Red commanders and fighters and is reinforced by the people's militia, consisting of the local guerrillas and the self-defense forces of the revolutionary mass organizations. It aims to go through the probable stages of development in protracted people's war which include the strategic defensive with the guerrilla warfare as the main form of warfare, the strategic stalemate with regular mobile warfare and the strategic offensive combining mobile warfare and positional warfare against the final holdouts of the AFP.

The NPA is now carrying out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the flanks and rear of enemy forces to annihilate enemy units and seize their weapons. It launches back-to-back inter-front or inter-sub-regional tactical offensives in order to make the enemy bleed from a thousand cuts and to deliver periodic blows to its head; and special tactical offensives along the enemy's main lines of transportation and communications. It mobilizes the militia units to maintain internal security, smash the enemy's intelligence network, gather intelligence, draw a complete map of the enemy's positions and help in the plan to deliver effective blows on the enemy.

It strives to disable the enemy's communication system, target the enemy's air assets and punish the fascist criminal bosses. It sabotages the capabilities of the enemy wherever possible and carries out punitive measures against vulnerable enemy units and elements in order to render justice to their victims and compel the enemy to go on the defensive wherever possible and reduce the number of enemy forces arrayed against the guerrilla fronts.

The NPA strengthens itself politically and militarily. It has a clear plan to recruit thousands upon thousands of Red fighters from among the toiling masses of workers and peasants, especially the youth. It also recruit from the ranks of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. Local Party branches and mass organizations, both in the rural areas and cities, have clear plans and methods for deploying their members to the NPA.

The NPA conducts politico-military training of its commanders and fighters to enable them to lead NPA units in both mass work and military work. Every NPA fighter follows the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention, as well as the specific policies and points of discipline to maintain the security of NPA units while encamped, in bivouac, in mass work or in mounting tactical offensives.

The NPA builds its armed strength and develops appropriate weapons to fight the enemy. It relies mainly on seizing rifles and other weapons from the enemy. It combines the use of high-powered weapons with indigenous or low-powered weapons, including home-made hand guns, as well as develops command-detonated and hand-held explosives or grenades from available materials. These weapons are made in large numbers for wide use among the Red fighters and militia units. The NPA trains to use its rifles or develop weapons against enemy aircraft.

Over the past six years, the NPA has successfully frustrated the enemy's brutal and large-scale strategic offensives and its declarations of ending the armed revolution before the end of term of the US-Duterte regime. It has preserved its forces by persevering along the path of protracted people's war and by resolutely advancing the Filipino people's struggle for genuine national independence and democracy. We devote much time on the NPA in this presentation because it plays a decisive role in advancing the Philippine revolution. As Chairman Mao teaches us, without the people's army, the people have nothing.

NPA units have successfully mastered the tactics of counter-encirclement through dispersal and quick movement of smaller units to penetrate through the gaps of enemy forces on the rough terrain of the countryside in order to strike at the weak points of the enemy on his flanks and rear. They have successfully compelled the enemy to overstretch his forces by expanding the NPA's areas of operation to cover 6-10 towns while maintaining close leadership of the masses and mounting armed actions across the breadth of its territory.

Units of the NPA are strictly observing military discipline and security policies, and further developing guerrilla methods of secrecy in maneuvering and encampment, in order to render ineffective the enemy's use of drones, satellite trackers, and electronic signals, combined with ground intelligence forces, for surveillance and target

acquisition; and thus, deny the enemy of an opportunity to use their aerial assets to drop bombs and strafing.

In areas within the enemy's focus and villages under military occupation, the NPA and the masses are successfully standing firm, parrying the enemy's attacks, mounting counter-attacks and defending themselves. The masses are inspired by the slogan "Don't be cowed into silence!" and are fighting back through armed and unarmed forms of resistance. They have driven away military detachments from their communities.

Directly or indirectly, they have refused the enemy's orders to gather firewood and water, or buy for them supplies, or to render work in the enemy's camp. They refuse to allow the enemy to secretly arrest anyone or interrogate them one by one. They paint slogans around their village condemning the presence and abuses of the enemy. Military detachments are torched or destroyed when the fascist troops leave even temporarily to carry out operations.

The NPA raises the level of cultural activity within its ranks and among the masses. Red fighters and commanders are taught and encouraged to express their experiences, the oppression and aspirations of the masses, contempt for the enemy and propagation of revolutionary ideas in various creative forms which in turn can help raise and strengthen the revolutionary will of their fellow fighters and the masses. The cultural influences of the ruling system that poison the minds of the youth are rejected and the national, scientific and mass culture is promoted.

The masses are the source of strength of the NPA. The NPA therefore always aims to strengthen the ties that bind it with the masses. It mobilizes the masses in their millions. It defends and supports the agrarian revolution. The mass struggles against all forms of feudal oppression are combined with their struggles against imperialism and fascism. The number of organized masses run in the millions and support the CPP, NPA, NDFP and the people's democratic government.

The NPA and all revolutionary forces work hard to carry out widespread propaganda, agitation, mobilization of the masses. It must carry out all forms of propaganda to effectively reach the people in their areas of operation. It distributes actively and widely the Ang Bayan, other revolutionary publications, and statements of the CPP, NPA and NDFP at the national and regional levels to clarify the stand and views of the revolutionary movement on the outstanding issues confronting the country and people in the regions.

Local NPA units produce and distribute leaflets and local newsletters to present analysis of local issues and problems of the people to raise their consciousness and militancy to fight for their rights and interests. They always conduct social investigation and gather the facts on the pressing problems of the masses in their villages and towns. They can produce local radio or video programs. They can link up with the youth and the masses in their areas in various ways. They also exert efforts to work with media outfits to serve as platform for reaching out to the people.

Local militia units and mass organizations carry out propaganda in their villages and town centers. Among others, they can mount operations to paint slogans or paste posters on walls to express their grievances against military abuses in their areas or to raise their economic demands. Local chapters of basic mass organization can issue statements and distribute them among the residents.

The NPA resolutely and vigorously expose and oppose the lies and disinformation being spread by the enemy. It uses all means to gather all facts and proofs to express the truth. The units of the NPA conduct campaigns of mass education and mass organizing, raising production, public health and sanitation, self-defense, disaster relief and environmental protection. The NPA has excellent work in combating the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as other diseases endemic in the local area. They mount mass clinics and provide health services to the masses.

The NPA vigorously develops a revolutionary cultural movement among the masses by promoting revolutionary songs, poems, dances, dramatic act, skits and other works of art. It organizes local choral or dance troupes of youth and children, and mount inter-village or inter-town festivals to promote the local revolutionary culture. The NPA also teaches the masses the use of tactics to turn the reactionary law against their oppressors. They can make use of various forms of organization and mobilization to draw the biggest participation of a community, and apply the united front policy and tactics to rely on the basic masses and take advantage of splits among the enemy.

The Party, the NDFP and various mass organizations encourage the broad masses in the cities to join or support the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Extra efforts are being exerted to carry out education and propaganda among the masses who are daily exposed to the lies of the enemy through mass media and social media. The connections and interactions of exploitation and oppression are being exposed between the problems

of workers and the unemployed, students, urban poor, professionals, ordinary employees and other oppressed sectors with the problems of the peasant masses in the countryside.

The masses in the cities are inspired to wage militant collective struggle to defend their rights and welfare, fight political repression under the fascist regime, and resist imperialist domination and military intervention. They issue timely slogans and calls to urge the masses to mount protest actions in their factories and workplaces, in school campuses and communities, and to take to the streets and demonstrate in big numbers to denounce the oppressive economic policies, mendicancy of the ruling regime, all-out liberalization, tax burdens, low wages and low salaries, skyrocketing of prices of food and fuel, tuition increases, and rising cost of other services.

Party branches and committees, and the underground revolutionary sectoral organizations allied with the NDFP are being built in the cities. These organizations have millions of members and perform their role in propaganda and education to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the people in the cities. They expose and oppose the “terrorist designation” against the CPP, NPA and NDFP which the fascists use as pretext for state terrorism and the US imperialists use as pretext for military intervention.

They have encouraged the masses in the cities to join the NPA in the countryside, facilitated integration and coordination and helped generate political and material support for the revolutionary armed struggle. They have helped to ensure the safety of activists and mass leaders who are subjected to fascist persecution or threats of arrest or murder, and facilitate their transfer to the countryside to avail of the protection of the NPA and to become ever more active and effective fighters for national and social liberation.

Revolutionary propaganda has been addressed specifically to the rank and file foot soldiers of the enemy who come from the toiling masses and are used as cannon fodder in the enemy’s brutal counterinsurgency operations. They are urged to leave the reactionary military and police and to join their class brothers and sisters in fighting for the just cause of the oppressed and exploited. They are called upon to expose their knowledge of the crimes, corruption and high-living of the officers of the AFP and to bring their weapons to the side of the revolution.

The CPP, NPA and the NDFP, as well as other revolutionary mass organizations, have had an outstanding record of being able to win over enemy officers, cadets and enlisted personnel to the revolutionary side. The disintegration of the enemy forces is complementary to the annihilation of enemy forces in the battlefield and is accomplished by prudent and persuasive methods outside of the battlefield, acceptance of enemy surrenders and lenient treatment to those who surrender.

In addition to the more than ten million Filipinos who stay unemployed in the Philippines, another more than ten million have left the country as cheap labor abroad since the late 1970s. They are more than 10 percent of the Philippine population and more than 20 percent of the Philippine labor force. Efforts are being intensified to inform the migrant Filipinos and the peoples around the world about the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation in then Philippines and the justness of the revolutionary armed struggle for national and social liberation from US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

We strive to gain international support under the principles of anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism, through solidarity mass work, partnerships of Filipino progressive organizations with their counterparts abroad and through proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations with governments that are anti-imperialist and assertive of national independence and socialist programs or aspirations.

In this regard, we appreciate highly and are grateful for the international solidarity work and cooperation of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle and the various organizations of BAYAN and likewise the Friends of the Filipino People in Struggle and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. They have achieved a lot in their work and cooperative relations. They have strengthened themselves and extended support to the Filipino in their struggle. They have also been supportive whenever the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations are held abroad to address the roots of the civil war in the Philippines.

In view of the red-tagging by the forces of imperialist and state terrorism in the Philippines, we must point out that both BAYAN and NDFP are for the noble and just principles of national independence and democracy but they cannot be equated with each other because BAYAN is a legal federation of patriotic and democratic forces and NDFP is the national united front for people’s democratic revolution and then people’s democratic government. Overseas Filipinos and their foreign friends have found more freedom to relate openly to either one or both of BAYAN and NDFP than Filipinos who are subjected to state terrorism in the Philippines.

Thank you.

***Interview questions during the presentation, according to the text:***

*1) How is the worsening crisis of the ruling system, economic, social and political of Philippine society with the present government of Rodrigo Duterte?*

JMS: The economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines involves the rapid deterioration of underdevelopment and financial bankruptcy of the economy due to the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed; superprofit-taking by the US and other foreign monopolies from the extraction of mineral and agricultural raw materials, from a limited amount of semi-manufacturing and from the importation of manufactures for consumption and production; persistence of domestic feudalism and bureaucratic corruption and military overspending.

The social crisis involves gross social inequality between the exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists on one hand and the exploited classes of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeois who suffer from high unemployment, low incomes, the inflated prices of basic goods and services, mass poverty and forced migration within and from the country. Of the total work force of 48 million people, more than 10 million people stay home unemployed and another more than 10 million people go abroad to take jobs.

The political crisis involves the growing inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way by increasingly using state terrorism and fascism in order to intimidate the people and suppress their resistance, terminating the peace negotiations, carrying out costly military campaigns of anti-communist suppression and rejecting popular demands for national independence, democracy, social justice and economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization.

*2) What are the forces of the armed counterrevolution?*

JMS: The forces of armed counterrevolution are the US monopoly interests, the US military advisors, trainers and arms suppliers, the ultra-reactionary bureaucrat capitalists, big compradors, landlords, the reactionary state and its military, police and paramilitary and the private armies of political dynasties and corporations engaged in mining, logging, plantations and other extractive enterprises.

*3) What are the revolutionary forces of the people in their march forward. What are the most outstanding milestones in the building of their Party, Army and Front, how do they confront imperialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism taking into account the technological and military developments of the bourgeoisie? At what strategic moment in the People's War is the Communist Party of the Philippines and its revolutionary forces?*

JMS: The most important revolutionary forces of the people are the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The CPP is responsible for the comprehensive ideological, political and organizational leadership of the proletariat in the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. The NPA is responsible for defeating the reactionary state and its armed forces and defending the people, the revolutionary mass organizations and the organs of political power. And the NDFP is responsible for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people in their millions for the armed revolution. The anti-feudal united front is at the base of the national united front.

The CPP, NPA and the NDFP were established in 1968, 1969 and 1973, respectively. All of them started small and weak and grew steadily to become bigger and stronger. During the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the CPP grew from some 120 cadres and members in a few provinces to thousands on a nationwide scale. Now, the strength of the CPP is 150,000 on a nationwide scale. The NPA started from 60 guerrilla fighters in 1969 and became 6,100 in 1986. Now, it has many more fighters, augmented by tens of thousands of people's militia members and hundreds of thousands in the self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations. The NDFP started with some 10,000 adherents in underground allied organizations in 1973. Now, it has millions of adherents and has been helpful in building the provisional people's democratic government in the countryside.

The people's war in the Philippines is still in the stage of strategic defensive characterized by guerrilla warfare with the use of squads, platoons and companies and is at the moment trying to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive by further developing guerrilla warfare to the level of platoons and companies nationwide in more than 120 guerrilla fronts. The NPA widens a guerrilla front whenever the enemy concentrates a superior military force against it and deprives him of an easy target. It uses extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. It uses the tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting in accordance with objectives and circumstances. It is also developing the strategy and tactics to frustrate high-tech military weapons of the enemy like drones, electronic bugs, attack helicopters and



planes.

The people are proud that the NPA has grown in strength self-reliantly in an archipelagic country without the cross border advantages of the Chinese and Indochinese revolutionaries in the Asian mainland in their previous people's wars. The NPA looks forward to a strategic stalemate characterized by mobile warfare by companies and battalions and strategic counteroffensive characterized by regular mobile warfare and positional warfare by battalions and regiments. The CPP and the people hope that eventually the world proletarian revolution would resurge as the inter-imperialist contradictions sharpen and the proletariat and people of the world intensify their anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles and people's war.

***Questions at the end of the presentation:***

*1. What is the position of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the developing preparations for World War III?*

JMS: The CPP is against the imperialist powers preparing for World War III but acknowledges the fact that the crisis of the world capitalist system has become so grave that the inter-imperialist contradictions between the traditional imperialist powers headed by the US and the new imperialist powers, China and Russia, are intensifying. With the US as the worst of them, they are making manifestations and indications that they are preparing for World War III. They are allocating more funds for military build up and aggressive actions. They are generating tensions and troubles, such as in the East Asia-Pacific region and Eastern and Central Europe in addition to the previous trouble spots in Central Asia, West Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All major contradictions in the world, such as those among the imperialist powers, between capital and labor, between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and between imperialism and countries that assert national independence and their socialist programs and aspirations, are intensifying. The proletariat and people of the world should take advantage of these sharpening contradictions and intensify their own anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles and people's wars under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

The crisis of overproduction and over-accumulation of capital has reached the point that inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying. US imperialism has withdrawn from its neoliberal partnership with Chinese imperialism and has taken away the concessions it has made to accelerate capitalist restoration in China. The US has put up tariff walls to cut down the export surplus of China, accuses China of currency and market manipulation and stealing technology and regards it as chief economic competitor and political rival. The armed conflict between the Russian and Ukrainian oligarchies has exposed how wrong the revisionist betrayers of socialism were in restoring capitalism and in giving way to the expansionism of the US and NATO.

*2. For the Filipino communists, what is it to put Maoism as the "command and guide of the World Proletarian Revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century"?*

JMS: For the Filipino communists, to make Maoism the theoretical guide and command of the world proletarian revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is important to uphold, propagate and apply the six components of Maoism, such as Mao's further development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy with his teachings on contradiction and practice, political economy with his teachings on self-reliance in socialist industrialization and agricultural cooperation, social science with his teachings on the correct handling of class contradictions with the enemy and among the people, the use of the rectification movement in Party building, the waging of people's war and the use of proletarian cultural revolution to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism

*3. Many communist and revolutionary organizations recognize that Dr. Abimael Guzman Reinoso elevated Maoism to the third and higher stage of Marxism. What is your opinion on the contributions of Dr. Abimael Guzman Reinoso to the International Communist Movement?*

JMS: Dr. Abimael Guzman Reinoso had the distinct honor of adopting the term Maoism in the place of the phrase Mao Zedong Thought which the Chinese Communist Party had adopted and used even while Comrade Mao was still alive because of his own sense of modesty. But it is true that Mao himself developed Maoism as the third and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism with the six components of Maoism that I have mentioned and with Mao's own affirmation that the theory and practice of proletarian cultural revolution is his greatest achievement.

Comrade Gonzalo is merely an exegete or explainer in evaluating Maoism and in making his own emphasis on people's war in connection with the revolutionary struggle in Peru. He also made his own contributions to the advancement of the international communist movement by promoting Maoism and carrying out revolution in Peru. The Peruvian communists and people are in the best position to evaluate his revolutionary theory and practice.

4. *And regarding the genocide plan of imperialism and reaction in Peru against the communists and revolutionaries in Peru?*

JMS: The Peruvian communists and people should frustrate and defeat the genocidal plan of imperialism and reaction against the communists and revolutionaries in Peru and should also condemn and learn lessons from the brutal crimes previously committed by the imperialists and Peruvian reactionaries, including the murder of Comrade Gonzalo and other political prisoners.

# **On “Foreign Monsters” and the People’s War that Persists**

**An Interview by the Kites Editorial Committee**

**September 2022**

*In September 2022, Kites had the pleasure of interviewing Jose Maria Sison, the Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which was founded in December 1968 and which went on to found and lead the New People’s Army in the people’s war that was launched in March 1969. In 1974, Sison was captured by the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship and faced years of torture and solitary confinement before being released in 1986 after the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship. In 1988, Sison was forced to seek asylum in the Netherlands after the Philippine reactionary government canceled his passport while he was abroad on a speaking tour.*

*Sison obtained recognition as political refugee from the Dutch Council of State since 1992, and has since enjoyed the protection of the principle of non-refoulement under the Geneva Refugee Convention and Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, thus preventing his deportation to the Philippines or any third country.*

*While the people’s war continued and its underlying causes worsened, Sison has faced repeated attempts at legal harassment and repression during his forced exile: he has battled and defeated in the Dutch court system trumped up charges of multiple murder that were filed against him in 2007—charges that were instigated by the US-Arroyo regime in the Philippines. Sison later won a separate case before the European Court of Justice to have his name removed from the EU terrorist list, where it was placed in 2009. As he told Kites in preparation for this interview, “I am legally clean and there is no hindrance to my freedom of thought and expression.” In defiance of the attempts to suppress his political thought and activity, Sison remains highly active as a public intellectual against imperialism and in defense of the socialist cause, as well as serving in the capacity of Chief Political Consultant for the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. Sison lives in Utrecht, Netherlands with his comrade and wife Julie de Lima, surrounded by a community of supporters and friends of the Philippine national democratic movement.*

*1. This is an important time to be conducting this interview: the new Marcos-Duterte administration linking the two reactionary and despotic regimes together makes the people’s war in the Philippines increasingly relevant and urgent, despite the howls of the defenders of the old system. Revolutionaries and those who aspire to be revolutionaries around the world have much to learn from more than 50 years of revolutionary transformation, struggle, rectification movements, and the discipline and determination of the revolutionary people being born in the Philippines, their vanguard, the Communist Party of the Philippines, and its New People’s Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.*

*Comrade, we want to start with your authorship of Philippine Society and Revolution or “PSR” over five decades ago, which we understand has been the go-to introduction for all levels of the Filipino revolutionary movement to understand the basic problems of the Filipino people and their resolution in People’s Democratic Revolution. For those of us outside the Philippines, PSR stands as an exemplary model of Marxist historical materialism. How was the writing of PSR related to the re-founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1968? How long did the research and production of PSR take? What was the relationship between the execution of this project to the break from the revisionist Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) led by the Lava clique?*

*JMS: My study of the history and social circumstances of the Filipino people and the old Communist Party of the Philippine Islands<sup>[1]</sup> started in the latter half of the 1950s. When the time came in 1966 for my comrades and myself to separate ourselves from the Lava revisionist clique which was in control of the old party, we gave priority to the research for and drafting of the rectification documents, “Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party,” the CPP Constitution and the “Program for a People’s Democratic Revolution” for the purpose of reestablishing the CPP on December 26, 1968.*

*After the re-establishment of the CPP, I proceeded immediately to the researching for, outlining and drafting of Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR) from May to August 1969. PSR was urgently needed to elaborate on the history, problems and revolutionary program of the CPP, proletariat and entire people. I let comrades read and critique the drafts until October and within the last week of that month the PSR was ready for mimeograph printing chapter by chapter by the CPP Central Publishing House.*

*PSR completed the process of laying the ideological and political foundation for re-establishing the CPP and resuming the people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. We seized completely the revolutionary initiative from the Lava revisionist clique by producing such a book on the history of the Filipino people*

(Chapter 1), the basic problems of the people (Chapter 2) and the people's democratic revolution as solution (Chapter 3) and by founding the New People's Army on March 29, 1969.

2. *You identify that the modern Philippines as a nation took shape both through the process of Spanish colonization and in resistance to that colonization, writing of the "great revolutionary tradition among the Filipino people." What is the legacy of this great revolutionary tradition with the contemporary revolutionary movement in the Philippines?*

JMS: We owe to the Philippine revolution of 1896 the legacy of the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national independence against colonialism and for democracy against feudalism and medievalism. But this old democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie was defeated by the war of aggression unleashed by US imperialism from 1899 onward, after pretending to assist the Aguinaldo government against Spanish colonialism.

The CPP has vowed to continue the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation as a new democratic revolution no longer under the class leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie but under that of the working class in consonance with the world era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution. The new democratic revolution aims to defeat imperialist domination and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats and proceed to the socialist revolution.

3. *How has the continued resistance of the Filipino masses to colonization and imperialism — from Spain, to the US, Japan, the US again and now both the US and China — affected the development of the revolutionary and communist movement?*

JMS: The series of foreign dominations over the Philippines by Spanish colonialism, Japanese fascist occupation and US imperialism plus the recent military bases of Chinese imperialism in the West Philippine Sea has imposed a series of problems detrimental to the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. But at the same time, the Filipino people have also learned comprehensively and profoundly to wage a series of revolutionary struggles against these foreign monsters.

The CPP and other revolutionary forces of the Filipino people have learned and achieved so much from these struggles that they have been able to build an armed revolutionary movement that is nationwide and intimately connected with the toiling masses of workers and peasants. After 53 years of continuous struggle, the Philippine revolution has accumulated unprecedented strength beyond the levels of strength previously achieved since the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

4. *How did you come to the analysis that the Philippines is semicolonial and semifeudal, with the three basic problems of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism? How did that analysis differ from the analysis of the Lava clique?*

JMS: The Philippines remains semicolonial because it has not yet realized full national independence. Since the 1946 nominal grant of independence, US imperialism has always made sure through unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements that the Philippines is politically, economically, culturally and militarily subservient to the dictates of the US. The Filipino exploiting classes and their ruling system are subordinate to US imperialism against the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

The Philippines also remains semifeudal in economic and social terms. Feudal and semifeudal relations persist. In fact, feudal landlord-tenant relations cover more poor peasants and farm workers and hectareage than the semifeudal relations in plantations run by agro-corporations which have a limited number of regular wage-earning farm workers and hire low-paid seasonal farm workers only during peak harvest seasons. As a whole, the Philippine economy is run by the big comprador-landlord combine rather than by an industrial capitalist class despite the dominance of the commodity system of production and distribution since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Lavaite revisionists could not understand how Mao earlier and I later explained that imperialism or foreign monopoly capitalism has used feudalism as social base. The great number of people impoverished by feudal and semifeudal relations serve to provide cheap labor for any enterprise of foreign investors or big compradors, produce cheap raw materials and exotic fruits for export, consume manufactures from imperialist countries and so on. Like the Mongols, the Spanish colonialists and US imperialists make up for their shortage of personnel by using puppets among the local rulers. That should explain easily how imperialism takes advantage of feudalism as social base.

Foreign rule in the Philippines has always relied on local puppets, from the central level to the local level. So under semicolonial conditions the foreign ruler makes use of the landlord class-based politicians to run the whole country. This shows that the landlords, as well as the big compradors who are related to the landlords, help US

imperialism run the country. Thus you can easily see that the landlord and big comprador base is the real base of imperialism.

5. *What is your assessment of why the basic analysis of the Philippines as semifeudal and semicolonial remains true, despite major social and economic transformations since the time you wrote PSR, and why has this been controversial to some? What, if anything, has changed in the material basis of Philippines society since the writing of PSR?*

JMS: I have already explained that the Philippines remains politically semicolonial or if you wish neocolonial, grossly lacking full independence and principally subservient to US imperialism. Now, let me focus on the economic and social term semifeudal. Let me quote a few paragraphs from my article "Semifeudalism in the Philippines" to give you an initial idea of semifeudalism and then please proceed to read the entire article:

The agriculture, industry and service sectors of the Philippines are all dependent on the importation of capital goods as well as intermediate goods in varying degrees in order to operate. These include mechanical, electro-mechanical and electronic equipment, fuels, metals, chemicals and agricultural inputs. They are required to optimize production in the semifeudal economy.

The importation of these capital goods is paid for by the exportation of certain agricultural crops, mineral ores, semi-manufactures and cheap labor in the form of live men and women. These exports are however never enough and there is a perennial and growing trade deficit which is paid for with mounting foreign debt and direct investments which only entrench and worsen the problem.

The Philippines lacks an industrial foundation and cannot be considered industrial capitalist, despite the baseless claim of bourgeois economists that it has become a newly-industrialized country. It has rich mineral resources but these are merely extracted and exported to industrial capitalist economies. It has not developed metallurgy beyond the stage of primary processing or the mere extraction of mineral ores and it has no capacity for producing steel and other basic metals, machine tools, precision instruments and other basic means of industrial production.

All subsectors of the industry sector (mining and quarrying, construction, refining of imported crude oil, assembly of cars and ships, electronic assembly, production of cement, chemicals and fertilizers, garments, industrial food and beverage processing, reshaping of imported plates, tubes and rods of steel and other metals, and so on) are grossly dependent on imported electro-mechanical equipment, fuel and components pre-fabricated abroad. In recent decades, imported industrial inputs began to include digital-tech tools dependent on expensive software and other heavily protected "intellectual property" such as patents, which are controlled by imperialist firms to prevent unauthorized technology transfer.

What is passed off as manufacturing in electronics and transport equipment (cars, trucks, motorcycles and ships) is merely assembly of finished parts and components from abroad. What is passed off as shipbuilding is mainly welding of parts prefabricated abroad. What is passed off as steel industry is merely the reshaping of imported metal plates, tubes and rods.

The relations of production describe best the semifeudal character of the Philippine mode of production. The chief ruling class is no longer the traditional rent-collecting landlord class of feudal times. It is the comprador big bourgeoisie, which is the chief financial and trading agent of foreign monopoly capitalism and owns the big banks, export-import companies, shopping malls, construction, real estate companies and the like. At the same time, it owns the largest haciendas and related agribusinesses, including livestock and poultry farms, fishing fleets, agro-forestry schemes and stocks in mining companies to assure itself of primary commodities for export in exchange for the manufactures that it imports.

The comprador big bourgeoisie is often called the big comprador-landlord class to emphasize its semifeudal character, its hybrid character as merchant capitalist and feudal owner of haciendas. It engages in manufacturing but it imports the majority of its means of production, the fuel and most major components of the total product. It uses some amount of mechanization in its haciendas but continues to use the cheap labor of seasonal farm workers and collects from the widespread traditional rent-collecting landlords a large amount of agricultural surplus for local processing, domestic trade and export. It has the biggest amount of bribe money to determine the big comprador character of the high bureaucrat capitalists as well as the results of elections at the national, regional, provincial and city levels.<sup>[2]</sup>

6. *Thank you for that clarification comrade. Let's now turn to some other questions concerning the theory and practice of the Philippine revolution. In Specific Characteristics of Our People's War (1974) you write about the challenges of*

*waging protracted people's war in a mountainous archipelago. How did comrades understand this challenge at the time of initiation of the people's war, and what has been learned since then?*

JMS: At the resumption of the people's war in the Philippines in 1969, it was truly challenging that the New People's Army had to grow from small and weak to big and strong in an archipelago where the main islands of Luzon and Mindanao are separated at the middle by a clutter of smaller islands called the Visayas. Some comrades complained that the NPA would have no wide spaces as in the Asian mainland for maneuverability, cross-border advantages or any long march similar to that of the Chinese in 1935 and 1936.

"Specific Characteristics of Our People's War" allayed the fears of such comrades by pointing out that although the Philippines is archipelagic its mountainous character, the oppression and exploitation of the people and their historical experience of armed resistance can provide depth and breadth for the people's army from one stage of development to a higher one. Thus, the general line was set for developing the people's war in major islands first and then in the minor islands next. We developed first the armed struggle in the eleven major islands which carried 94 percent of the entire Philippine population.

At first, the archipelagic character of the Philippines can be disadvantageous for the small and weak NPA. But in the long run the CPP, NPA, NDFP, the revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power did their work to expand the armed struggle. After only the first ten years of people's war, the NPA succeeded in spreading nationwide and developing strong links with the toiling masses of workers in most regions of the Philippines. Despite resorting to fascist dictatorship, the Marcos regime could not destroy the NPA but was instead overthrown in 1986.

The post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes engaged in campaigns of military suppression as well as in peace negotiations but failed to subdue the NPA. After 53 years of people's war, the NPA has been able to build more than 110 guerrilla fronts in large areas of 74 provinces out of the 81 Philippine provinces. It has about 10,000 fighters with high-powered rifles and augmented by the people's militia of the local organs of political power and self-defense units of the mass organizations. It has enabled the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass organizations, the alliance of patriotic forces and the people's democratic government.

The victories of the NPA are enhanced by the fact that it has seen the futility and failure of the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship in trying to destroy it. The dictatorship served to outrage and inspire the people to wage armed and other forms of resistance. The brilliance of the victories of the NPA is enhanced by the fact these were won self-reliantly. The NPA had no cross-border advantages like the Chinese, Korean and Indochinese people's armies had in the past. Worst of all the Dengist counter-revolution in China prevailed in 1976 or even earlier and cast away the principle of proletarian internationalism in favor of collaboration with US imperialism.

*7. How does the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the Filipino revolutionary movement understand the position of the Philippines as a nation oppressed by imperialism while containing within it various oppressed nations and indigenous peoples? What are the strategic possibilities generated by these oppressed nationalities, and how has the revolutionary movement historically navigated the challenges of fighting for autonomy within a larger revolutionary movement?*

JMS: The oppressed nationalities and indigenous peoples in the Philippines amount to 15 per cent of the entire Philippine population but they occupy extensive areas of the Philippines which are hilly and mountainous. They include the Aetas (Negritos), the various tribes of the Cordillera, the Muslim Moros of Mindanao, the Lumad, Mangyan of Mindoro, Tumandok of Panay and others. Historically, they have been more resistant to Westernization than the 85 per cent of Filipinos who live on the seacoast and along the big rivers and were more exposed to the Spanish and US colonial rules.

Since its foundation, the CPP has included in its Program for the People's Democratic Revolution the following major point: "National minorities in the Philippines have been abused and grossly neglected. (They) can be powerful participants in the revolutionary overthrow of US imperialism and feudalism... The main concern of the national minorities is land; the abuses of landlords, loggers and land-grabbers; and exploitation in mines and plantations. A new type of leadership, a revolutionary one must be encouraged to rise among them so as to supplant the traditional leadership that has failed to protect them and has merely contributed to and participated in their exploitation."

The CPP and the revolutionary movement recognized the right of the national minorities to national self-determination, including the right to autonomy in a non-oppressive Philippine state up to the right of secession

against an oppressive state. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines has the following organizations of national minorities among its allied 18 organizations: Moro Resistance and Liberation Organization, the Cordillera People's Democratic Organization and Revolutionary Organization of Lumads. The oppressed nationalities uphold their right to autonomy and other democratic rights within the NDFP framework and have played a major role in developing the people's war and have made major contributions to the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation.

8. *Several years ago there was a call on the New People's Army to re-build urban units to expand the reach of the revolution. Can you describe the current phase and stage of the protracted people's war? Is expanding the reach of the revolutionary armed forces to the cities necessary to proceed to the stages of strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive? How will the construction of such urban units differ from the deviation in the 1980s away from protracted people's war?*

JMS: Within the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) was successful at repairing the serious damage done by the urban insurrectionist line in various regions and at further strengthening the guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale and multiplying the NPA platoons and companies for the purpose of accelerating the maturation of the middle and advanced phases of the strategic defensive. Thus, the US and the Arroyo regime tried to carry out focused or concentrated offensives of the reactionary armed forces and police against a series of major guerrilla fronts.

The central leadership of the CPP thought of three ways to defeat the planned offensives of the enemy which eventually rolled out as Oplan Bantay Laya I, II and III during the 10-year Arroyo regime. The first way was to welcome the enemy offensive with land mines and sniper teams, retreat the main force of the guerrilla, deprive the enemy of a prime target and observe how the enemy deploys his forces for the purpose of harassments and counter-offensive. The second way was for the NPA in other areas of the same guerrilla front and in other guerrilla fronts to launch their own offensives in order to distract the enemy and continue seizing arms. The third way was for the NPA to launch small but dramatic urban operations of the [Armed City Partisan]-type in order to further distract the enemy.

The first way proved successful in the long run in Mindanao and some other regions. The second way was slow, especially in the regions north of Manila. The organization of rural-based NPA units for ACP-type operations in the urban areas has been dormant or too slow until now probably because the regional and central organs of leadership have been unable to provide the command to coordinate the rural-based and urban-based regional leaderships. There might also have been a problem of defining the physical and personality targets on the basis of intelligence and prosecutorial collection of evidence as basis for arrest of die-hard enemies or punitive operations in urban areas by the NPA. The critique of conservatism covers these matters.

9. *Since the Second Great Rectification Movement was commenced in the early-to-mid 1990s, the New People's Army (NPA) has dramatically expanded its guerrilla fronts and its ability to withstand fierce repression and counter-insurgency campaigns, including psychological warfare and aerial bombings. To your knowledge as a consultant to the NDFP, how has the waging of guerrilla warfare changed in the recent periods, including confronting the widespread use of drones and helicopters? How has the NPA withstood 21st-century methods of counter-revolution, and what are the prospects for the advancement of the revolution in the coming period?*

JMS: You are correct in saying that since the Second Great Rectification Movement in the 1990s the NPA has dramatically expanded its guerrilla fronts and its ability to withstand fierce repression and counter-insurgency campaigns, including psychological warfare and aerial bombings. But I think that when a guerrilla front is under attack by a superior enemy force, the NPA in the same guerrilla front should try to inflict sure damage to the attacking enemy force during its advance, encampment and withdrawal and should also be able to carry out its own offensives in the guerrilla zones previously opened up by mass work in order to increase the arms of the guerrilla front.

Of course, when a guerrilla front is under attack, the other guerrilla fronts should also take initiative of making their own offensives. And if already available, rural-based NPA teams can be deployed for arrest of enemy die-hards and punitive operations in the urban areas and along major highways. The clamor for various types of NPA offensives has been rising because of the so many campaigns of mass murders being committed by the reactionary military and police forces against innocent civilians and against old cadres of more than 70 years old who had participated in peace negotiations and retired from the battlefield under the terms of the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees.

With regard to the question of guerrilla warfare in which the enemy uses drones and attack helicopters, I can refer to the victory of the Taliban against the US where despite the fact that the Taliban had no stingers to use against the drones, helicopters and other aircraft of the US and its puppets in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021, the Taliban simply relied on its political work and its ground-to-ground firepower in order to destroy the US and puppet personnel and installations on the ground. Nevertheless, the NPA has so far withstood what you call the 21st-century methods of counter-revolution. Duterte has failed to destroy the NPA with his dependence on US high-technology for collecting and analyzing information, use of drones and attack helicopters, ground spies and ground troops.

*10. The Philippines is one of the very few places in the world where initial forms of red political power exist, namely in those areas where the CPP and NPA have established People's Democratic Governments. What is your understanding of the geographic and quantitative reach of those governments? Can you describe how the masses are brought into exercising political power?*

JMS: In the guerrilla fronts of the CPP and NPA, the local organs of political power are established and constitute the people's democratic government under the Guidelines for Establishing the People's Government. They are committees which consist of representatives of the CPP, NPA and the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and others. They elect their own executive officers.

They form sub-committees in charge of planning and implementing public education and mass organizing, land reform, social and economic development, finance, cultural affairs, self-defense, disaster relief and environmental protection. The barangay residents and the members of the revolutionary mass organizations supporting the people's government run into tens of millions in the entire country.

*11. How should comrades internationally understand the election of Ferdinand Marcos Jr. and Sara Duterte? How does the electoral defeat of Leni Robredo position the liberal and other petty-bourgeois opponents of the Marcos-Duterte tandem? Does the return of a Marcos to the presidency present possibilities to expose the rottenness of the whole Filipino ruling class and expand the reach of the revolutionary movement, or does this latest election result widen the basis for reaction?*

JMS: The grave crisis and rottenness of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system are manifested by the treasonous, brutal and corrupt presidency of Duterte and the installation of Marcos junior as president and Sara Duterte as vice president through massive automated electoral cheating. Everyday that these usurpers of authority are in power, they are being discredited by their own dynastic records of treason, state terrorism and plunder and by the new wave of crimes of repression and plunder that they are committing,

The broad masses of the people will become more outraged than ever before and will condemn and resist the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation. US imperialism expects Marcos junior to continue the Duterte policy of suppressing the revolutionary movement. He will certainly use the so called Anti-Terror Law to suppress the entire range of opposition in order to legalize the previous ill-gotten wealth of the Marcoses and accumulate more wealth at the expense of the people.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants who are the most oppressed and exploited will be driven to join the armed revolution for national and social liberation. The middle social strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie will be further encouraged to join the ranks of the patriotic and democratic forces. The reactionary classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists will continue to split, factionalize and compete for the spoils in the ruling system and for the favor of the US and other foreign monopoly interests.

*12. One of the exemplary features of the Philippine revolution and the CPP's leadership is the continued practice of two-line struggle and rectification campaigns to stay on the revolutionary road. From your understanding, how have rectification campaigns helped the CPP stay on the revolutionary road, and how has the CPP navigated the inevitable splits and setbacks to avoid capitulation?*

JMS: I agree with you that an exemplary feature of the Philippine revolution and the CPP's leadership is the continued practice of two-line struggle and rectification campaigns to stay on the revolutionary road. Indeed, rectification campaigns have helped the CPP stay on the revolutionary road and have been able to prevent splits and setbacks from undermining and weakening the fighting will and capabilities of the revolutionary movement.

At the moment, the CPP continues to lead the Third Rectification Movement to combat conservatism. It admonishes against self-satisfaction and passivity with achievements in mass work, in raising resources for these and in having peace and calm in certain localities while others are under enemy attack. To be truly revolutionary in



the current circumstances, all revolutionary forces and units and their CPP cadres and NPA commander can always find ways of raising their armed strength by fighting the enemy. The expansion of the mass base ought to enable more tactical offensives and provide more ways for security for elderly comrades who are already noncombatants but are being butchered by the cowardly enemy.

13. *How has the Filipino movement sought to confront the postmodernism and anti-communism that is perpetuated in the bourgeois academy and is so prominent in movements of opposition in the imperialist countries, especially in North America? Do these ideas have strong purchase in the urban centers and amongst the petty-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia in the Philippines? If so, how have these manifested themselves against the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: The cadres and social scientists of the CPP have constantly monitored, confronted and critiqued in publication and study sessions the various trends of subjectivist idealism, such as post-modernism and anti-communism, which are promoted in the bourgeois academies and on the internet in North America and Europe and are echoed to some extent by a few petty bourgeois intellectuals in the Philippines.

At any rate, there are relatively far more bourgeois reformists in the imperialist-funded nongovernmental organizations and Trotskyites and crypto-Trotskyites bred by their masters in various capitalist countries. I have recently done my bit of ideological combat by publishing the book, *On the Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, and including my critiques of subjectivist idealism. I have also written articles on the Frankfurt school, Austrian school, French postmodernism, the British analytic philosophy and so on.

14. *Now onto matters pertaining to the international situation. You have repeatedly pointed to the increasingly favorable objective situation for proletarian revolution in the world today. What are the subjective factors holding back the development of new revolutionary movements and parties?*

JMS: I have repeatedly pointed out the rapid worsening crisis of the world capitalist system since the financial meltdown of 2008, the unraveling of the neoliberal and neoconservative policies of the US, the conspicuous US strategic decline, the big break between the US and China since the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and in recent years the upsurge of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles on a world scale as the prelude to the resurgence of socialism. The addition of two new imperialist powers (China and Russia) to the traditional imperialist powers has aggravated inter-imperialist contradictions and the crisis of the world capitalist system.

But we have to consider that real subjective factors, such as real communist parties, trade unions and other mass formations, people's armies and other revolutionary forces must reemerge on a global scale through anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles in order to make up for and supersede so many previous decades of revisionist betrayal and capitalist restoration in former socialist countries and the total discredit of so many revisionist parties and their variants outside of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China.

After the Dengist counter-revolution in China from 1976 onward and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, US imperialism and its followers declared the end of history with the supposed permanent death of socialism and the perpetuity of capitalism and liberal democracy. For some two decades since 1991, the US claimed to be the sole superpower for being winner in the Cold War and recklessly expanded the NATO and engaged in ceaseless wars. Now, the strategic decline of the US in a multipolar world is becoming more and more obvious after spending USD 10 trillion for wars of aggression.

15. *Comrade, how do you assess the current state of inter-imperialist conflict and rivalry between the US and the rising imperialist power of China? What is your assessment of the increasing inter-imperialist conflict between the US and China in southeast Asia? How did the former Duterte regime play on this contradiction and is it any different from how the present Marcos-Duterte regime is orienting itself? Is there a possibility for the revolutionary movement to tactically take advantage of that conflict to advance itself?*

JMS: The US-China inter-imperialist contradictions came to the surface during the Obama regime when the US complained against the economic and military rise of China and decided to carry out the strategic US pivot to East Asia and excluded China from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. The contradictions became even more conspicuous when the Trump regime started to cut down China's exports to the US, shift US investments from China to other countries and accuse China of manipulating economic, trade and currency policies and stealing technology from US companies and research institutes.

The inter-imperialist contradictions between the US and China will become worse from year to year. In recent years, Duterte thought that if he sidled up to China and let it build artificial islands and military bases in the West Philippine Sea he could borrow from China USD24 billion for infrastructure projects. But China delivered to him

only a little over USD1 billion. I think that the US will keep the Marcos regime under tighter control. Even in his last year in power Duterte had to prove utter subservience with the US and agreed to make Marcos junior the president by fraudulent vote count.

16. *It is the view of Kites that there are no socialist countries in the world today, a view we believe we share with the CPP. You have had favorable things to say about countries who have been in confrontation with imperialism such as Venezuela or Cuba. Do you view those countries as socialist?*<sup>[3]</sup>

JMS: At this time, the CPP considers it very important to develop the international anti-imperialist united front and seek allies among countries that declare themselves as anti-imperialist and fully independent and as socialist (like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and Venezuela) or as having socialist programs and aspirations. The CPP is happy to have relations with countries that consider themselves independent, anti-imperialist and willing to support the Philippine revolution.

It would be politically counter-productive for the CPP to pose publicly as the ideological arbiter of whichever countries are truly socialist or not. But the CPP keeps on studying from history and current circumstances what constitutes scientific socialism and what is the socialist perspective of the people's democratic revolution. When the CPP wins the people's democratic revolution, it will certainly announce how it shall start the socialist revolution in the Philippines. In the meantime, the CPP fervently wishes and hopes that more countries shall become socialist as a consequence of the growing anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles.

The CPP wants to maintain the distinction between ideological and political tasks. By way of strengthening the vanguard party of the proletariat and the mass movement led by the communist party, ideological work has to be done on whatever scale of propagation that is [necessary]. Certainly within the scale of the Philippine party and the revolutionary mass movement the CPP would make sure that its performance of its ideological tasks does not destroy the accomplishments of the political task of developing relations of proletarian internationalism among genuine communist parties, as well as a solidarity alliance against imperialism among parties of all sorts. There's no use trying to apply the ideological purity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism], which is applied within the party without a doubt, in conducting political relations with non-communist entities, especially at this time when there are no big socialist countries [in the world]. We are amidst a downturn of the accomplishments of the world proletarian revolution, and there is a need to ensure that we have a wide base for the resurgence of the socialist cause on a world scale.

17. *You personally, and the Filipino revolutionary movement in general, including the CPP and NDFP, have had exchanges with a wide variety of organizations and movements, including some that we consider to be revisionist and which we consider to play an overall obstructive role in the emergence of a new generation of revolutionary parties. How should comrades internationally understand the exchanges of the Filipino revolutionary movement with such forces, and is there a responsibility of communists everywhere to shine a light on and polemicize against revisionism?*

JMS: I have been abroad since the later part of 1986. And I have met with representatives of all sorts of parties. Within such a long period of more than three decades, some of them have retained or changed their ideological positions. Representatives of the CPP and the NDFP must have observed the same phenomena of persons and even entire parties changing their ideological positions.

In my experience as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, I was an active anti-revisionist participant in the Brussels Communist Seminar while it lasted from the 1990s to the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I was also the Chairman of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations which propagated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Then from 1998 to 2001, I chaired the International Preparatory Committee that established the International League of Peoples' Struggle. I became its general consultant from 2001 to 2004 and then as Chairperson from 2004 to 2019. The ILPS has been basically an alliance of people's organizations struggling for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

18. *Now onto some more personal questions, if you'd indulge us comrade. In addition to being a revolutionary writer, thinker, and leader, you're an award-winning poet. What first motivated you to write poetry, who are your favorite poets, and would you select one of your poems to accompany this interview?*

JMS: In the elementary grades, specifically in Grade 3, I became interested in reading and trying to write poetry. I was inspired by the poems my teacher asked me to recite. In high school at the Ateneo and Letran, I succeeded in having some of my poems published in the school publications. And of course, in the University of the

Philippines, I published my poems in the Philippine Collegian and in various literary publications. I published my first book of poems in 1961, when I was 22 year old.

19. *You are part of a proud generation internationally that took up the call from Mao Zedong to combat revisionism and build new communist parties on a revolutionary basis, including Abimael Guzman (Chairman Gonzalo), Charu Majumdar, and Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. To many around the world, these names resound as legendary and they continue to inspire revolutionaries today, but these were your contemporaries. What's been the impact of the generation that merged the overall global upsurge of the 1960s with the leadership and guidance of Mao Zedong and Maoism? What does it mean to you to be part of that generational experience?*

JMS: To say the least, we were a significant part of and had an impact on the generation that created the overall global upsurge of the 1960s with the leadership and guidance of Mao Zedong or Maoism. We wrote poems and performed other tasks, ideological, political and organizational, in order to generate the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective in our respective countries. We became engaged in the revolutionary mass struggles and in waging the people's war.

I consider myself the luckiest of those leaders you have mentioned because I have lived long enough to observe and study the rise of modern revisionism and neoliberalism for some decades, the unprecedented crisis of global capitalism and strategic decline of the US, the current upsurge of anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles and the discernible transition to the resurgence of the socialist cause.

20. *What sustained you during your period of incarceration and torture by the Marcos dictatorship?*

JMS: I was sustained by the commitment to the just cause of serving the oppressed and exploited people in their struggle for national and social liberation. My studies of theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, my participation in the mass struggles and readiness to die anytime if necessary sustained me.

And of course, I composed poems to counter the psychological torture during my five years of my solitary confinement. These are in my book of poems *Prison and Beyond* which won the Southeast ASIA WRITE Award for poetry in 1986. I also kept my sense of humor and composed jokes against US imperialism and the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

21. *What have been the most difficult experiences of your time in exile? Have there been unexpected joys as well?*

JMS: My most difficult experiences included being deprived of employment since 1988 and even the living allowance for asylum seekers since 2003 while I was waging legal battles for political asylum after my Philippine passport was canceled in 1988, for the dismissal of the trumped up charges of multiple murder in 2007 and for the removal of my name from the EU terrorist list.

I won all these cases. And I enjoyed the support of my lawyers, the Filipino compatriots overseas and in the motherland and the organizations and institutions of foreign friends in solidarity with the Filipino people.

22. *Warm revolutionary appreciations for giving this interview to Kites. To conclude now, what sustains you as a revolutionary?*

JMS: My commitment to the principles of the revolutionary proletariat and the just struggle of the Filipino people for national and social liberation.

***Revolution Is Invincible***

December 26, 2022

---

*It is with deepest grief that I have to be the one to issue my husband's last and final message to the revolutionary forces and the people on the 54<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He started discussing with me the outline and writing of the message a few days a month ago when he just got discharged from the hospital at his second confinement in November and just before the start of his third and last confinement on November 28. He wrote the first draft on paper, which I keyed in to the computer and then he reread and corrected it twice to produce this final draft below.*

*Some fifteen or so minutes before Joma took his last breath, he was still talking about ensuring the revolution would win victory and advancing to socialism. With his last thoughts he remained optimistic about the Filipino people whom he served with utmost determination.*

*Please release the message a day or two before you publish the 54<sup>th</sup> anniversary statement of the CPP Central Committee.*

—Editor

---

Since after the reestablishment of Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the prompt founding of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, every reactionary regime of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines (from the time of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. to the present) has adopted and implemented a strategic operational plan to destroy the Filipino people's democratic revolution.

But each strategic 'oplan' has always utterly failed and instead resulted in the significant growth of the revolutionary movement. Marcos went to the extent of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people from 1972 to 1986 on the pretext of suppressing the CPP and armed revolution, "save the republic and build a new society". But his power grab merely stimulated and accelerated the all-round growth of the revolutionary movement nationwide. Ultimately, the armed revolution inspired and backed up the people's mass uprisings in Metro Manila and nationwide in order to remove the fascist dictatorship from power.

The pseudo-liberal democratic regimes that followed the Marcos fascist dictatorship tried to combine their respective military strategic 'opplans' with tactics of deception, including offers of prolonged ceasefire and peace negotiations without addressing the roots of the armed conflict or civil war. Every reactionary regime has been obsessed with destroying the revolutionary movement and preserving the unjust ruling system of oppression and exploitation.

It has used the anti-terrorist card anytime to delay, suspend or terminate the peace negotiations, despite such major joint agreements between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 as framework for peace negotiations and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law of 1998.

Despite the peace negotiations, every reactionary regime has taken the liberty of killing cadres and members of the revolutionary movement. When the NPA captured General Obillo of the reactionary armed forces under the terms of the CARHRIHL and international laws in 1998, it immediately announced willingness to release him as a prisoner of war upon agreement on the safe procedure for his release. But Estrada continuously took offense and used the capture of his general to become the first reactionary president to terminate the peace negotiations in May 1999.

After his overthrow by people's mass uprisings in 2001, the Arroyo regime agreed to resume the peace negotiations in 2002, with the Royal Norwegian Government as the third-party facilitator. But in 2004 it became obvious that the Arroyo regime was following US dictates to slow down the negotiations on substantive issues and to suspend them indefinitely and unleash bigger military operations in the name of the "whole-of-nation approach".

These military operations failed utterly to destroy the people's war. The rabid anti-communist defense secretary would eventually commit suicide upon exposure of his corruption in the handling of the military budget and even of the retirement funds of AFP officers and personnel.

### ***I. Complete sabotage of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations***

But the worst came when Duterte became president. He pretended to be eager to conduct peace negotiations but he carried out an all-out war policy against the revolutionary movement by extending Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan until January 2017 when Oplan Kapayapaan was adopted and implemented. Instead of joining the NDFP in addressing the roots of the civil war through basic social, economic and political reforms, he concentrated on trivial and puerile tactics calculated to push the revolutionary movement to capitulation by demanding that the people's democratic government give up its legitimate powers, offering CPP representation in his cabinet prior to a peace agreement and then self-contradictorily including the NPA as target of his martial law proclamation against the Maute group in Mindanao in 2017.

Failing to achieve his short-sighted objectives in trying to outwit the NDFP, Duterte agreed with his military minions to stop serious peace negotiations with the NDFP by hyping fake "localized peace talks" under the surveillance and control of the GRP. Duterte and AFP officers became obsessed with increasing the military budget to accommodate their insatiable appetite for corruption and the operations to red-tag, intimidate people and abduct, detain, torture and murder their political opponents. Thus, the ground was laid for the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 by Duterte after openly consulting US President Trump.

The Duterte's termination of the peace negotiations since 2017 was intended not only as a negotiating trick but as the beginning of ending permanently the peace negotiations. Subsequently, Duterte designated and proscribed the CPP and NPA on December 5, 2017 and ultimately the NDFP on the same grounds, created the National Task Force to Eliminate the Communist Local Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) and took advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to railroad the Anti-Terror Law (ATL) in the servile Congress and the creation of the Anti-Terrorism Council to put the Philippine once more under state terrorism or fascist dictatorship, violate the national and democratic right of the people with impunity and allow those in power to commit treason, tyranny and thievery.

Within this anti-national and anti-democratic framework, Duterte has passed on the reactionary government and ruling system to the Marcos Junior-Sara Duterte tandem by completely controlling the automated electoral system and fabricating more than 20 million votes in favor of the tandem and its candidates for Congress and local executive positions. The current de facto Marcos-Duterte regime is under the dictates of US imperialism and the big comprador-bureaucrat interests of the Marcos and Duterte dynasties and will condone and continue the monstrous crimes of the previous regime until the opposition forces, the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people can act to change the situation in the Philippines.

In the meantime, the Filipino people have to suffer the rising level of oppression and exploitation due to the worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system and the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. Day after day, they have to suffer, defy and fight not only the bloody human rights violations but also the fake news in the psywar campaign of those in power that the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have given up the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy.

It is absolutely untrue that the people's revolutionary forces are dwindling and being defeated and that the Red cadres, commanders and fighters—all tested and tempered in more than 54 years of victorious people's war—are rapidly being killed or captured in focused military operations or surrendering because of such band-aid offers like the graft-laden Enhanced-Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Plan. And yet the ruling clique and its military minions keep on demanding more public funds not only to attack the people but also to pocket the larger part of the military budget.

The reactionary armed forces have in fact officially admitted that the NPA grew in strength during the Duterte regime. Towards the end of the Aquino II regime in January 2016, when they claimed the success of Oplan Bayanihan, they announced that the NPA commanders and fighters have been reduced to only 3,900. Now, they claim that at the end of the Duterte regime that they have caused the surrender of nearly 24,000 Red fighters. Unwittingly, they expose themselves as big liars and big budget thieves and admit that the NPA actually increased its strength during the Duterte regime.

### ***II. Why the people's democratic revolution is invincible***

The Filipino people's democratic revolution is invincible because it is just and necessary to fight for and

achieve national liberation and democracy against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in a rapidly rotting semicolonial and semifeudal society. This new democratic revolution is a continuation of the old democratic revolution that was started in 1896 by the Katipunan and was victorious against Spanish colonial rule but was defeated by the US war of aggression that started in 1898. This time, the leading class in the revolution is no longer the liberal bourgeoisie but the proletariat in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

So long as the aforesaid three evil forces dominate and afflict the Filipino nation, the ground remains fertile for the growth and advance of the people's democratic revolution. The chronic crisis of the ruling system has been worsening not only due to the factors of exploitation and oppression within the Philippines but due to those in the world capitalist system, chiefly US monopoly capitalism. The Philippines is fortunate to have rich natural resources for its own development but unfortunately the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets have always agreed to exploit the cheap labor of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the abundant natural resources of the people.

At every major shift of its economic policy in East Asia, US imperialism has always made it a point to prevent the economic development through a program of genuine land reform and national industrialization in the Philippines. We have seen such phenomenon in the periods when the US favored Japan's economic reconstruction and expansion after World War II and the economic growth of the "economic tigers" to serve as anti-communist front liners during the Cold War and when it promoted neoliberalism and fascism and developed a neoliberal partnership with China until their ongoing decoupling and intensified economic competition and political rivalry.

In the course of its closest neoliberal partnership with China, the US and its chief Filipino puppets encouraged and allowed China to encroach on the West Philippine Sea in order to have the pretext for the US to circumvent the constitutional prohibition against foreign military bases and forces in the Philippines by making the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement to allow the US military forces to have exclusive bases and facilities within the camps and military reserve areas of the reactionary armed forces. But now, the US is conspicuously locked in a contest with China to plunder the natural resources of the Philippines and the rest of ASEAN.

China is more than ever hellbent on keeping its artificial and militarized islands in the West Philippine Sea because its own undersea explorations show that there are at least USD26.3 trillion of gas, far more than enough to carry out genuine land reform and industrialize the Philippines and thereby fulfill the main socioeconomic demand in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. Despite all its pious and glittering generalities for helping the ASEAN develop and for starting its reduction of carbon emissions by 2030, China is determined to grab the gas, marine and other natural resources of the Filipino people in the West Philippine Sea.

The Philippine economy and government are bankrupt due to its internal ills and the unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system. Due mainly to extreme corruption, import-dependent consumption and military overspending, the Duterte regime has more than doubled in only six years to PhP12.5 trillion the Philippine public debt of PhP5.9 trillion which had been accumulated since 1902. He did a favor to Marcos Jr. by making him president through the fabrication of more than 20 million votes in the last elections but he has given him the big problem of looking for PhP1.6 trillion to pay for amortization and interest payments to support the PhP5.2 trillion budget for 2023.

The Philippine is now reeling from severe conditions of economic depression, decreased export of raw materials and labor, lessened tax revenues and tighter international credit. Production and employment have fallen so steeply. There is severe decline in food production, including rice, vegetable and fish, and inflation is soaring. But the Marcos-Duterte ruling team circulate the painful joke that the people can always buy imported food, despite the big drop in earnings from the export of raw materials and cheap labor.

The Filipino people are outraged that the two worst political dynasties (Marcoses and Dutertes) rule the Philippines, have no solution to the urgent basic problems of the people, but engage in the most scandalous forms of corruption (e.g., unaudited confidential and intelligence funds) and in the increase of the military budget to intimidate the people and suppress mass resistance despite the psy-war claims that the revolutionary forces have been destroyed or their actual strength reduced to only five guerrilla fronts nationwide.

### ***III. The armed counterrevolution will continue to fail***

The armed counter-revolution being waged by the Marcos-Duterte ruling combine will continue to fail because the objective conditions of the rapidly worsening crisis of the ruling system are making it impossible for the ruling

classes of big compradors and landlords and their bureaucrats to rule in the old way (be it the pseudo-liberal or fascist way); and because it is actually the subjective forces of the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people that are gaining strength and advancing the new democratic revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat and along the general line of protracted people's war.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the CPP has made great achievements in its ideological, political and organizational work. It has been guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has applied it on the history and current social circumstances of the Filipino people. It has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution with the strategic line of protracted people's war and with the socialist perspective. It has upheld the principle of democratic centralism and has built a nationwide organization that is well integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

There is no way that the reactionary state can stop the few CPP cadres from performing their tasks in ideological work. From year to year and from decade to decade, under the auspices of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought, they were able to educate more Party cadres and members in the course of mass work and put them through the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Party education after they take the revolutionary mass course for mass activists.

Revolutionary studies can be carried out in so many ways far beyond the limited capabilities of the enemy to spy on and the study materials are now widely available in hard and soft copies.

In their struggle for national and social liberation, the Filipino people regard the CPP as the most important revolutionary weapon responsible for leading the peoples democratic revolution. In turn, the CPP wields two other powerful weapons, armed struggle and the united front (constituted as the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, respectively). The NPA is the main force for fighting and defeating the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state and enabling the rise of the people's democratic government. The NDFP is responsible for building the comprehensive national united front and winning over the people in their tens of millions to the revolution against the armed counter-revolution.

The NPA carries out the strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, the countryside provides for the widest possible social and physical terrain and area of maneuver for developing the strength of the people's army through definite strategic stages, such as the defensive, the stalemate and counter-offensive. Most of the people are in the countryside. And the main democratic content of the peasant masses is agrarian revolution, the satisfaction of the democratic demand for land.

The NPA is tasked to wage armed struggle as the main form of struggle, carry out genuine land reform from the minimum to the maximum stage and build the revolutionary mass base. It has a major role in building the mass organizations and the organs of political of power that constitute the people's democratic government and carrying out mass campaigns, programs and activities that implement mass education and organization, land reform and socioeconomic development, self-defense, settlement of disputes, protection of the environment and other important tasks.

In accordance with the strategic defensive stage, the NPA has been victorious in carrying out the people's war through guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever-widening and deepening mass base. This has allowed the NPA to build the guerrilla fronts initially in a few areas and regions and eventually to the eleven major islands inhabited by 94 percent of the people. Now, the NPA operates in 74 out of the 82 Philippine provinces and enjoys the support of the Filipino people and by the NDFP in all the Philippine provinces.

Every reactionary regime has boasted of being able to destroy the armed revolution within the current term of whoever is the president. But the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system and its ever-worsening chronic crisis put limits on its ability to control the population and suppress the people's resistance. At any given time, the NPA and other revolutionary forces can work freely and launch tactical offensives in more than 80 percent of the Philippine archipelago.

Of course, the reactionary armed forces and police can do their best to identify and target the NPA guerrilla fronts with focused or concentrated military campaigns. But the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare have served the NPA very well. When the enemy advances in superior force, the NPA main force retreats but deploys command-detonated land mines and sniper teams against the advancing enemy. When the enemy displaces and occupies the area of an NPA guerrilla front, the NPA surveils the enemy deployment in order to be able to know

how to harass the enemy camp, hit the isolated perimeter guards and ambush the patrol units.

When the encamped enemy tires out and retreats, it is the turn of the NPA to make the advance and deliver more offensive blows. But even while the enemy seems to have the upper hand through his advance and encampment, the NPA force on tactical retreat in one guerrilla front can initiate tactical offensives that it can win in a nearby area. Worst of all for the enemy, as has been often the case, in so many other guerrilla fronts in the same region and all other regions the NPA take the initiative to launch tactical offensives by way of strengthening themselves through struggle and helping the guerrilla fronts under focused or concentrated enemy attacks.

On the whole in its entire history, the CPP has been excellent and successful in building the nationwide strength of the revolutionary forces by being able to lead and coordinate them in various forms of struggle and, in the field of revolutionary armed struggle, using an existing guerrilla front to beget other guerrilla fronts in the same region and provide experienced CPP cadres and NPA commanders and fighters to other regions.

The initial guerrilla front in Tarlac in 1969 led to the building of several guerrilla fronts in Central, Northern and Southern Luzon from 1969 to 1971 and the big wave of CPP-NPA expansion teams to the Visayas and Mindanao from 1972 onward. Then within the same decade of the 1970s, the guerrilla fronts of the Visayas and Mindanao helped each other and also provided experienced CPP cadres and Red commanders to Luzon. The CPP, NPA and NDFP have become so well-rooted on a nationwide scale and well-integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

#### ***IV. Perspective of the people's democratic revolution***

The people's war in the Philippines is still at the stage of the strategic defensive, advancing from the middle phase to the advanced phase. In concrete terms, nationwide guerrilla warfare is the main form of armed struggle being carried out nationwide. At the same time, NPA companies have arisen from the platoons in preparation for the completion of the strategic defensive and advance to the strategic stalemate wherein companies and battalions will have increasing role in tactical offensives.

The strategic stalemate will probably be shorter than the already protracted strategic defensive with the NPA companies and battalions. Such forces already in stable base areas can be regrouped regiments and battalions in an even shorter time for the strategic counteroffensives to capture or compel the surrender of the last and most fortified and isolated holdouts of the enemy. This is merely a line of probability based on successful civil wars. But there is always the contrary line of probability that US imperialism launches a war of aggression against the people before the Philippine revolution.

The reactionary Marcos-Duterte tandem is hellbent on continuing the armed counter-revolution to preserve the ruling system, serve the interests of US imperialism and let the current civil war pave the way for a US war of aggression. The Filipino people have no choice but to carry out the new democratic revolution by continuing the protracted people's war against not only the reactionary state in the current civil war but also the rising military intervention and probable war of aggression by US imperialism.

But there are growing limits to what the US can do to dominate the Philippines, East Asia and the world. It is still No. 1 imperialist power but it is on a strategic decline from its peak after a period of enjoying the status of being sole superpower after the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, partnering with China in "neoliberal" globalization, expanding the NATO, launching wars of aggression under the so-called neoconservative policy and wasting the enormous amount of USD10 trillion without any significant increase of territory for exploitation.

The limits of US imperialist power have been exposed by its failure to take over the oil resources and build 16 military bases in Iraq, to destroy the Syria-Russia-Iran alliance, to break the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish people and to hold on to Afghanistan surrendering it to the Taliban. In the current Russian-Ukraine conflict, the US has been using Ukraine as proxy to threaten and provoke Russia to launch a war but conflict has merely served both Russian and US imperialism to waste resources. It has led even the NATO allies of the US to complain why they have to spend more money for energy supply from the US than for the cheap gas from the Russians.

Despite the recent hype that the US can wage to its advantage a war of aggression against China, DPRK and Russia, the people must be reminded that the US lost the Asian mainland and Eurasia as early as the 20<sup>th</sup> century after losing a series of wars. The drive of US imperialism for wars of aggression and the danger of world war and nuclear war is still restrained by the fear of mutual annihilation and human extinction on the part of the US and all other nuclear powers. Global warming appears to be more imminent as a threat to human existence than nuclear



war.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening due to the over-accumulation of monopoly capital and over-extraction of surplus value from the toiling masses and the intelligentsia. All major contradiction are intensifying such as those between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers themselves, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations and between the imperialist power and the countries assertive of national independence and desirous of democracy and socialism.

The 2008 financial meltdown has developed into a global depression far more prolonged and severe than the Great Depression of the 1930s, which led to the rise of fascism and World War II. But in the meantime, there are still the UN and multilateral and bilateral relations of states among both the main imperialist contenders and third world countries that uphold their own national sovereignty and their own interest in peace and development and wish to fight fascism and imperialist war.

It is the toiling masses and the rest of the people who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction who let us hope for a bright future of world peace and common prosperity. They are now waging anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggle against the current global crisis that has been brought about by revisionist betrayal of socialism, neoliberalism and fascism. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

---

[1] These three documents can be found in the volume *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution: Selected Writings, 1968 to 1972* by Jose Maria Sison (Netherlands: International Network for Philippines Studies, 2013). original name of the communist party in the Philippines that was founded in 1930. The named t the Lava revisionists continued to use to refer to their organization after the re-foundation of the CPP by Jose Maria Sison and his contemporaries is Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP).

[2] “Semifeudalism in the Philippines,” October 3, 2020 (available at: [josemariasison.org](http://josemariasison.org)).

[3] A note of self-criticism from the Kites Editorial Committee: We should have worded this question differently to explain what we meant was socialist in the Maoist sense of a socialist transition to communism driven by ongoing class struggle.