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Pahayagan ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas  
Pinapatnubayan ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo

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# Generate revolutionary resistance in response to global and Philippine crises

Message of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Philippines  
on the 47th anniversary of its reestablishment

On the 47th anniversary of its reestablishment under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates with the Filipino people its accumulated and current ideological, political and organizational victories. It is determined more than ever to lead and advance the Philippine revolution along the general line of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the Party leads the current stage of the revolution and the consequent stage of socialist revolution. On this day, we salute and honor the tens of thousands of Party cadres and members, the thousands of Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army, the tens of thousands of people's militia members, the hundreds of thousands of self-defense unit members and the millions of mass activists who have achieved victories through their arduous struggle, hard work and sacrifices. We accord the highest honor to the revolutionary heroes and martyrs by drawing inspiration from them and by waging an ever fiercer struggle for national liberation and democracy.

We have fought and defeated a series of brutal regimes directed by the US and the local reactionaries to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement. These regimes include the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship and the successive regimes pretending to be democratic but in fact representing the same

oppressive and exploitative classes.

We have frustrated the latest reactionary regime of big compradors and landlords, the US-Aquino regime, in its objective of destroying or reducing the New People's Army to inconsequence. Its US-designed Oplan Bayanihan failed in its aims despite the deployment of 75% of its combat battalions against the revolutionary forces.

Instead of inflicting strategic damage to the NPA, the deployment of 30% of enemy forces in Eastern Mindanao has resulted in the intensification and advance of the people's war in this area. The inspiring example of the revolutionary forces and people of Eastern Mindanao and the intensification of tactical offensives elsewhere have served to strengthen and advance the people's war nationwide.

The adversaries and detractors of the revolution prate mockingly that the people's war has not yet succeeded in seizing the presidential palace in Manila. They seek to obscure the fact that the revolutionary people's government of the workers

and peasants has arisen in the countryside and is steadily spreading. The organs of democratic political power have a mass base running into millions and enjoy the support of tens of millions outside of the guerrilla fronts. They govern a large part of the country and carry out programs of mass education, land reform, production, health, cultural upliftment, self-defense and justice.

The conditions for advancing the Philippine revolution are excellent. The crisis of the world capitalist system is ever worsening. The capitalist powers continue to fail in lifting the global economy from crisis and depression. They keep on passing the burden of crisis to the people thus aggravating the economic and financial crisis as well as escalating inter-imperialist contradictions bringing about widespread conditions of state terrorism and imperialist wars of aggression. The Philippines is one of the few countries in which the illusion of economic growth is conjured from time to time by large inflows of portfolio investments. But whenever this money flows out, the country suffers an abrupt economic downturn.

The economic, social and political crisis in the Philippines is fertile ground for the advance of the revolutionary movement. The people suffer the heavy burden of escalating oppression and ex-

ploitation. They are thus driven to protest and rebel.

The crisis conditions provide ample tinder for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to spark a major upturn in the people's revolutionary resistance. The CPP and all revolutionary forces must lead in carrying out an all-out effort to expose the increasing inability of the ruling system to rule in the old way, and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to wage mass struggles and take the road of revolution.

In performing its revolutionary role and duty in the Philippines, the Party demonstrates to the proletariat and peoples of the world that the road of revolution is available against imperialism and all reaction. The US-instigated neoliberal economic policy of unbridled greed, the recurrent and worsening economic crisis and the increasing use of state terrorism and wars of aggression have laid the basis for an unprecedentedly widespread revolutionary resistance.

## I. Protracted crisis of world capitalist system deepens and worsens

UNDER monopoly capitalism, especially under the US-instigated economic policy of unbridled greed, the drive to extract higher profits by squeezing wages and adopting higher technology inevitably leads to, and further aggravates, the crisis of overproduction. The use of finance capital, particularly the expansion of money supply and credit in an attempt to override the crisis, raises the profits and asset values of the monopoly bourgeoisie, bails out the banks and the big corporations, artificially raises consumption and boosts military production ahead of the recovery of civil production and employment. But it generates bigger financial bubbles resulting in worse financial crises on top of the worsening economic crisis.


The world capitalist system is in the throes of a general crisis, involving the recurrence and worsening of economic and financial crises. The 2008 financial meltdown has resulted in a global depression that is comparable in duration and severity to the Great Depression of the 1930s. Slight upturns do occur but are followed by longer downturns in country gross domestic products (GDPs) and the world gross product. The official figures for these, like the current estimated rate of global economic growth of 2.8% for 2015, are bloated by government deficit spending, public debt, financial market transactions and private spending that do not raise employment and incomes.

Production and employment continue to fall or stagnate in industrial capitalist countries and worse in the underdeveloped countries. Governments in industrialized countries engage in financial bailouts for the benefit of the big banks, investment houses and favored defense industries. They wantonly expand money supply and credit. Faced with budget deficits, they adopt austerity measures, including sharp cutbacks on social spending, reduction of government employees and deep cuts in workers' wages.

Total global outstanding debt (including household, corporate and government debt) has grown by 62% in eight years, from USD

142 trillion in 2007 to an estimated USD230 trillion by end-2015. It has become impossible for debt of such magnitude to ever be repaid with total global GDP of only around USD60 trillion whose growth is slowing down. The US and China are showing stress from the massive weight of the public debt, yet, the European Union (EU) is following the same path of quantitative easing (wanton printing of money without equivalent newly produced value). Global public debt, largely incurred by several imperialist countries with high deficits, is set to become the biggest ever financial bubble. This is set to burst anytime soon and is bound to cause unprecedented devastation.

The global growth rate of employment dipped to an average 1.2% annually in the 2007-2014 period, compared to the 1.7% in the previous 1991-2007 period. Unemployment and underemployment continue to rise, both in the urban and rural areas, especially in Africa, the Middle East, Southern Europe, and Latin America. Asian countries officially show low rates of unemployment, but these are due to high rates of so-called informal employment or odd-jobbing that comprise up to 85% of total employment in some countries. Most megacities of the Third World have a low degree of industrialization and teem with millions of people—mere odd-jobbers suffering slave-like conditions under irregu-

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lar and short-term hirers.

The disparity in global wealth distribution has increasingly widened. The wealthiest big bourgeoisie constitutes less than 1% of the world's population but owns nearly 50% of the world's total wealth. Ninety percent of them are based in North America and Europe. They enjoy lower tax rates and amass superprofits from plundering public assets and human and natural resources of foreign countries. Poverty is becoming rampant even in the developed countries, with the working class receiving less income and less social benefits and the middle class shrinking. The peoples of the underdeveloped countries suffer far worse conditions of poverty.

The US and other imperialist powers are stepping up war production in compliance with the crisis-driven demands of monopoly firms in the defense industry as well as in pursuit of the objective of keeping and expanding economic territory and geopolitical interests. The protracted and worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism is generating chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, fascism, state terrorism, proxy wars and wars of aggression. The US, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states and Zionist Israel remain the principal aggressors and are the most aggressive in provoking and undertaking military actions to weaken their adversaries in West Asia (Middle East), Central Asia, Africa and on the borders of Russia.

There is no end in sight for the general crisis of monopoly capitalism and the trend towards bigger wars, especially because the imperialist powers cling to the neoliberal economic policy. All attempts to moderate or lessen the areas of economic and military conflict, through such international forums such as G7 and G20 summits, United Nations (UN) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development processes, treaty-

mandated conferences such as World Trade Organization (WTO), Rio+20 and annual climate talks, and other big-region mechanisms such as Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, have failed and have resulted in more gridlocks.

The unipolar world dominated by the US after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War has gradually given way to a multipolar alignment of conflicting trade and economic blocs and their corresponding political-military alliances. US imperialism has practically undermined itself by outsourcing consumer manufactures, expanding military expenditures, and financializing its economy. But it continues to maximize its remaining clout in the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and WTO. In a vain attempt to keep its dominant position in global finance and trade, the US is aggressively pushing to impose the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) Agreement on its EU allies and adopting the same approach with its Pacific Rim allies through the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement. It is using secretive talks, backdoor deals, blackmail and double-talk to have the TTIP and TPP agreements passed, despite their flagrantly repellent pro-US big corporate biases.

After the ruling revisionist cliques in the former Soviet Union and China fully embraced capitalism, in the years of 1989-1991, the US and its allies had no choice but to accept the entry of Russia and China into the club of the global capitalist elite. While the capitalist powers collude in exploiting and oppressing the Third World, the new players have asserted their own interests and have thus aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and the inter-imperialist contradictions.

While coping with its own internal crisis and stabilizing itself with high oil earnings for a while, Russia, under Putin, has managed

to protect and expand its own economic and geopolitical interests within the Commonwealth of Independent States and with other neighboring states along the borders with EU. In recent years, it has dealt with and contained the successful US subversion of western Ukraine and installation of a fascist pro-US puppet regime in Kiev. The aggressive war unleashed by the Kiev puppet regime against the ethnic-Russian people's republics in Novorossiia and Crimea has resulted in the latter voting to rejoin Russia.

The US persists in carrying out provocations against Russia, such as seeking to subvert it, together with other ex-Soviet states, expanding the NATO to its borders, undermining the ties between it and EU states, imposing sanctions and suspending/excluding it from the G-8. Russia in turn has consolidated its western flanks by setting up the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) with four other former Soviet republics. It has also extended its own inroads of influence to the West by exerting major diplomatic roles in Central Asia and Middle East affairs, particularly in Syria and Iran, and by offering economic cooperation to the worst crisis-stricken EU countries. Most importantly, it has strengthened its bilateral economic and security relations with China.

China is coping with an economy overheated by excessive public and private construction, overproduction of steel and other industrial products, runaway expansion of money supply and credit (many times worse than that in the US) and other internal troubles of a social and environmental character. These problems put China at a long distance from the US in per-capita GDP. At any rate, China continues to export surplus capital and expand its overseas operations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and has launched an ambitious two-pronged strategic link to Europe through the Silk Road Economic Belt

(SREB) and the Maritime Silk Road (MSR).

The US maintains a dual policy of colluding and contending with China. But in recent years, it has increased the aspect of contention, with the so-called strategic pivot to East Asia and the US-headed TPP which excludes China. The US strategic pivot to East Asia is designed to block China's projection of its armed forces beyond its borders and to push internal forces towards further expanding privatized capital and bourgeois politics. The US is taking advantage of China's disputes with neighboring countries over South China Sea claims, as well as with Japan over the Daoyu islands in the East Sea. It has maneuvered the Philippines into allowing the reestablishment of US military bases under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) and has openly enjoined Japan to revive its militarist posture as a foil to China.

Aside from bilateral agreements, Russia and China have availed of multiple platforms to strengthen their alliance for countering the unwelcome pressures and challenges from the US and its closest allies. In economic terms, the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) has consolidated itself as a global alliance with ample resources to counter the US-Canada-EU-Japan axis. BRICS now has its own New Development Bank (NDB), in addition to the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), with ample resources to counter the IMF-World Bank and undertake large projects, such as SREB and MSR.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), initiated by China and Russia, has expanded to include eight Eurasian member-states and India and Pakistan. This is in addition to the Russia-led EEU. In geopolitical and military terms, the SCO-EEU combination has the potential to countervail the US-NATO

alliance on its western flanks and US-Asian allies on its eastern flanks.

Following the Ukraine crisis of 2014, several long standing hot-spots have flared up anew this year in the Middle East and Africa. The occupied Palestinian territories have erupted anew in what may develop as a third intifada against Zionist Israel. The continuing civil strife in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Afghanistan, Kurdistan, Sudan and Nigeria have been made more complicated by US interventions. The worst barbarisms are being perpetrated by US-created, trained and armed terrorist groups such as the ISIS (also referred to as IS, the Islamic State or Daesh), which are further funded and coddled by US client-states like Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Israel, Jordan and Qatar.

The imperialist wars of aggression and local and regional armed conflicts have intensified contradictions between imperialist blocs and their regional proxies and allies. These have resulted in unbearable economic and social catastrophes leading to millions of refugees within countries and regions and now surging in large numbers towards Europe. Russia's military support for Syria in the drive against the ISIS, Turkey's shooting down of a Russian combat plane, the Paris terrorist attacks and the retaliatory French-British bombing of Syria, have triggered a dangerous chain of events that could lead to an escalation of war involving imperialist bombs and boots on the ground.

Official GDP statistics are used as basis to claim that certain regions like East Asia and Africa are enjoying high growth rates and a "growing middle class". But such growth is fuelled by capital flows from imperialist countries, mostly hot money from hedge funds that do not build industrial plants nor promote lasting employment. Instead, these funds go to financial markets and unsustainable eco-

nomic activities such as construction, real estate, tourism, and telecommunications-based services, and the consequent government tax revenues go to black holes like military expenditures, bureaucratic operations and corruption. All these aggravate the debt problem and deepen and worsen the underdevelopment of the Third World.

Imperialist countries are able to shift the burden of the crisis to the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America because their impoverished agrarian and semifeudal conditions provide the monopoly capitalists with cheap labor and raw materials and lower operating costs. Such conditions are maintained through neoliberal policies promoted through puppet civilian bureaucrats and big bourgeois control of local finance. As a result, entire countries are thrown into widespread social and political turmoil wherein the masses of workers, peasants and other working people suffer intense exploitation and oppression.

A favorite theme of imperialist propaganda is the supposedly fast-growing "global middle class", with the highest growths seen in Asia, combined with the supposed 50% reduction of global poverty rates compared to 20 years ago. But this is just statistical deception, as the so-called poor, low-income, and middle-class brackets globally have been pulled down to rock-bottom minimums. The middle class in the underdeveloped countries are on more or less the same level as the poverty thresholds in the US. The imperialist propaganda, even if sugarcoated by post-2015 UN promises of further reducing global poverty, cannot hide the expanding and deepening conditions of extreme and systemic poverty, and worsening exploitation and oppression of the majority of the world's toiling masses of workers and peasants. Even in the imperialist countries and so-called emerging or middle-income economies, the crisis

and protracted depression have greatly pulled down the working and living conditions of the working class and petty bourgeoisie. The imperialist powers spearheaded by the US, the EU and Japan and their subalterns in underdeveloped countries add the neoliberal policy of unbridled exploitation in the name of “free trade” to the neocolonial foundation of exploitation.

The US is still the chieftain of the imperialist powers. Since the end of World War II, the US has been responsible for the killing of at least 35 million people in wars of aggression and massacres, and for the displacement of far more millions of people due to the mass killings and destruction of social infrastructure mainly by bombardments. In recent decades, regardless of the ruling party in power, the US has been guided by the neo-conservative line of “full spectrum” global hegemony in the 21st century. This line has whipped up fascist lawmaking, state terrorism and wars of aggression under various pretexts such as pursuing a perpetual and borderless “war on terror,” regime change, humanitarian intervention, and even the “war on drugs.” The US rationalizes its aggressive policy by claiming to secure the freedom and wealth of its citizenry. But in fact a major cause of the economic and financial crisis afflicting the American people is the heavy cost of war production, maintenance of more than 800 military bases abroad and wars of aggression.

In recent times, the US and its NATO allies have wantonly targeted and destroyed sovereign states, waging wars of aggression against countries assertive of national independence, such as the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya and causing the overthrow of anti-US governments such as in Ukraine, Yemen and Venezuela. They continue to make war provocations in Eastern Europe against Russia. They have unleashed wars

of aggression against states that control strategic energy sources, raw materials and routes. They use sanctions, blockades and war threats and provocations against so many countries, including Cuba, Venezuela, Syria, Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They use Zionist Israel, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and rightist armed oppositions and jihadi groups like ISIS and Al Qaida affiliates as attack dogs. They are hostile against the Palestinian and other peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Central and South Asia. The US is actively pushing Japan, Australia and South Korea to join its war provocations in East Asia.

The US-led imperialist powers have become so driven by militarism and war that they use the same mindset and machinery with impunity against their own peoples at home, especially in the face of rising people's resistance. They have adopted even more reactionary and draconian policies and measures, including outright fascist laws, full-spectrum surveillance, and heavily militarized police actions against ordinary citizens under the pretext of combating terrorism, common crime, drug use, and other petty offenses.

The innumerable crimes against humanity perpetrated by the US and other imperialist powers are whitewashed by big-bourgeois media which whip up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, Islamophobia, terrorist-baiting and war hysteria within the imperialist countries. The aim is to draw away the people's attention from the capitalist roots of the social crisis, quell social discontent and mass resistance and obscure the need for revolutionary class struggle. To win votes, fascist, neo-Nazi and ultra-Rightist political parties wage hate campaigns in the media and allow hate crimes to spread against refugees, asylum-seekers, migrant workers, and

even second-generation immigrants especially those of color, victimizing women and youth in particular.

The wars of aggression and big-power terrorism launched by the US and its worst allies and puppets inflict terrible suffering on the people—killing and wounding hundreds of thousands and destroying their homes, livelihood and social infrastructure in orgies of bombing. Thus, the people are driven to wage armed resistance. This continues even after the US and its allies apparently succeed with their aggression and occupation of a country. In fact, they are compelled to phase out their occupation forces due to heavy damages inflicted by the people's resistance.

The US and its allies were able to bring down the Saddam regime in Baghdad, Iraq but the Sunni officers and men under the Baath nationalist leaders regrouped to fight the foreign aggressors and the Shia puppet government. They were also able to bring down the Taliban government in Kabul, Afghanistan but armed resistance has continued not only from the Taliban armed forces but also from other armed organizations that have emerged. Having overthrown the Qaddafi regime by bombing and arming various militia organizations which are now fighting each other, they have found cause for further intervention to the continuing ruination of Libya.

The countries devastated by imperialist wars of aggression and proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa have become breeding and playing grounds for jihadist organizations, like affiliates of Al Qaida and the ISIS. Despite its propaganda against Al Qaida after 9-11, the US has armed and used Al Nushra, an affiliate of the Al Qaida, to wage war on the Assad regime in Syria. It has also created, trained and supplied the ISIS to punish its own puppet government in Baghdad for becoming too close to Iran and also to wage war on the Assad re-

gime in Syria and open the way for US and NATO intervention there.

The absence of a revolutionary and effective Communist Party in countries attacked by the US and its allies have enabled jihadists to seize the armed political initiative after secular nationalist governments are brought down. Previously in countries such as Iraq and Syria, the Baathists were able to maintain their regimes against threats from the US and Zionist Israel because of support from the Soviet and other revisionist-type communist parties. The absence of truly revolutionary communist parties in Tunisia and Egypt allowed Islamic parties to take power during the so-called Arab spring until the US-bred military bourgeoisie took over.

Wherever the US and its allies unleashed wars of aggression, Communist parties ought to lead the people's revolutionary movement for national liberation. Conditions are favorable for truly revolutionary communist parties to arise and initiate revolutionary armed struggles in other global regions. By waging wars of aggression and proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa, the US undermines itself by going into high military expenditure, overreaching in more than one direction. Thus, it actually loses focus on countries where revolutionary Communist parties are waging armed struggle.

The most exemplary of the armed revolutionary movements are those waging people's war and gaining victories either under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-

Maoism and/or an anti-imperialist program of national and social liberation. The armed revolutionary movements are in the Philippines, India, Palestine, Colombia, Peru, Turkey, Kurdistan and elsewhere. The Kurdish people and their revolutionary forces have benefited most directly from the current armed conflicts in the Middle East. They fight back the attacks of the ISIS and Turkey in Syria and North Kurdistan and arm themselves in the process as well as establish organs of democratic power.

The exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the people throughout the world, made more acute by the economic and social crisis, are pushing them to fight back in various ways and forms available to them—from spontaneous and localized protests and strikes, to nationally coordinated strikes and mass campaigns, and all the way to generating broad and sustained people's movements for national and social liberation in the imperialist-dominated underdeveloped countries; and for socialism in the imperialist homegrounds.

Throughout the underdeveloped countries, workers in urban areas, mining districts and special economic zones persevere in the difficult work of building unions and launching trade union struggles. The peasant masses demand genuine land reform and are being mobilized for this purpose. Student-youth are being radicalized in growing numbers, and their protests inside the campus are overflowing into the streets and

communities, where they link up with workers, semiproletarians and other sectors. The most advanced workers and students are learning to link up with the peasantry and indigenous peoples in the rural areas.

In the advanced capitalist countries, including the US, EU, Japan, China and Russia, there is a marked rise of people's resistance movements. Among the workers, youth, women, minorities, migrants, and cultural and intellectual workers, there is growing interest and demand for an anti-capitalist or Marxist critique of capitalism and reaffirmation of socialism. In a few countries, such as Greece, Spain, and Portugal, mass movements with a clear anti-capitalist orientation are gaining strength. Despite complex twists and turns, progressive parties and parliamentary coalitions are learning both from positive and negative lessons.

The rate at which the general crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening generates conditions favorable for the rise of genuine revolutionary parties of the proletariat and revolutionary mass movements. So long as monopoly capitalism and reaction persist, there is no end to the epochal struggle of the proletariat and people against the big bourgeoisie. We are still very much in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. As the crisis of imperialism worsens and deepens, the anti-imperialist and socialist movements will resurge with increasing resolve and vigor.

## II. Worsening crisis of the ruling system and rise of revolutionary resistance

FOR A WHILE, from 2010 to 2013, the Philippine ruling system appeared to be exempt from the crisis of world capitalist system, if we were to simply look at the rise of the GDP. This was growing at a rate far beyond that of the world economy and was being touted as the highest in Asia in 2013. The content of the growing GDP was obscured. The money flow reflected by the GDP of 7.2% consisted of portfolio investments (hot money) that went mainly to the financial markets (stock, bond and money markets) to the extent of 65%, reducing to only 6% the proportion of money remittances of overseas migrant workers and the income from call center operations. The rest of the total money flow came mainly from government spending for bureaucratic operations, debt service and other counterproductive purposes.

The US deliberately gave the Aquino regime the special privilege of having the Philippines receive a large flow of money from hedge funds. The aim was to conjure the illusion of economic growth, sustain the private construction boom and generate government revenues for boosting military operations and appropriating large doleout funds for the conditional cash transfer and Pamana programs to make the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan successful. Increased government spending, remittances of overseas contract workers and earnings of business call centers also served to maintain high consumption spending by a small part of the population.

Oplan Bayanihan became a big failure because of its antipeople character, the ineptness and corruption of the regime's civil and military bureaucracy and because of the superiority of the Party's strategy of protracted people's war and the tactics of intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. At the same time, the crisis of global capitalism reasserted itself relative to the Philippines. The flow of hot money began to subside in 2014 when the US announced it would slow down quantitative easing and possibly raise interest rates and because of China's even worse problem of wanton spending and credit for public and private construction.

The much-vaunted Philippine economic growth rate of 7.2% has gone down to 6.1% in 2014 and is expected to go further down to 5.8% in 2015. The World Bank blames slow government spending, negative net exports and the initial impact of El Niño. In fact, the neoliberal economic policy has undermined and reduced production output in agriculture and manufacturing. Manila government figures show that manufacturing has slowed down to 5.9% in the first quarter of 2015 from 7% in the first quarter of 2014. Agriculture continues to decline. Its share in the economy is 10%. The share of manufacturing is 23.2%, which is as low as in the 1950s.

Especially under the US-dictated neoliberal economic policy, one puppet regime after another has rejected national industrialization with genuine land reform as the basic policy for developing and expanding the domestic market. The US-Aquino regime is brazen in rejecting national industrialization. It favors foreign corporations and big comprador operations. It promotes schemes relying on the so-called global value chains and ASEAN integration under the control of the TNCs. The big comprador-landlords in collusion with foreign capital are hell-bent on pushing for an economic charter change to fully remove constitutional restrictions on foreigners to own lands and engage

in all types of small, medium, and large scale economic ventures. This will allow foreign big capitalists to further exploit the country's natural and human resources.

The biggest gainers under the US-Aquino regime are the foreign banks and corporation and the big comprador firms. Their interests are in banking, insurance, real estate development, infrastructures, shopping malls, semi-manufacturing, mining, logging, plantations and the like. Public-private partnerships favor big comprador companies and foreign suppliers in infrastructure and energy projects. As a result, the wealth of the 10 richest Filipinos has risen exponentially from P650 billion in 2010 to P2.2 trillion in 2015. Top-level corruption of the Aquino ruling clique and its business favorites is frequently exposed, with particular instances involving hundreds of millions and even billions of pesos.

Social inequalities have worsened amid increasing unemployment rates, decreasing real income of the working people and even the middle social strata, soaring prices of basic commodities, social services and public utility charges (especially transport, electricity and water).

The drastic fall of semiconductor production and other semi-manufacturing as a result of global market contraction starting in 2008 has pushed up unemployment rates and further depressed wage levels. So far, more than ten million Filipino contract workers have left the country pushing their luck in unfamiliar lands and cultures under harsh working and living conditions, low wages and neglect by the Philippine government.

A two-tiered wage system is now being implemented under RA 6727 in which Tier 1 or the "floor wage" replaces the minimum, while Tier 2 or the "productivity wage" is set by individual firms. Short-term contractualization and flexible working arrangements continue to keep workers as temporaries and

part-timers. Contractualization of workers runs as high as 90% of the labor force in many factories, service and commercial enterprises juxtaposed with a rapidly shrinking percentage of regulars who are either retrenched or reduced as contractuels.

So-called tripartism allows the employers and government to put workers in a corner and defeat trade union demands. So-called self-regulation and voluntary compliance are rampant capitalist practices legitimized by the state. Working conditions are dismal and hazardous. The most basic health and safety regulations in the workplace are widely violated in the name of creating an “investment-friendly climate”. A glaring example of the vicious collusion between capitalists and bureaucrats and their criminal disregard for the workers’ welfare is the Kentex tragedy where more than 100 workers perished. Aggravating these are state policies such as Republic Act 6715 (Herrera Law), Wage Rationalization Law, Regional Wage Boards, “no union, no strike” enterprises, “end of contract” and other anti-labor acts. These have aroused the working class to widen and fortify their ranks, develop not only trade unions but revolutionary unions and other workers’ associations in the factories and in the workers communities. In some regions, the Party has led and supported successful struggles of exploited and oppressed regular and contractual workers in several factories and plantations.

The Philippines has an agrarian semifeudal economy but it has lost food self-sufficiency, particularly with regard to rice and corn production, due to the neoliberal economic policy of allowing rice and other food imports to swamp the market and discourage local production. At the same time, large plantations have been devoted to such export-oriented crops as rubber and oil palm and large tracts of

land allocated for bioethanol production. Eventually, rice and other food imports have become more expensive amid dwindling local food production resulting in the further impoverishment of the peasant masses.

The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) and the CARP-Extension with Reforms (CARPER) have ended last year without having solved the problem of landlessness. Most of those who received certificates of land ownership awards (CLOA) have become unable to pay the amortization of the land to the Land Bank or have suffered family illness and crop failures forcing them to sell their land to rich peasants or money lenders. Government has resorted to various legal machinations and maneuvers to dispossess beneficiaries of the awarded land. The government and landgrabbers collude in reclassifying rice and corn land to other types of land exempt from land reform. This has become an effective scheme to evict farmers and divest them of their lands. Many huge landed estates previously subject to land reform remain undistributed to beneficiaries as a result of the landlords’ legal maneuvers. In the case of Hacienda Luisita, the landed estate remains undistributed notwithstanding a Supreme Court decision, epitomizing the Aquino-Cojuangcos’ contempt of legal institutions and arrogant display of big-landlord-bureaucrat-capitalist power. Land is rapidly being reconcentrated into the hands of landlords as well as local and foreign agricorporations.

Sixty-six million Filipinos are living on PhP125 or less a day. Poverty is most widespread in the countryside. With land frontier exhausted since the end of the 1960s, the excess population in the countryside has tended to move towards the cities and swell the urban poor slums. In 2010-2014, the Aquino regime appropriated PhP178 billion to the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino

Program (4Ps) or Conditional Cash Transfer for doleouts to poor households. This huge amount of money has failed to significantly reduce or even alleviate poverty. Hundreds of millions of pesos are dissipated through bureaucratic corruption. A hefty sum of PhP62.7 billion, almost twice the previous average annual allocation has been allocated for this program for 2016.

The Philippines is artificially buoyed up by a huge external debt of USD75 billion as of June 2015, almost three times as large as the USD 27 billion foreign debt left by the Marcos fascist regime. Trade deficits have risen and have been covered by further foreign borrowing. Total public debt has risen to PhP5.847 trillion as of end July 2015. Of this amount, domestic debt has reached PhP3.89 trillion. Government deficit spending has exacerbated the rise of the local public debt.

The underdevelopment, widespread poverty, mass unemployment and the worsening crisis of the Philippine economy spur social unrest and revolutionary resistance. The workers are outraged by the neoliberal drive to push down their wages, draw them down to the level of short-term contractualization as temporaries and part-timers, and suppress their democratic rights, especially their right to unionize and strike. Trade union leaders are being murdered to intimidate the entire working class.

The peasant masses have continued to suffer ever worsening conditions of feudal and semifeudal exploitation given the series of patently bogus land reforms over the past 50 years. The swindling political agents of the landlord class have now dropped their pretense at land reform with the end of CARPER. The peasant masses and the indigenous people suffer exploitation and oppression the most. Land reconcentration is occurring at the levels of the small, middle and big landlords. The worst of the big



landgrabbers acquire the largest tracts of land with the active assistance of the reactionary government for the purpose of, or in connection with real estate development and speculation, plantations, mining and special economic zones.

The peasant masses are waging various forms of struggles to fight for and assert their land rights. They are waging campaigns to reduce land rent, lower rates of usury, raise the wages of agricultural and farmworkers, raise production and farmgate prices, lower rentals on farm tools and equipment, set up cooperatives and engage in mutual help. In some regions, occupation of abandoned and contested lands are being undertaken. Peasant organizations have launched nationwide protest campaigns with marches and peasant chains.

The indigenous peoples' right to ancestral domain is being viciously attacked. In attempts to grab land, the government aids the foreign and local land grabbers by subjecting the peasants, including the indigenous people, to Oplan Bayanihan military and psywar operations. In AFP press releases, military operations are deceptively referred to as peace and development operations. Long neglected by the reactionary government, the people in the hinterlands have on their own put up schools and other social facilities. These are now being occupied and destroyed by the military troops and paramilitary groups of Oplan Bayanihan in the course of landgrabbing for the benefit of the foreign corporations and big compradors engaged in mining, logging and plantations. Local leaders and educators are being murdered. The people have refused to be intimidated and have fought back. They have gone on long marches from Mindanao and the Cordillera to rally the entire nation against the oppressors headed by Aquino.

The restless students and the

out-of-school youth are launching militant mass actions against rising tuition fees, lack of jobs after graduation, the commercialization of education (including state colleges and universities), the imposition of the K+12 system to produce a docile work force for foreign and local exploiters, the reduction of public funds for the public school system and the increase of public fund for the military, police and intelligence equipment and operations.

The entire Filipino nation is appalled at the gross and systematic violations of human rights being perpetrated by the US-Aquino regime in carrying out Oplan Bayanihan.

The masses of worker and peasants continue to strengthen their unity with the urban petty bourgeoisie who suffer from grossly low incomes, shortage of job opportunities in the country, pressures to seek jobs abroad and are scandalized by the corruption of the ruling clique and high bureaucrats in general. The middle bourgeoisie has long been disgusted by the hostility of the US-Aquino regime to the cause of industrialization and indifference to demands for support to small and medium enterprises.

The US-Aquino regime is now extremely isolated. The possibility of Aquino being overthrown by a people's uprising, however, has been dissipated by the onset of the electoral struggle for the presidency in 2016. The bourgeois allies of the toiling masses and the dominant Church have lost interest in a people's uprising to overthrow him unless he commits another serious crime or blunder.

Even then, Aquino remains isolated by the exposure of so many scandals including pork barrel corruption under such headings as PDAF, DAP, off budget accounts, special funds and so on, the failure to provide timely and sufficient resources for the relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities

devastated by supertyphoon Yolanda, the designation of Gen. Alan Purisima (while suspended on corruption charges) as overall commander of the bungled Mamasapano operation, the appointment of corrupt officials to high positions on the basis of personal friendship, the special delivery of state contracts to business cronies and others.

He also faces even bigger and more serious accountabilities, such as the rabid implementation of the neoliberal economic policy, gross and systematic human rights violations, and the aggravation of social inequality and injustices, unemployment and poverty.

The US-Aquino regime has utterly failed to destroy or reduce the New People's Army to inconsequentiality through Oplan Bayanihan and related political maneuvers. It has failed to exhibit good governance. Instead, it has been thoroughly exposed as corrupt and incompetent. It has done nothing but aggravate and deepen the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of underdevelopment and poverty.

Since 2010, the Aquino regime has made false promises to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in order to engage it in an indefinite ceasefire and have more military forces to deploy against the NPA. But the regime has failed to pass the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) and has exposed itself for having taken the MILF for a ride.

Despite the ceasefire of the Manila government with the MILF, the NPA and other revolutionary forces in Eastern Mindanao have been able to overcome the increased deployment of enemy forces in their areas. In the meantime, the frustrations of the Bangsamoro over the intensified armed suppression in Mamasapano and other Moro areas, as well as the mutilation and nonpassage of the BBL offer the possibility for a more extensive and intensive armed res-

istance by the Bangsamoro.

The US-Aquino regime thought that it could rally the entire nation to its side by opposing China's encroachments in the West Philippine Sea and that it would be able to accuse and isolate the CPP-led forces as pro-China despite their long running criticism of the Dengist restoration of capitalism in China. But the Party and the revolutionary forces and people it leads have stood up for national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The CPP has condemned China's unjust claim of undisputed sovereignty over 90% of the South China Sea and in particular the grabbing of Panatag Shoal and the reclamations in the Spratlys—all in violation of the sovereign rights of the Filipino people over the exclusive economic zone and the extended continental shelf in accordance with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It has also condemned the Aquino regime for allowing Chinese state and private corporations to maintain and increase their business interests in the Philippines in the form of 40% share of the national power grid, large mining operations, plantations, financial firms, hotels, shopping malls and so on.

While supportive of the Philippine case against China before the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea and the Arbitral Tribunal, the Party has condemned the Aquino regime for using the maritime dispute to allow the US to reestablish military bases within "agreed locations" under the EDCA and to encourage Japan to intervene militarily in the Philippines.

If the international tribunal decides in favor of the Philippines, China would have to give up its baseless claims of owning 90% of the South China Sea and change its tack in the international community and towards the ASEAN countries. The US would have no justification for establishing military bases in the Philippines under the pretext of

protecting the Philippines from China. Thus, the patriotic and progressive forces and the entire Filipino people should be able to develop economic relations with China for advancing national industrialization instead of perpetuating and aggravating the underdevelopment of the Philippines.

The presidential electoral campaign circus has gone to town with disqualification suits, criminal charges and rumor mongering galore. This reflects in a concentrated way the contradictions of political factions among the reactionaries.

The ruling Liberal Party candidate Mar Roxas is well known as an exponent of neoliberal economic policy, a Wharton boy, a loyal representative of the big compradors and landlords servile to the US. He does not care about persuading the working people to trust him, except by superficially trying to mimic their hard work in photo snapshots. He is isolated by even bigger and more serious accountabilities, such as the rabid implementation of the neoliberal economic policy, gross and systematic human rights violations, and the aggravation of social inequality and injustices, unemployment and poverty.

Despite the huge amount of public and private funds already mobilized to support his campaign, Roxas rates low in poll surveys because of his close association with Aquino and the widespread perception of his own performance as inept. He is actually ridiculed for vowing to continue the Daang Matuwid policies of Aquino.

In trying to win over votes, all other major presidential candidates try to champion certain demands of the ordinary people, like ending top level corruption in government as well as rampant common crimes, engaging in industrialization to create jobs and so on.

The Party and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are pleased that all five ma-

ior presidential candidates in the 2016 elections are committed in varying degrees to the resumption of the NDFP-GPH formal peace negotiations.

Davao Mayor Rodrigo Duterte has been the most vocal and most forward in announcing his proposal to the NDFP for a coalition government and offer of a number of cabinet positions, and in indicating the patriotic and progressive grounds for a just peace. However, Sen. Grace Poe has run ahead of him in comprehensively defining the grounds for electoral alliance with the Makabayan Bloc including upholding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for human rights, national industrialization and genuine land reform.

There will be serious consequences if any of the major presidential candidates were to be disqualified or arrested with Roxas being perceived as extremely favored by his foreign and local patrons.

The most astute observers have declared that no matter how the poll surveys and even the actual voting go, what will decide the presidential elections will be the CIA and Aquino control of the automated electoral system to be run by Smartmatic-TIM which can be pre-programmed to "elect" officials as in the 2010 and 2013 elections. That a dubious foreign corporation is given a pivotal role in a national elections constitutes a flagrant and shameless violation of the people's sovereignty.

The Party and the NDFP do not endorse any candidate, party and coalition in the electoral process of the reactionary system. They are outside of this system. But they do study and analyze how to regard and relate to the candidates, parties and coalitions within the ruling system, before, during and after elections, in connection with the civil war, in order to benefit the people and the peace negotiations.

It is good that there is the

Makabayan Bloc which strives to pursue a patriotic and progressive line in carrying out the electoral struggle and seeking further alliances within the ruling system. The voting strength of the Makabayan Bloc is far bigger than the capability of Iglesia ni Cristo on a nationwide scale and is capable of electing patriotic and progressive candidates at various levels.

Even as the Makabayan Bloc and progressive party list groups concentrate on the electoral struggle, the various mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, students, teachers, health workers, lawyers, artists, writers, human rights activists and other sectors should carry on with their own campaigns on burning issues and long-term issues in the national democratic mass movement. After all, the electoral struggle involves a few months every three years while the mass movement runs daily from year to year to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for various forms of struggle.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system provides the favorable objective conditions for

the development of the subjective forces of the armed revolution. The Party leads the proletariat and the broad masses of the people along the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It commands the New People's Army to carry out the armed struggle and integrate it with the agrarian revolution and mass base building.

The worker-peasant alliance is strengthened in the course of the protracted people's war. And the organs of political power constituting the people's democratic government are established in the countryside. The revolutionary mass organizations are built and mobilized to support the organs of political power and to contribute their strength to the building of the national united front under the auspices of the NDFP. The subjective forces of the revolution and their alliances are being developed through struggles on a daily basis while the reactionaries have the illusion that their system will forever last so long as they have periodic elections.

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### **III. The Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly and effectively leading the Philippine revolution**

THE COMMUNIST Party of the Philippines is firmly and effectively leading the Philippine revolution because it has correctly adopted the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general political line of people's democratic revolution and the organizational line of democratic centralism and accordingly carries out ideological, political and organizational work.

In ideological building, the Party has made available to Party cadres and members a large collection of classic and current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist study materials. These serve as texts and references for the basic, intermediate and advanced courses of the Party. It is always emphasized that grasping revolutionary theory and principles makes a cohesive and disciplined Party. It is emphasized even more that the theory and principles must be applied on the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people and the Party.

The Party has consistently used its Constitution and Program and Amado Guerrero's Philippine Society and Revolution for the basic Party course. It updates and augments these with new basic documents, analyses of current events and sustained works issued by the Party Central Committee through Ang

Bayan. It has also issued works that serve the intermediate and advanced course. Among these are documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements and Armando Liwanag's Stand for Socialism against Modern Revisionism.

The ideological education of Party cadres and members is ever expansive as they are encouraged and instructed to take the intermediate Party course and learn about the revolutions of other peoples in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism and finally the advanced Party course which seeks to provide them with sufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, social science, revolutionary strategy and tactics and history of the international communist movement.

Those with high formal education are encouraged to read the

study materials in advance of or beyond the Party study courses. But the Party has been cognizant of the difficulties of workers and peasants with lower formal education in reading study materials. There are simplified and illustrated materials in print and on video. Teaching cadres are motivated and trained to explain terms and issues in a language understandable to the workers and peasants. After all, the subject is essentially their oppression and exploitation and their struggle for liberation.

When ideological education is done well and promptly, it results in more knowledgeable and determined Party cadres and members who do their political and organizational work conscientiously, militantly and effectively. Otherwise, all kinds of work suffer. Ideological education is sometimes neglected because of preoccupation with practical work. At other times, there is a predilection for overly long study meetings in big batches of students, which cannot be easily repeated. There may be small or big study meetings, depending on the security situation.

Study meetings can be properly scheduled to avoid protracted meetings.

We have observed that central staff organs and regional party organs and organizations that do ideological education well and promptly also do well in all kinds of work. There are no unnecessary delays in the education of the Party cadres and members who proceed to recruit more Party candidate members. Candidate-members promptly become full members within the period of candidature and are encouraged to raise their level of knowledge through Party study courses. Thus, Party cadres and members keep on increasing with the majority being young.

The Party has been successful at carrying out the general political line of people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal system. The working class serves as the leading revolutionary class in the current stage of the Philippine revolution and the consequent stage of socialist revolution. To win the revolution, it employs three weapons to arouse, organize and mobilize the people and defeat the enemy.

The first weapon is the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is the advanced detachment of the working class, which directs the revolutionary mass movement and coordinates the various forms of struggle. The second weapon is the revolutionary armed struggle, which is the highest form of struggle because it is for overthrowing the reactionary ruling state and installing the people's democratic government. The third weapon is the united front which brings about several types of alliances to win over the people in their millions and weaken, isolate and destroy the enemy in a revolutionary civil war or a patriotic war against foreign aggression.

The Party is now established on

a nationwide scale in both urban and rural areas. In urban areas, it is based among the workers in factories, transport lines and urban poor communities. It is also based among the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the educated youth, low income professionals and government employees. At the beginning, the proletarian revolutionaries came from the urban areas. As the revolutionary armed struggle progressed in the rural areas, more proletarian revolutionaries emerged from the ranks of workers in mining, logging and plantations, traditional farm workers and poor peasants and the young educated activists from the urban areas.

The Party carries out the strategic line of people's war to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate armed and political strength in the countryside until it gains the capability to seize the cities on a nationwide scale. For this purpose, the Party deployed Party cadres and members for work in the New People's Army and the rural communities at first in a few regions and soon enough on a nationwide scale. By 1977, guerrilla fronts of the Party and the NPA covered Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

The people's war is effective where revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building are integral components under the leadership of the Party through various levels of NPA command. The Party provides all Red commanders and fighters with political-military education and encourages them to win victories in order to build more NPA units with the arms seized from the enemy.

Agrarian revolution is undertaken through the two stages of minimum and maximum land reform. The minimum program is carried out extensively in all guerrilla fronts, consisting of the reduction of land rent, lowering if not elimination of usury, lowering of rent on tools and equipment, raising production and farmgate prices, set-

ting up cooperatives and mutual-help, etc. The maximum program consists of distributing land for free to the tillers. More than a million peasant families are currently benefiting from both the maximum and minimum land reform program, with tens of thousands of hectares distributed to family beneficiaries nationwide over the past few years.

Mass base building is accomplished by forming the organs of political power (at first the barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees) and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and cultural activists. Municipal and sub-municipal level organs of political power are emerging in several regions. Chapters of the Pambansang Katipunan ng Magbubukid (National Peasant Union) have been organized at the sub-municipal, municipal and up to the district level. The people exercise their sovereignty through elections that are conducted freely, with secret balloting. Militia platoons are formed among the able-bodied for self-defense and for maintaining peace and order.

The general capability of the NPA is still extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. Offensive operations are carried out by small teams, squads, platoons and oversized platoons. In regions most advanced in people's war, the NPA has attained the capability to concentrate companies and even a battalion to carry out the most dramatic offensive operations against mining, logging and plantation enterprises and against field commands of the enemy.

So far, we have not accomplished the much-desired nationwide advance of the NPA from the strategic defensive stage to the strategic stalemate. The delay in achieving the strategic stalemate can be explained by the uneven development of the subjective forces nationwide and by the intensity of

enemy reaction to the increasing tactical offensives by the people's army. In criticism and self-criticism sessions and in sustained rectification campaigns, we must analyze what is preventing the people's army from carrying out its main duty of winning battles against the enemy through raids and ambushes. The first thing to look at is whether the Party is promptly and keenly carrying out the needed ideological, political and organizational work, whether there is stagnation or decrease of Party cadres and members and whether the work is lopsided.

However, all previous calls for reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate have served to inspire our Party and the Red commanders and fighters to exert their best efforts to win victories in the people's war. As a matter of fact, in a few regions, the NPA has reached a certain level of strength and capacity as to allow greater interplay of initiative, flexibility and planning, wage more intensive and widespread guerrilla warfare, sustain tactical offensives and frustrate prolonged enemy campaigns.

The forces of the Party and the NPA in Eastern Mindanao must be cited for their heroic, wise and victorious example. They have demonstrated that they can grow stronger by fighting back against the most concentrated enemy attacks. Through more than ten years, they prevailed over such vicious enemy campaign plans as Bantay Laya and Bayanihan. One enemy chief of staff after another has been embarrassed by premature claims of victory. In the latest enemy campaign against the NPA in Eastern Mindanao, the premise is that the deployment of 30% of the total armed strength of the reactionary armed forces would result in the defeat of 40% of total NPA strength.

Contrary to enemy expectations, the NPA in Eastern Mindanao has prevailed over its campaigns by taking advantage of the wide gaps

in enemy deployment on rough terrain and has inspired the forces of the NPA in other regions of Mindanao and in the Visayas and Luzon to intensify their tactical offensives.

Most of the regional commands have responded to the Party's call to step up tactical offensives on the basis of their own capability and strength and after resolving problems through summings-up and criticism and self-criticism. Regions outside Eastern Mindanao benefited from the relative decrease of enemy forces due to the latter's concentration in Mindanao. In turn, the marked intensification of tactical offensives nationwide has significantly derailed the enemy's plan to further focus on and destroy the revolutionary forces in Eastern Mindanao. Thus, on a nationwide scale, the NPA has frustrated Oplan Bayanihan's aim of destroying or rendering it inconsequential.

In desperation, the enemy has organized paramilitary units to attack the Lumad indigenous people and murder their leaders. This has exposed the brutal character of Oplan Bayanihan and the US-Aquino regime which serves the interests of foreign companies and big comprador firms in land-grabbing and plundering the rich natural resources of Mindanao.

The Party has developed the closest alliance between the working class and peasantry by carrying out the highest form of struggle in the countryside. This basic alliance of the two largest classes, the most oppressed and exploited in Philippine society, is the foundation of the new democratic revolution, national unity and all possible alliances. To make the alliance of basic revolutionary forces, the toiling masses of workers and peasants join up with the urban petty bourgeoisie. The middle bourgeoisie can also be won over to a patriotic alliance. Even certain sections of the reactionary classes can be won over as temporary and unreliable allies

in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

As the Party expands the united front, it exercises firmness of principle and flexibility in policy and maintains its independence and initiative. The point is to win over the masses in their millions, increase the strength of the revolutionary movement and isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy. The united front is a weapon applicable in various legal forms of struggle as well as in the revolutionary forms of struggle. It is carried out even more effectively because the Party and the people have their people's army that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

It is a function of the united front to develop the cooperation of national and local officials of the reactionary governments in opposing policies and acts of national betrayal by the reactionary ruling clique and the gross and systematic violations of human rights by the coercive apparatuses of the state. It is also a function of the united front that the Party and other revolutionary forces encourage the critical participation of legal patriotic and progressives forces in the electoral process of the ruling system. It is further a function of the united front to develop close relations with armed movements of the Moro people against the reactionary state. Even the peace negotiations have a potential for promoting an alliance against foreign and feudal domination and laying the ground for a just and lasting peace.

The organizational principle and line of democratic centralism has served the Party well in the maintenance and growth of the Party. The essence of democratic centralism is getting the information and proposals from all Party cadres and members through their leading organs and collective units and concentrating their will and strength for carrying out the urgent and long term tasks of the revolution. Cent-

ralism is based on democracy and guides democracy. The minority is subordinate to the majority. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The Central Committee, with members in different parts of the country has the Political Bureau and Executive Committee to make necessary and timely decisions. Depending on the significance and scale of decisions to be made, the Party holds its Congress and the meetings of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee, accordingly.

The Party continues to maintain and strengthen a nationwide organization, which is deeply rooted among the masses. In certain regions, the increased size and strength of the Party organization manifests the all-round advance of the revolutionary movement. In other regions, there may be major errors and shortcomings which adversely affect the organizational strength of the Party, including lapses in security which are not promptly and effectively corrected and result in the loss of cadres.

By whatever degree or frequency the enemy kills or captures leading Party cadres at whatever level, the leading organs have been able to replenish and strengthen their ranks with Party cadres and members from within the same region or area. Additionally, Party cadres have been transferred from one region to another to spread lessons from successful revolutionary struggles or reinforce or replenish a leading Party organ that has suffered dislocations and serious losses.

The revolutionary mass movement of various patriotic and progressive classes and sectors have generated highly conscious and militant mass activists who can be recruited immediately as candidate-members and sworn in as full Party members within the period of candidature stipulated by the

Party Constitution. The background, bio-data and personality of the Party candidate-members as well as their basic understanding of the Party Constitution and Program are promptly checked and verified. Within their period of candidature, they undergo the basic Party course and perform their assignments in a Party unit.

The Party undertook a serious effort to increase its membership, registering a 33% overall growth. Although significant, greater effort is needed to harvest from the relatively broader mass base. The rate of increase has been adversely affected by disruptions in the mass base due to serious errors and enemy attacks.

The Party organs concerned and the Party branch or group that are responsible for developing Party candidate-members to full members sometimes or oftentimes neglect their duty to ensure the promotion of candidate-members to full Party members within or at the end of the period of candidature. The nonperformance of such duty hinders the continuous organizational growth of the Party. It would be edifying to study the relation of a stagnant or decreasing Party membership to the shrinkage of the mass movement and lack of well-rounded development of revolutionary work.

The Party Central Committee relies heavily on the regional Party committees for the organizational growth of the Party and on Party groups within national mass organization for strengthening central staff organs. It is problematic when a regional Party committee is immobilized for whatever reason and does not make and implement a periodic plan to educate, deploy and swear in promptly new Party members. It is also problematic when a regional Party committee fails to develop an increasing number of Party members for both urban and rural work and does not fulfil the continuous need in the

countryside for Party cadres and members from among the workers and educated youth.

The Party organizations in the urban areas, especially in the National Capital Region, must develop their work in accordance with their two main responsibilities. There is a need to further invigorate the urban mass movement, organize and mobilize in greater numbers the workers, youth and students, women, professionals, urban poor and others, carry out more and larger protest actions, intensify the rifts within the ruling class and further isolate the ruling US-Aquino regime. Cadres and activists arising from and tempered in the mass movement must be deployed continuously and in large numbers to the countryside.

Regional Party committees have based themselves in the countryside. Sometimes some of them fail to give the prompt and proper attention to developing the city-based Party organization and to drawing from the urban areas workers and educated youth to become Party cadres and members. The Party cadres and members of peasant origin always need to be augmented by workers and educated youth cadres for political responsibilities higher than the village level and for command and technical functions higher than platoon level.

There are central, regional, provincial and guerrilla front Party leading organs whose members are of advanced age and frail health. Such organs can be rejuvenated by including more members who are young and in their early middle age. A healthy and vigorous combination of young, middle-aged and senior Party cadres must be maintained in the aforesaid leading organs. While still capable, the senior members can continue with major tasks. Those who are sickly or with frail health must be looked after and properly located for their safety.

## IV: Revolutionary tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines

THE COMMUNIST Party of the Philippines and the Philippine revolution have withstood all attacks of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. This is because the Party has clearly defined and carried out its ideological, political and organizational tasks. The Party must ably carry out such tasks in order to advance the Philippine revolution while the crisis of global capitalism and the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is worsening and providing favorable conditions.

By all means, the Party must lead and advance the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. No matter how long it takes, the strategic defensive must advance towards the strategic stalemate. This latter stage must develop for as long as it takes to build regular mobile forces, supported by the guerrilla forces, the people's militia, self-defense units or the mass organizations and the mass movement and prepare all revolutionary forces for the strategic offensive in the future.

The Party must continue to build itself ideologically. This is the first task and always the first requisite of Party building. To neglect it is to allow all kinds of subjectivism to arise, be it empiricism, dogmatism and outright revisionism. Without the constant study and application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory guided by dialectical materialism and based on successful revolutionary practice, subjectivism can take the form of empiricism or basing oneself on experience without any theoretical guidance or direction; and can also take the form of dogmatism or relying on fixed ideas without concrete analysis of concrete conditions and developments.

Without the constant study and application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory, we are liable to mislead ourselves or to come under the influence of the crudest ideology of the bourgeoisie, spread daily and most widely by the mass media, or by the most clever ideology of the bourgeoisie, generated by academic pedants who deliberately distort the theory and practice of the great

communist leaders.

We must continue to study and build on the wealth of theory and practice that the Party has created under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It includes the basic documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movements, the founding program of the Party, Philippine Society and Revolution, Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism and the articles against neoliberalism, Gorbachovism, Dengism, Trotskyism and various schools and labels of anti-Marxism.

The Party has been able to create a treasury of Marxist literature in the course of successful revolutionary struggle and combatting wrong ideas and major errors within and outside the Party. It constantly applies theory to its practice and raises practice to the level of theory by regularly conducting assessments, summings-up of revolutionary practice, criticism-and-self-criticism, social investigation and class analysis and planning. Since the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries in the years of 1989-91, the Communist Party of the Philippines has stood at the forefront as a revolutionary party of the proletariat loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and relentlessly carrying out the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. We have a party with a wealth of theory and practice to study in the basic Party course, to compare with previous and current revolutionary struggles in the intermediate Party course and to relate to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-

Maoism in the advanced Party course.

We must have a plan to systematically carry out the three levels of Party study courses in order to strengthen ourselves ideologically. The more Party members who can finish the basic Party course during the period of candidature, the greater the number of Party personnel who can be relied upon to perform revolutionary tasks in the mass movement. The more who can finish the intermediate Party course and the advanced course as soon as possible, the more we can have cadres who can be in the leading organs of the Party and other revolutionary forces.

We must efficiently provide the basic Party course to all Party candidate-members. The courses can be given to small groups of five to ten participants anywhere in any room or under the sky and to bigger groups with better cover or more security precautions in areas of armed conflict. All Party members must be encouraged to read and study the materials on their own even before taking a course. The study materials are easily available even in the internet. At every level of Party education, study materials must be simplified and accompanied by illustrated or audio-visual aid in various Philippine languages for the benefit of study participants who have less formal education. In addition to regular Party courses, Party units at all levels must diligently hold study sessions on such topics and articles as are useful for carrying out their revolutionary tasks, especially updates and Party analyses in *Ang Bayan* and other Party publications.

Theoretical education is meant to inculcate revolutionary principles and dialectical materialist methods of thinking and acting. There is no point in studying theory if it does not lead to a more comprehensive

and deeper understanding of the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war, the recognition of friends and enemies of the revolution among the classes in the Philippine society, the use of such revolutionary weapons as the Party, the people's army and the united front; and the arousal, organization and mobilization of the masses for the seizure of political power.

The Party must ensure that the broad masses of the people are aroused, organized and mobilized in their millions through the mass organizations of various classes and sectors along the general line of people's democratic revolution as well as on the basis of specific class and sectoral interests. Periodic social investigation and class analysis must be conducted conscientiously at all levels in order to determine and grasp the concrete conditions on which the correct approach, tactics and methods for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses must be based. A major factor behind the longstanding shortcomings in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the workers and failure to recruit them into their vanguard Party in large numbers has been the failure to keenly understand how neoliberal economic policies have aggravated the crisis of semifeudalism and concretely impacted on the trade unions and workers' movement. Consequently, the correct and effective tactics and methods of work for countering the neoliberal onslaught and hurdling the obstacles put up by the capitalists and the state are not firmly grasped and implemented.

As the party of the working class, the Party is deeply interested in the trade union movement and in developing therein a strong core of proletarian revolutionaries. There is a need to overcome economism and legalism and develop new tactics for the workers' strike movement and various types and forms of arousing and organizing the workers and

carrying out massive and widespread workers' strikes with broad support from other sectors and from abroad. The trade unions must be turned into revolutionary unions, undertaking socialist education, developing proletarians conscious of their class and historic mission, raising economic struggles to political struggles, and keen to and undaunted by the schemes and attacks of its class enemies under the neoliberal regime.

The Party seeks to forge a strong alliance with the peasant masses and to realize agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution. Through the protracted people's war, the Party must integrate revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building. The New People's Army must be built as the principal weapon in carrying out the highest form of struggle for seizing political power. All Red commanders and fighters must undergo politico-military training and learn to fight by fighting. To gain the support of the peasant masses, the Party and the people's army must carry out the minimum and then the maximum land reform. They must build the organs of political power and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, children and the cultural activists.

The Party must build the revolutionary united front for armed struggle. It must base this on the worker-peasant alliance which is best formed in connection with the people's war. The alliance must be expanded into an alliance of basic revolutionary forces which includes the urban petty bourgeoisie. This social stratum has such a strong influence in Philippine society that it can swing public opinion in favor of the revolution. The basic revolutionary forces must be expanded into a national united front that includes the national bourgeoisie.

Aside from accomplishing the alliance of all patriotic forces, the Party must take advantage of the

splits among the reactionaries. It must have temporary even if unstable alliances with the lesser reactionaries in order to weaken, isolate and destroy the worst reactionaries as the enemy. In alliances with the national bourgeoisie and some of the reactionaries, the Party must maintain its own independence and initiative in order to preempt betrayals and surprise attacks at the expense of the revolutionary cause.

Alliances with the national bourgeoisie and with sections of the reactionaries can best be forged when the Party has an effective armed force and a strong mass base. These are respected by such allies and result in relations that are cooperative and fruitful in the interest of the people and the revolutionary cause.

The Party has been flexible enough to apply the united front policy on the electoral struggle within the reactionary ruling system. It has also gone so far as to undertake peace negotiations with the enemy ruling clique on the premise that truce and alliance is possible against foreign and feudal domination. But so far the crisis of the ruling system has not yet moved any ruling clique to forge a truce and alliance with the revolutionary movement. So far, every ruling clique since the signing of The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 has chosen to use the peace negotiations to split the revolutionary movement and cause it to surrender. In this connection, the Party must continue to preclude any confusion or capitulation by constantly reminding the revolutionary forces and the people that the aspiration for a just and lasting peace can only be attained by fulfilling the people's demand for national freedom and genuine democracy. Indeed, there can be no peace agreement without addressing the roots of the civil war with basic social, economic and political reforms.

The Party must continue to up-



hold the organizational principle of democratic centralism. It is democracy guided by centralism and centralism based on democracy. The revolutionary will and capabilities of the Party membership is concentrated in Party congresses and elected leading organs operating under the principle of democratic centralism.

The Party of nationwide scale must be deeply rooted among the masses. It must expand and consolidate itself in order to accomplish greater victories in the revolutionary struggle. At various levels, we must have a recruitment plan for the purpose of Party expansion and an educational plan for the purpose of Party consolidation.

To expand the Party is to recruit more candidate-members from the mass organizations and the people's army. To consolidate the Party is to promote promptly the candidate members into full Party members by finishing the basic Party course within the period of candidature and to further activate them in the Party units to which they are assigned. Those who are already Party members are encouraged to get the intermediate and higher Party courses. The increase of Party members must result in the expansion of the revolutionary mass movement and the recruitment of a bigger number of candidate members than ever before.

The Party members must arise from or be deployed in various forms of mass organizations and various forms of struggle. The Party must fulfil the high demand in the people's army for Party members and mass activists who are of worker origin and educated youth. The urban-based mass activists can choose to fulfil the requirements of Party candidature either in the urban or rural areas. There must be an increasing number of Party members arising from or being deployed to the ranks of

the workers, peasants and Red fighters.

Party leading and staff organs from the central level to the district level must see to it that the Party organization develops in both urban and rural areas and that there is a constant flow of young Party cadres and members from the urban to the rural areas so that certain political, professional and technical competencies can be transferred. When the Party in the countryside is isolated from the urban areas for a long while, senior Party cadres of more than 60 years at the regional level become predominant.

The length and style of work or study meetings of Party leading organs must be reformed. Meetings must be well prepared. Drafts are prepared in advance and the motions are collected also in advance. The presidium must see to it that all important matters are deliberated and decided within time limits. It is bad leadership to let meetings run for weeks and months and rob the attending cadres of precious time for work in their respective areas. It is also bad for security because the large amount of food and other supplies and the number of security personnel can be easily detected by the enemy.

The Party leading organs from the Central Committee to the provincial committees must have a three-thirds composition of senior, middle-aged and young cadres. The balance can be maintained by consistently promoting cadres to expand the number of committee members and increase the number of leading committees relative to the expansion of the Party and Party work. Senior cadres can opt to retire and, health permitting, be assigned as advisers to the committees to which they previously belonged. The Party must honor the comrades who retire and must provide them with sufficient security and health care.

There is a large number of overseas Filipinos. They are mostly migrant workers who have undergone secondary and tertiary education. They are also professionals working for international institutions and firms. They are also immigrants and permanent residents or even citizens abroad, especially in North America, who remain loyal to their motherland, and wish to support the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. They should be drawn to patriotic and progressive Filipino mass organizations. And the Party should organize within these mass organizations. At the same time, the overseas Filipinos can join non-Filipino institutions and organizations in the host country.

The Party must develop relations of proletarian internationalism with Communist parties and workers' organizations abroad. The NDFP must develop relations of anti-imperialist solidarity with national liberation movements abroad and with anti-imperialist governments. The progressive mass organizations based in the Philippines and abroad must develop solidarity relations with all anti-imperialist and democratic forces abroad.

The Party, the NDFP and progressive mass organizations must encourage and rally the Filipino people at home and abroad to stand with the peoples of the world in struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and reaction. The Philippine revolution is for the benefit of the Filipino people but it also contributes to the advancement of the struggle of humankind for greater freedom, democracy, development, social justice, cultural upliftment and international solidarity and peace. At the same time, the Filipino people are always grateful for the support they obtain directly and indirectly from the revolutionary struggles of other peoples. AB