Fulfill the requirements for the advance of the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate

Message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines

We celebrate the 42nd founding anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by renewing our resolve to fulfill the political and other requirements for advancing from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

We salute all Party cadres and members for strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, for victoriously leading the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the broad masses of the people for overcoming Oplan Bantay Laya I and II of the US-Arroyo regime, and accumulating the all-round strength to fight and defeat the campaigns of suppression being launched by the US-Aquino regime.

The worsening crisis of world capitalism and that of the semicolonial and semifeudal system provide us with the favorable conditions for further strengthening the subjective forces of the revolution and advancing our people's war from one stage to another. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are incapable of solving the crisis and are aggravating it as a consequence of their subservience to foreign monopoly capitalism, their plundering character and their brutality. The people are suffering more than ever before and they are driven by the crisis to fight fiercely for their national and democratic rights and interests.

As the advanced detachment of the working class and as the leading force in the Philippine revolution, our Party is determined to strengthen itself and guide other revolutionary forces, such as the
I. Protracted global depression and disorder

The world today is characterized by protracted economic depression and political disorder. The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening and deepening because the imperialist powers cling to the rapacious fundaments of capitalist exploitation and the dogma of neoliberal globalization. The consequent political disorder involves the rise of reactionary currents, the escalation of state terrorism, foreign military intervention and wars of aggression. Amid all this rise the people’s resistance and revolution.

The recent flurry of summits by the Group of 8, the Group of 20 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation have exposed the confusion and inability of the leaders of the imperialist states to solve the protracted economic depression in their respective economies. They openly worry about protectionist trends that run counter to the policy of neoliberal globalization. They fear
the migrant workers. They are
enned and victimized as a result
of the crisis are the blue-collar,
and pension benefits have been
reduced. Social services have
dramatically been cut back.

The workers are being
scapegoated as hav-
ing caused the crisis.
Fascism is rearing its ugly
head as immigrants and migrant
workers are scapegoated as hav-
ing caused the crisis.

The US is wary over the
tendency of the European Union
to look after its own interests in
Europe, Asia, Latin America and
Africa. The EU is currently being
buffeted by the public debt cri-
sis as a consequence of the bail-
outs and accumulated neoliberal
spending on high consump-
tion and on construction pro-
jects. Japan continues to hold
on to the coat tails of Uncle
Sam in terms of accommodation
or cooperation in trade, invest-
ments, technology and security.
In turn, the US wants Japan to
act as a counterforce to China
as part of the arc of contain-
ment against China in the Asia-
Pacific region.

However, the US and China
have been the main partners
under the policy of neoliberal
globalization, with the former
serving as the main source of
investments and main market
for the cheap sweatshop con-
sumer manufactures of the lat-
ter. Now the US is increasingly
blaming China for the global
economic and financial crisis
and prating that China’s export
surpluses are the cause of US in-
debtedness and that China is
prolonging and aggravating the
crisis by manipulating its cur-

neous and most militant in general strikes
and other mass protest actions.

The workers are being
pressured by their dire con-
ditions to wage class struggle.
They are conducting strikes in-
termittently and on a widening
scale. Among the most threat-
ened and victimized as a result
of the crisis are the blue-collar,
the public sector, the young
and the migrant workers. They are
also the most conspicuous and

inflationary tendency
resulting from the depression
and the inflationary tendency
from public spending.

In the imperialist countries,
public funds have been used to
bail out the big banks and cor-
porations responsible for the
worst economic crisis since the
Great Depression. The use of
public funds for bailout in com-

women are plummeting. Among the most
threatened and victimized as a result
of the crisis are the blue-collar,
the public sector, the young
and the migrant workers. They are

also the most conspicuous and
most militant in general strikes
and other mass protest actions.

The student youth are rising due
to the drastic cutbacks on edu-
cation and other social
services. Mass protests
of millions have been
sprouting in many
countries in Europe
and some states in
the US and spreading
to other countries.

The mass move-
ment of the workers
and youth is exposing
the root causes of the crisis and
is favoring the advance of pro-
gressive political parties. But
the monopoly bourgeoisie is
whipping up chauvinism, ra-
cism, religious prejudices and
other reactionary currents in or-
der to obfuscate the roots of the


The imperialist states are in-
creasingly repressive and prone
to use state terrorism. The legal
and political infrastructure for
fascism has become well en-
trenched since the 9/11 anti-
terrorist hysteria. The imperial-
ist states have stepped up war
hysteria and war production,
and have proceeded to escalate
military intervention and wars of
aggression. They have taken
advantage of the high rate of
unemployment to recruit more
troops for their armies and more
police agents for breaking up
strikes and street demonstra-
tions. Fascism is rearing its ugly
head as immigrants and migrant
workers are scapegoated as hav-
ing caused the crisis.

Contradictions among the
imperialist powers on economic,
financial, political and security
issues are steadily growing and
becoming conspicuous. But the
imperialist powers still manage
to maintain their alliance as
they confront the oppressed
peoples and nations in the un-
derdeveloped countries. At any
rate, the crisis is generating
protectionism in the imperialist
countries. Inter-imperialist
competition is intensifying
more than ever before for sour-
ces of cheap labor, oil and oth-
er raw materials, markets, fields
of investments and spheres of
influence.

The US is wary over the
tendency of the European Union
to look after its own interests in
Europe, Asia, Latin America and
Africa. The EU is currently being
buffeted by the public debt cri-
sis as a consequence of the bail-
outs and accumulated neoliberal
spending on high consumption
and on construction projects. Japan continues to hold on to the coat tails of Uncle Sam in terms of accommodation or cooperation in trade, investments, technology and security. In turn, the US wants Japan to act as a counterforce to China as part of the arc of containment against China in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, the US and China have been the main partners under the policy of neoliberal globalization, with the former serving as the main source of investments and main market for the cheap sweatshop consumer manufactures of the latter. Now the US is increasingly blaming China for the global economic and financial crisis and prating that China’s export surpluses are the cause of US indebtedness and that China is prolonging and aggravating the crisis by manipulating its currency in order to continue cheapening its exports.

The US depicts China as its
current and long-term No. 1 ri-
val in economic and political
terms, notwithstanding the fact
that China is a poor country with a low per capita GDP even if its total GDP now ranks second in the world. China has
II. Chronic crisis of the rotten system worsens

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to worsen under the impact of the crisis of the world capitalist system. More than ever before, the Philippines is dependent on the export of raw materials, migrant labor and low value-added semimanufactures, and the prices of these are now pressed down in the global market. More than ever, the Philippines is stricken by trade deficits, and is a beggar for foreign loans at more onerous terms and for portfolio investments in search of higher returns in the financial market.

The change of puppet administration from Arroyo to Aquino does not involve any significant change. The Aquino regime clings to the dogma of neoliberal globalization, and shuns national industrialization and land reform. It remains dependent on foreign loans and grants for the continuance of an economy oriented to the export of raw materials, and infrastructure projects to serve agricultural and mining corporations. It has given first priority to selling the Philippines and luring more foreign investments through its Public-Private Partnership Program. Like its predecessor regime, the puppet Aquino regime slavishly follows its US master's bidding in its counterinsurgency drive. The content and language of Aquino's new counterinsurgency campaign plan, Oplan Bayanihan, to succeed Arroyo's brutal Oplan Bantay Laya is just the same brutal dog with a different collar. It is patterned after and hews closely to the latest US Counterinsurgency Guide, with the same objectives and pretentious features. Couched in new fancy slogans, it combines all forms of deception, cooptation and brute force in seeking to destroy the revolutionary forces by all means. Like other counterinsurgency campaign plans in the past, Oplan Bayanihan has the same objective of...
controlling and silencing the population right down to the grassroots. It purports that the “whole-of-nation” and “people-centered” approach that it now totes is genuine and is primary over the military or “enemy-centered” approach. Its new slogans sugarcoat fascist bullets and atrocities with pretensions at reaching out to the people and respecting human rights, all to provide cover for and facilitate its brutal campaigns of suppression against the people and their revolutionary forces. In intent and reality, US counterinsurgency doctrine and practice—as more straightforwardly prescribed in military manuals—hold that, in the final analysis, military and other coercive measures are primary. As the revolutionary struggle gains strength, especially amid the ever intensifying crisis, the imperialist and puppet reactionary forces invariably resort to more and more militarist and fascist means and methods.

In conformity with the US Counterinsurgency Guide, the Aquino regime has been using the catchwords of good governance, delivery of services, economic development and security reforms in order to undertake graft-ridden programs and projects, hand doleouts for counterinsurgency purposes, aggravate the underdevelopment of the economy and divert resources from education, health and other essential social services to the military, debt service and profit remittances by multinational corporations.

The World Bank, the US Millennium Challenge Corporation and other imperialist agencies have joined the charade in announcing that they would favor and support states with development projects, such as those bandied about as Millennium Development Goals and Conditional Cash Transfers that supposedly would raise the quality of life of the population, improve governance and the delivery of basic services, but whose real objectives are to keep the recipient countries backward and mendicant, and to further the imperialist neoliberal and counterinsurgency agenda.

The Filipino people suffer the impositions of a regime whose chieftain Aquino has been handpicked by the US and the local exploiters. His supposed victory in the elections was predetermined by the propaganda, financing and manipulation of the foreign-controlled automated electoral system by the US and the worst of the local reactionaries. The Aquino regime is being directed by the same foreign and domestic interests that directed the Arroyo regime. It has already exposed itself as essentially similar to the Arroyo regime in terms of puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity.

To surpass his electoral rivals in campaign rhetorics, Aquino promised to prosecute and try Arroyo and her accomplices for corruption and human rights violations. But the promise is not going to be fulfilled as proven by the built-in weaknesses and the waste-basketting by the Arroyo-dominated Supreme Court of the so-called Truth Commission, as well as by the continuing condonement not only of the Arroyo regime’s human rights violations but also those of the current regime itself.

Intense pressure, including heavy criticism of the ridiculously trumped-up charges, widespread demands nationwide and abroad, the detainees’ resolute struggle for justice and freedom and their hunger strike compelled the Aquino government to drop the charges against the Morong 43 and have them released. The AFP still has to answer for the injustice, torture and sufferings inflicted on the victims. The Aquino government has still failed to clear and release hundreds more political detainees who have also been falsely charged, including those whose scurrility is guaranteed by the GRP-NDFP Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. It has not rendered justice to the thousands of victims of human rights violations.

By all indications, the Aquino regime is hellbent on using the slogan of human rights in order to continue the gross and systematic human rights violations. It is obviously going to use the peace negotiations with the NDFP and the MILF as an occasional propaganda device and to block the demands of the people for basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. So far, most important to the Aquino regime is beefing up the military, police and paramilitary forces and unleashing them against the people and the rev-
The contradictions between the Filipino people and the Aquino regime will sharpen. The people will resent Aquino for failing to fulfill his promise to solve the problem of poverty by eliminating corruption. The regime has practically condoned the crimes of corruption committed by the Arroyo clique and allows the continuing rampage of corruption. To end poverty, it is not enough to stop corruption. Social justice and development through national industrialization and land reform are necessary. But the Aquino regime is opposed to these as well, as proven by his actions on the Hacienda Luisita issue and his policy pronouncements and acts that exceedingly tout foreign investments and favor the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization.

The people cannot tolerate extreme forms of exploitation and oppression inflicted on them. Social discontent is more widespread and intense than ever before. The mass organizations of the toiling masses and the middle social strata are girding for concerted mass actions. Strikes and mass demonstrations have begun to break out and are bound to spread. The armed revolutionary struggle is intensified. The people's army is launching more tactical offensives than ever before in order to realize the objective of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years.

As the crisis worsens and the people's resistance rises, the contradictions among the reactionaries intensify. The economic and financial basis for mutual accommodation among the reactionaries has further narrowed. The ruling reactionaries headed by Aquino tend to monopolize the spoils of power. The reactionaries in the opposition are pushed to expose the corruption and other crimes of those who are in power. They are obliged to criticize the ruling clique in order to seize the political initiative and prepare for the next electoral contest.

At various levels of the political system, the competing reactionaries build their respective armed strength by cultivating factions within the military and police and by organizing their own armed body guards and private security agencies and militia units. GRP president Aquino as commander-in-chief of the armed forces has the advantage over his political opponents in using the military and police chain of command and his own private security corporation. But the regime is vulnerable to the changing alignments among the armed factions that struggle for power and spoils, especially in lucrative official assignments and criminal activities.

There is no sign whatsoever that the war between the Manila government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) would be resolved under the Aquino regime. The regime and its imperialist master seek the capitulation of the MILF so that they can exploit and plunder the natural resources in Bangsamoro land in Mindanao. But the MILF is unwilling to give up the right of the Bangsamoro to self-determination and to their ancestral domain.

While the war continues in Bangsamoro land, the Manila government has less deployable military forces against the New People's Army. At the same time, while the people's war advances throughout the Philippines, the MILF and the Bangsamoro have better prospects of achieving their revolutionary aspirations. The revolutionary forces and people led by the Communist Party of the Philippines have always recognized the right of the Moro people to national self-determination. The Moro people have the right to secede from an oppressive state as well as to opt for autonomy in a centralized or federal state that is non-oppressive.

The contradictions between the US imperialists and the Filipino people are sharpening in every field—economic, political, military and cultural. The US has tightened its grip on the Philippine economy under the policy of neoliberal globalization. At the same time, it has increased its military intervention under its policy of “global war on terror" and particularly under the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and the US Counter-insurgency Guide. Under various pretexts, the US has realized the permanent basing and deployment of US military forces in the Philippines. US military officers have openly acted as the bosses of the Filipino puppet forces.

The US is bent on escalating its military intervention to a war of aggression against the Filipino people as the revolutionary forces gain strength towards the strategic stalemate. But US military forces are being adversely affected by the domestic US economic and financial crisis, by being sucked into the quagmires of two wars of aggression and by being overstretched in overseas deployment.

The possibility of a US war of aggression against the Filipino people can be diminished by the rise of more armed revolutions in the world and by diplomatic actions taking advantage of growing contradictions between the US and certain countries in East Asia, like China and the DPRK. But the most important consideration is that the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces shall have gained a great amount of strength and experience from advancing towards the strategic stalemate and shall have prepared to fight a US war of aggression.
III. The Party leads the revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully led the Philippine revolution for over 42 years since its founding. It has defeated all the military campaigns of suppression unleashed by the Marcos regime to “nip the revolution in the bud” from 1969 to 1972 and the 14 years of fascist dictatorship from 1972 to 1986; and thereafter, the various campaigns of the post-Marcos regimes from 1986 to the present.

It has grown from small to big and from weak to strong through fierce revolutionary struggles. It has become tempered in battles against the enemy forces and overcome tremendous odds and difficulties. It has gained rich experience from which to draw lessons in order to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years.

The Party has won great victories in the fields of ideology, politics and organization. It has upheld, defended and promoted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the theory of the revolutionary proletariat. It has applied this theory on Philippine history and circumstances in order to determine the character of Philippine society and to draw the general political line of new democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. It has adhered to the principle of democratic centralism in building an organization that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses throughout the country.

The Party has gained strength and competence in leading the Philippine revolution because it has resolutely and diligently built itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. Criticism and self-criticism are conducted regularly and in a timely way in all organs and units to identify and overcome errors and shortcomings and to improve work and style of work. When errors and shortcomings of major proportions are committed, higher organs conduct rectification campaigns of varying scale and duration.

The CPP Central Committee initiated and led the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) from 1992 to 1998 that identified, criticized, repudiated and rectified major errors of Left opportunism and Right opportunism arising from the subjectivist notion that the Philippines has ceased to be semifeudal. The Left opportunists who pushed the lines of “strategic counteroffensive” and “urban insurrectionism” (Red Area-White Area, etc.) departed from the strategic line of protracted people's war and undermined the mass base of the revolutionary movement. Subsequently, they conjoined with the Right opportunists who got carried away by Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, bourgeois liberalism and other petty bourgeois trends and who were most vocal in espousing the liquidation of the Party.

The Party held its ground against the opportunists and called for the reaffirmation of basic revolutionary principles and the rectification of errors. It confronted and defeated the opportunists on all major issues, renewed the criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism in view of the blatant and full-scale restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries. It combatted the ideas and policies related to the ideological, political, economic and military offensives of the US and its allies against the cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The SGRM held the incorrigible opportunists and renegades accountable for gross ideological and political errors and for crimes arising from hysterical anti-informer campaigns. It frustrated and defeated the wrecking operations of the opportunists who eventually exposed themselves as renegades and special agents of the enemy. Ideological work was intensified. Through vigorous efforts, the Party successfully recovered and expanded the mass base in rural and urban areas. But certain aspects and areas of work did not get prompt and proper attention until after the SGRM.

The Party was able to preserve itself and gain strength under the worst conditions of adversity. It was still in the process of laying its foundation when Marcos imposed the fascist dictatorship and sought to destroy the revolutionary movement. In the time of the first Aquino regime, the military campaigns called Lambat Bitag coincided with the opportunist lines still at work within the
Party. The Ramos and Estrada regimes continued the campaigns of suppression while the Party concentrated on the rectification movement and the recovery of the mass base.

The Arroyo regime carried out Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL) for nearly ten years. The victories gained from the SGRM served the revolutionary movement well. In certain regions, the revolutionary forces that came under concentrated enemy attack became stronger. Others maintained their strength to be able to fight back in armed and legal struggles. One region was able to surmount the whole course of OBL I but declined in both armed and legal forms of struggle in the course of OBL II. In certain regions, the revolutionary forces grew because the enemy military forces were sparse due to overextension elsewhere.

Even when the enemy forces launched the most brutal campaigns of military suppression, the Party has been able to engage in ideological building by undertaking courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels in many rural and urban areas. It is impossible for the enemy to stop the mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, and because it builds the people's democratic state and revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution.

The Party has consistently promoted the general political line of democratic revolution through protracted people's war in response to the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions that have not only persisted but also worsened and deepened under the policy regime of neoliberal globalization and the global war of terror pushed by the US imperialists. The Party has taken up all the major political, economic, social, cultural and military issues related to the general line of the revolution. It has debated with and defeated the exponents of blatant counterrevolution and reformism.

The Party has vigorously aroused, organized and mobilized various sections of the masses to undertake various forms of struggle against the current enemy and the entire ruling system. The mass movement has continued to persevere and grow in urban and rural areas. It can grow faster than ever as it responds to the demands of the masses themselves and members of mass organizations are recruited in accordance with easily understood constitutions and programs of such organizations.

There is no way for the enemy to stop the mass organizations, especially because of the worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system. But certain mass organizations and alliances have declined not so much because of the enemy campaigns of suppression but because of errors and shortcomings of leadership in the Party organs concerned.

The mass movement of workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and other people is the source of Party members and NPA fighters. It is the force by which the masses themselves express their needs, demands and aspirations. It is the force by which they can build and appreciate their own strength. It is also the force by which various types of alliances can be formed.

The New People's Army has 110 to 120 guerrilla fronts that cover significant portions of 800 municipalities in 70 provinces. The number of guerrilla fronts fluctuates because of concentrated enemy attacks with varying durations. The enemy has no capability to concentrate attacks on more than 10% of the guerrilla fronts at every given time.

To frustrate and defeat concentrated attacks by the enemy forces, the NPA can shift its forces, leave units to pin down the enemy and launch offensives at the weakest points of the enemy elsewhere. While the enemy can concentrate strength on less than 10% of the Philippines, the NPA can move around freely in more than 90%.

The NPA continues to integrate the revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and the building of the mass base and organs of political power. It is invincible because it smashes the bureaucratic military power of the state, responds to the peasant demand for land and realizes land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and because it builds the people's democratic state of workers, peasants and other people.

The National Democratic Front is effectively harmonizing 17 revolutionary forces consisting of the Party, the NPA and the underground revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities,
women, youth, teachers, health professionals, lawyers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, the religious and other sectors. It is a united front for armed struggle. At the same time, all the revolutionary forces have authorized it to engage in peace negotiations with the reactionary government.

The peace negotiations have dragged on because one reactionary regime after another has sought to use it in futile attempts to deceive the people, split the revolutionary forces and press the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification. But the NDFP has correctly and consistently asserted that the framework agreement, The Hague Joint Declaration, must be followed and that the roots of the armed conflict must be addressed through basic social, economic and political reforms to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

The Party and the NDFP have served well the people and the revolutionary forces by declaring that the line of negotiations for a just peace is no different from the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. A just peace can be achieved in the following ways: the complete victory of the armed revolution, the emergence of an anti-imperialist coalition government or an anti-imperialist alliance and truce.

None of these possibilities is easily attainable because the enemy persists in trying to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people. The NDFP carries on the peace negotiations because these provide the opportunity to articulate the program for a people's democratic revolution, to win more adherents to the revolution and to be open to possibilities presented by the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the world capitalist system.

IV. The new fighting tasks

It is an achievement of great national and world significance that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people have carried forward the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war for more than four decades and in the process overcome the most vicious campaigns of suppression unleashed by US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

The Party has taken an outstanding role in opposing the ideological, political, economic, cultural and military offensives of the US and other imperialist powers abetted by the revisionist betrayal of socialism. It has analytically anticipated the resurgence of the forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism as a result of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

It is fine that the Party has resolved to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in five years' time. The sight of the near horizon has aroused the optimism and heightened the vigor of the revolutionary forces as they rise in triumph over the harsh difficulties and trials inflicted in the course of the enemy's vicious Oplan Bantay Laya just as they have triumphed over all past similar counterinsurgency campaigns, and rallied to push forward and make a new leap in the struggle, armed with deep resolve, valuable lessons and increased strength. Inspired by their victories accumulated in more than 40 years of ardent struggle and the higher new challenge, the Party membership, NPA units and revolutionary forces are resolved to raise the level of intensity and quality of their struggle, fulfill the requisites, carry out the required tasks, and advance the people's war. The Party must take advantage of the favorable conditions created by the crisis of the world capitalist system for waging revolution. It must confront and defeat the scheme of the enemy to destroy the armed revolution in the Philippines. It must make great strides in realizing the people's aspirations for national and social liberation.

Certain requirements have to be fulfilled in order to advance the people's war. We must be clear about the tasks to be carried out in order to fulfill such requirements.

1. The Party must expand boldly without letting a single undesirable in. It must increase its membership to an extent that it has a Party branch in a majority of barangays and in every NPA company and it has Party groups at various levels of mass organizations and institutions. It must be able to recruit Party members from the urban and rural-based mass organizations as well as from units of the NPA.

The main source of Party recruits is the revolutionary mass movement. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, national minorities, urban poor, women, youth, migrants, professionals and others must run far ahead of the Party in recruiting their own members from the unorganized masses. Recruitment can be carried out in large numbers, because acceptance of the constitution and program of the mass organization with patriotic and progressive character suffices for a recruit to become a member. Members thus recruited take general and special mass cours-
es to deepen their understanding, adherence and commitment to the national and democratic cause. Rapid expansion of membership can be realized especially when these mass organizations are at the lead of propaganda campaigns and mass mobilizations of the people to fight for their immediate and strategic aspirations.

The Party can expand easily upon the rapid growth of the mass organizations. It gives priority to the recruitment of the most advanced mass activists at every given time. Any resident of the Philippines at least 18 years of age who accepts the Party Constitution and Program can qualify immediately as a candidate-member. Within the period of candidature, the recruit is provided with the basic Party course and has the same rights and obligations as the full members, except the right to vote.

The period of candidature for workers and peasants is six months; for those of the urban petty bourgeoisie, one year; and for the middle bourgeoisie, two years. Kabataang Makabayan Communist Youth League members automatically become full members of the Party upon reaching the age of 18, provided they have finished the basic Party course.

The Party must enforce the provisions on Party membership as stated in the Constitution. Any notion that there are rules and standards for membership other than those in the Constitution must be dispelled. The long-running neglect and indefinite delay in the promotion of candidate-membership to full membership must be rectified. Party candidate-members must be provided with the basic Party course promptly, tasked and promoted to full membership upon completion of their period of candidature.

After the candidate-member becomes a full member, he/she must take the intermediate and higher Party courses as soon as possible. A full Party member is expected to become more inspired and more active in fulfilling tasks within the Party and the revolutionary mass movement or in any unit of the people's army.

All Party organs must continually conduct assessments and summing up of their experiences to determine their strengths and weaknesses and draw new plans for their work. The Central Committee of the Party must require all regional Party Committees, Commissions and similar leading organs to make reports and recommendations on the status of the revolutionary forces in their respective areas and lines of work, find out from them their strengths and weaknesses, and provide them with guidance for enhancing their strengths and overcoming their weaknesses. It must require strong and well-developed regions to help weaker ones in augmenting cadres and resources for strengthening the Party, the people's army and people's mass organizations and the united front. Every higher Party organ must inquire from the organs below it what are their strengths and weaknesses and what are the errors and shortcomings of leadership as well as the impact of enemy campaigns of suppression and the interrelation of the subjective forces and the circumstances.

2. The Party must direct the New People's Army to increase the number of full-time fighters. Every fully developed guerrilla front must have a total strength of at least one company. It should develop in stages from the seed unit deployed from a previously existing guerrilla front. Developing a guerrilla front entails integration of the revolutionary armed struggle, the agrarian revolution and building the mass base and the organs of democratic political power under the leadership of the Party.

The leadership of the Party over the NPA is ensured with the Central Committee and the Military Commission making the strategic policies and plans on the basis of reports and recommendations below and then issuing the directives to the NPA National Operational Command. At every level of command are a political department and a political officer to maintain the dual leadership with the commander in charge of military command and operations. Every company or platoon has a Party branch and every squad a Party group.

The units of the NPA must be increased by fighting the enemy forces and seizing their weapons. The NPA units must wage only battles that they can win. They do so by concentrating enough strength to wipe out an enemy force, using such elements as surprise, favorable terrain and favorable conditions. They must
give priority to battles of anni-
hilation that take the form of
ambuscades and raids. By anni-
hilation, we mean taking away
by armed force the capability of
enemy units to fight but treat-
ing the captives leniently after
they are disarmed or they lose
the ability to fight.

The tactics of annihilation
must be complemented by tac-
ts of attrition at the sure ex-
 pense of the enemy. The NPA
must train from the ranks of the
full-time fighters and the militia
special teams for reconnais-
sance, sniping, producing and
employing command-detonated
explosives and other means,
with the objective of destroying
moving and parked vehicles
used for transporting military
personnel, weapons, fuel and
other war materiel as well as
storage facilities for these.

Enterprises that do not com-
ply with the rules and regula-
tions of the people's democratic
government, disregard and vi-
olate the welfare and interests of
the people, and conduct abusive
and antagonistic actions
against the people must be
banned, disabled or dismantled.
These include those that engage
in destructive large-scale log-
ing, mining and plantations for
export; plunder nonrenewable
resources; ruin the environment
and take land away from land
reform. The military forces and
security agencies protecting
these enterprises are targets for
annihilation by the people's ar-
my.

As a matter of revolutionary
law and justice, those who have
committed murder and other se-
rious crimes against the people
and the revolutionary forces, in-
cluding human rights violations
and plunder, must be arrested
by the people's army and mili-
tia, investigated by the people's
prosecution and tried by the
people's court. Such criminals
are subject to the necessary
amount of force by the arresting
units if they are armed and dan-
gerous, resist arrest or are pro-
tected by bodyguards and units
of the reactionary military or
police.

The NPA must use the tactics
of concentration in order to win
the tactical offensives against
target enemy units. But it must
also be vigilant against the en-
emy using the same tactics of
concentration. When a superior
enemy force comes looking for a
fight and implements a plan to
occupy an area, be it a guerrilla
front or a part of it, the NPA
must be ready to use the tactics
of evasion or shifting in order to
avoid being put at a disadvan-
tage, to trade space for time
and to move to an advantage-
ous position for conducting a
counteroffensive at a later time
or at a location where the ene-
ym is weak. When the enemy
forces set camp, the NPA must
harass and inflict damage on
them and be on the lookout for
opportunities to annihilate any
enemy unit or element going
out of the camp.

The NPA must use the tactics
of dispersal to cover a wide area
for mass work and develop a
wide network of mass organiza-
tions, self-defense units and mili-
tia against the enemy. In a
guerrilla front, the NPA must al-
ways maintain a relatively con-
centrated unit (e.g., a platoon)
and relatively dispersed units
(e.g., two platoons invisible in-
to squads and propaganda
teams).

The NPA can carry out inten-
sive and extensive guerrilla war-
fare and flexibly use the tactics
of concentration, shifting and
dispersal only if it has an ever
widening and deepening mass
base. The peasant masses are
ever willing to let their best
sons and daughters join the
people's army. They are the ac-
tive base and limitless source of
Red fighters and resources for
the armed revolution because
the NPA is their instrument for
fulfilling their demand for land
and for realizing their economic,
social and political liberation.

The NPA must promote the
establishment and development
of the mass organizations of
workers, peasants, youth, wom-
en, cultural activists and other
sectors of people in the locali-
ties. It must help build the or-
gans of political power. Initially,
these are appointive commit-
tees of the people and eventual-
ly elected by the representatives
of the mass organizations or by
the entire community. The Party
must systematically deploy ur-
ban-based mass activists to the
countryside so that they can
learn from the peasant masses,
render service to the peasant
communities and in due course
join the people's army. Party
 cadres and members from the
ranks of the workers and educat-
ed youth are urgently needed
for strengthening the people's
army and the Party in the coun-
tryside.

3. The Party must streng-
then the basic alliance of the
working class and peasantry.
This is the combination of the
leading force and the main force
of the new democratic revolu-
tion. Through the Party as the
advanced detachment, the
working class is the leading
force because it directs the cur-
rent course of the revolution to-
wards the socialist future. The
peasantry is the main force be-
cause it is the most numerous
exploited class whose struggle
for land is the main content of
the democratic revolution. The
proletariat and the peasantry
constitute more than 90% of
the people. Their combination
is indispensable and decisive for
winning the new democratic
revolution.

The basic worker-peasant al-
liance must win over the urban
petty bourgeoisie as allies in or-
der to constitute the alliance of
progressive forces. The National
Democratic Front is the best ex-
pression and most consolidated underground alliance of the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It must be strengthened further. The urban petty bourgeoisie is a small part of Philippine society and constitutes the lower part of the bourgeoisie. It suffers a certain degree of oppression and exploitation and it can be won over to contribute its capabilities and influence to the revolution.

The Party must further win over the middle bourgeoisie to cooperate with the alliance of progressive forces and become active in a formal or informal alliance of patriotic forces interested in strengthening the anti-imperialist and democratic movement of the entire people. The middle bourgeoisie is interested in national industrialization and can understand land reform as a way of releasing capital, expanding the domestic market and serving as the source of food and raw materials for industry. The alliance of patriotic forces is interested in the rise of an anti-imperialist and democratic government.

The Party must be open to the broadest possible alliance, which includes the reactionary forces opposed to the enemy that is the most reactionary and most servile to the imperialists. Reactionaries are temporary and unreliable allies. They join the alliance because of their self-interest and they are inclined to attack the revolution once they come into power. But alliance with them is necessary in order to isolate and destroy the enemy. Relative to the broadest possible alliance, the Party must maintain its independence and initiative and must draw benefits for the revolutionary movement from the conflicts of the reactionaries and build its strength for eventually overthrowing the entire ruling system.

So far, in the history of our Party, the reactionary force considered as the enemy has been the ruling clique. But the Party does not foreclose the possibility of an anti-imperialist alliance and truce with a regime in power that takes an anti-imperialist and democratic position. It considers the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations as a way of encouraging and stimulating the emergence of a government of national unity against the imperialists and their unrepentant puppets.

For as long as no possibility exists for such a government to arise, the Party and the Filipino people must exert all efforts to carry forward the new democratic revolution through people's war. After we succeed in advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate, our task is to fully develop the strategic stalemate until the conditions are ripe for the nationwide seizure of power through the strategic offensive.