

# REBOLUSYON

---

**Theoretical and Political Journal  
of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Philippines**

---

**MOBILIZE THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE  
TO DELIVER THE DEATH BLOW  
TO THE ESTRADA REGIME**

By Armando Liwanag, Chairman  
Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines  
December 26, 2000

**TACTICS IN THE UNITED FRONT  
AGAINST THE US-ESTRADA REGIME**

by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
4 October 2000

**THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM**

Contribution of the Communist Party of the Philippines  
To the International Conference On Socialism in the 21st Century  
November 5, 2000, Kathmandu, Nepal

**MEMORIAL TRIBUTE FOR COMRADE ARMANDO  
TENGA GREAT PROLETARIAN LEADER AND HERO**

by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines

**Number 1  
Series 2001  
January-March  
*English Edition***

**Number 1**  
**Series 2001**  
**January-March**  
*English Edition*

## **Contents**

---

<b>MOBILIZE THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE</b>	
<b>TO DELIVER THE DEATH BLOW TO THE ESTRADA REGIME .....</b>	<b>3</b>
by Armando Liwanag Chairman, Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines 26 December 2000	
<b>TACTICS IN THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST</b>	
<b>THE US-ESTRADA REGIME.....</b>	<b>26</b>
by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines 4 October 2000	
<b>THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.....</b>	<b>34</b>
Contribution of the Communist Party of the Philippines To the International Conference On Socialism in the 21st Century 5 November 2000, Kathmandu, Nepal	
<b>MEMORIAL TRIBUTE FOR COMRADE ARMANDO TENG</b>	
<b>A GREAT PROLETARIAN LEADER AND HERO.....</b>	<b>54</b>
by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines	

Articles and communications may be sent directly to the Editorial Board of *Rebolusyon* or coursed through any organ or unit of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Published by the Central Publishing House, Luzon, Philippines.

In terms of style of leadership, he was particular about the need to investigate the conditions of those at the lower levels and directly inquire about the work of members. Wherever he was based, he made sure of acquiring first-hand knowledge of, and supervising the work in, surrounding villages. He also always set aside some time to be close to ordinary Red fighters and help them out with their personal and other problems.

Comrade Aryong was strict about Party discipline and the fulfillment of duties and responsibilities. Sometime, in stressing the latter, he would let out stinging rebukes that hurt other comrades. Nonetheless, whenever he was directly criticized, he was quick to take them back, self-criticize, apologize and rectify. In any case, if he was strict with others, he was even more strict with himself. He immersed himself in Party work and worked day and night whenever this was what the revolution demanded. Up to the last, first and most important to him were his revolutionary duties and kept the best of relations with his comrades and immediate family..

Comrade Aryong was born in Tanza, Cavite. He studied at the University of the Philippines at the height of the crisis prior to fascist military rule and became a member of the Kabataang Makabayan during the First Quarter Storm of 1970. He was invited to join the Party in 1971, assigned as a member of the Party branch at the University and eventually, as the branch secretary and member of the District Committee of Quezon City-Marikina.

We will never forget the heroism of Comrade Aryong for the country, the Party and the revolution. Fulfill his most ardent wish: Overthrow the corrupt and reactionary US-Estrada regime, expand and intensify the revolution! #

## **MOBILIZE THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE TO DELIVER THE DEATH BLOW TO THE ESTRADA REGIME**

By Armando Liwanag, Chairman

Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines

December 26, 2000

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Estrada regime is both the product and the aggravation of the chronic crisis of the rotten ruling system. It is a glaring proof

rades and demanded appropriate punishment for this. After two years, he successfully escaped from prison in Bicutan and was assigned to the Bicol countryside.

As a member of the Central Committee, he was in the midst of debates, decision-making and struggles to advance the Second Great Rectification Movement. He steadfastly stood for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the line of people's democratic revolution and the Party's integrity against revisionism, opportunism and factionalism. He was armed with a militant proletarian consciousness honed through many years of studying revolutionary theory and applying this in life-and-death struggle, living close to ordinary peasants and other impoverished folk, and relentless remolding.

It was also significant that at the time that struggles were intensifying on the grave deviations and errors within the Party, he was assigned to the National Instruction Bureau (1986 to 1988). He took advantage of the situation to review and read works of the great Communist teachers and publications of the Party to arrive at a correct analysis and standpoint on leading issues.

In the intense two-line struggle, he did his best to save the biggest number of those who committed errors and deviations and suffered from confusion. But he did not hesitate to turn his back on those who relentlessly waged sabotage and those who earlier on had repudiated the Party, revolution and rectification, like his long-time comrade and friend Sergio Romero. He had only the most intense repugnance for those who sowed intrigue, and were manipulative and two-faced like Arturo Tabara, Romulo Kintanar, Popoy Lagman and Ricardo Reyes.

Throughout his life in the Party, Comrade Aryong loathed bureaucracy and its attendant corruption and anomaly. He ardently advocated a lifestyle of living close to the masses and ensuring that those in the leadership were always aware of the situation and grievances of the masses.

the all-out crisis of the despicable regime and called for the intensification of mass protests and tactical offensives before he died.

Comrade Aryong was daring in advancing and intensifying the armed struggle not because of any innate impetuosity but because of the depth of his grasp of the crisis of semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society and its rapid intensification due to the decadence of the capitalist system in the era of imperialism. It is also due to such an understanding that he continued to accord the people's army and armed struggle the highest priority, as proven by his personal leadership in this matter despite his health problems.

Nonetheless, his stress on armed struggle also meant a constant stress on the integral relationships among armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base-building and advancing the line of protracted people's war. It will be noticed that Southern Tagalog under his leadership was not only at the forefront of armed struggle but also of various other arenas of struggle, including the mass movement in the countryside and cities, alliance work, Party ideological building, propaganda work and others.

Comrade Aryong was known to be resolute when it came to proletarian revolutionary principles and courageously took on responsibilities and fought for these principles. In 1974, while serving as the leading member of the Manila-Rizal Regional Committee, he was among those captured in a massive wave of arrests that hit the underground movement in Manila-Rizal and the Party's central organs. The butchers of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship unleashed an orgy of torture in their desire to extract information leading to the capture of Chairman Amado Guerrero.

Comrade Aryong was among those who led in exposing and resisting the brutality of the fascist dictatorship. He also tenaciously objected to the trend among political prisoners to capitulate and retreat. He condemned those who allowed themselves to be used by the enemy and who gave information that harmed other com-

of the decadent and moribund character of the system that someone like Estrada has become the president of the neocolonial republic. He blends the rapacity of the imperialists, the worst of the local reactionaries and criminal syndicates.

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

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

In less than half of his 6-year term, he has been impeached by the House of Representatives and is now on the dock in the Senate trial for gross acts of bribery, graft and corruption, betrayal of public trust and culpable violation of the 1987 constitution. The people are outraged and are engaged in nationwide mass actions to oust him or compel his resignation. The consensus in the broad united front of organized forces is to remove him from power for immorality, corruption, incompetence and repressiveness.

It is correct to focus on the culpability of Estrada and his ruling clique and the necessity of overthrowing them. But we do not lose sight of the fact that the entire ruling system has become more exploitative and oppressive because of the "free market" policy dictates of the imperialist firms, banks and multilateral agencies such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO. These have accelerated and

aggravated imperialist profit-taking, feudal and semifeudal accumulation of land and bureaucratic corruption. These have rapidly resulted in the fierce resistance of the people and the isolation of the Estrada regime.

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

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

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

Because of its “neoliberal” policy bias and growing bankruptcy, the neocolonial ruling system does not even promise or pretend to undertake any major industrial project and land reform. The re-

moribund US-Estrada regime unfortunately caused him to push his body to the limit, miss scheduled check-ups and belittle the sudden downturn in his health that left him bedridden and eventually led to his untimely death in a few days.

The Party, people’s army and revolutionary movement are in mourning. A great revolutionary proletarian leader and hero, one of the most steadfast and most successful advocates of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and people’s democratic revolution, is gone. Comrade Aryong played an important role in establishing and expanding guerrilla warfare in Southern Tagalog and Bicol. Nonetheless, his unique contribution lies in his primary role in the Second Great Rectification Movement in Southern Tagalog and his leadership in the latter’s restrengthening.

Although among those that suffered the biggest setbacks due to serious internal errors and the overall offensive of the puppet state in the second half of the 1980s, Southern Tagalog under the leadership of Comrade Aryong took the lead in rising above its setbacks and served as an anchor and inspiration in the revolution’s revitalization nationwide. Not only did the Party recover; it surpassed its past record of expansion and strength. It actively assisted other relatively weak and backward regions while continuing to strengthen itself.

Twelve Philippine Army and Marine battalions and thousands of PNP assault troops and CAFGU paramilitary forces were deployed to the region, with its villages and town centers targeted by relentless military offensives and counterrevolutionary intelligence and psywar operations, both big and small. But this did not stop the advance of guerrilla warfare and the mass movement. It is in this manner that the revolutionary forces in the region were able to uniquely contribute to exposing, isolating and weakening the reactionary ruling US-Estrada regime. Comrade Aryong had anticipated bigger advances in the revolutionary struggle as a result of

**MEMORIAL TRIBUTE  
FOR COMRADE ARMANDO TENG  
A GREAT PROLETARIAN LEADER  
AND HERO**

by the Executive Committee  
of the Central Committee

November 7, 2000, Comrade Aryong, Armando Teng, member of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Executive Committee of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Party Regional Committee in Southern Tagalog, passed away. At the age of 49, he was at the peak of his life and service to the revolution. About 30 of his 49 years were devoted to relentless and hard revolutionary struggle—mostly guerrilla warfare in the southern Luzon countryside and the first four years in the movement in Metro Manila.

In 1979, while participating in the restrengthening of guerrilla fronts in Bicol, he was stricken with a serious kidney ailment, with his doctor saying that he had a limited time to live. With exemplary steadfastness and exceptional optimism and with the care of his loving family and comrades, he overcame the crisis. He returned to the countryside and took on the weightiest responsibilities, far surpassing those who were not ill.

But since 1998 and after many years of virtually miraculous remission, his illness began to worsen. The symptoms quickly passed with his use of new medication, and he continued performing his responsibilities without fail. The fact that he felt better, relentless attacks by the reactionary enemy and most of all, his assiduousness that he further manifested with the outbreak of crisis in the

gime has been reduced to promoting gambling enterprises as its “flagship” projects. It leaves everything to the so-called free market and is reduced to the role of manipulating the interest rate, increasing the tax burden of the people and giving priority to the free flow of finance capital, to debt service and to military expenditures over social services.

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

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

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

In exchange for the servility of the regime, the imperialists have given Estrada and his cronies a wide latitude for bureaucratic cor-

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

The budgetary and trade deficits are mounting. At the same time, international credit is drying up. The reduction of interest rate during the first two years of the regime has been unsustainable. Local public borrowing is accelerated and inflation is consequently soaring. The crisis of the domestic ruling system is inextricably connected to the worsening crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. Every type of goods is now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market. This has been constricted due to the effect of the “neoliberal” policy of pressing down the wage and living conditions of the working people.

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

In the Philippines, the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata suffer acutely the intolerable rigors of mass unemployment, the fall of real incomes, inflation, depreciation of the peso, the mounting tax burden and the breakdown of infrastructure and social services. Even the upper class and upper-middle class are complaining of the rising costs of their import-dependent conspicuous consumption. Thus, they are scandal-

the imperialist wars can be turned into revolutionary wars on an unprecedented scale never before seen in history in the various types of countries.

The urgency of the socialist cause is clear because monopoly capitalism fetters the tremendously higher social productivity and because imperialist globalization inflicts the most terrible suffering and damage on the proletariat and people of the world.

The bankruptcy of “free market” globalization engenders excellent conditions for proletarian revolutionaries to advance the cause of socialism. The ground is well laid out for the resurgence and advance of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist movement.

The victory of socialism over monopoly capitalism is inevitable on the scale of a whole historical epoch. The revolutionary party of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people must master the concrete circumstances in various countries, pursue the correct strategy and tactics, defeat the imperialists and the reactionaries in one country after another and build socialism until it prevails over imperialism on a global scale. #

The proletarian revolutionaries and people in the industrial capitalist countries can intensify the workers' strikes and the broad mass protests, use the cheap and fast new mass media for propaganda and agitation and develop the capability of unleashing motor vehicle blockades, occupying or shutting down the offices of the political and economic magnates and disrupting the computer systems of the monopoly bourgeoisie not just by hidden outside hackers but by the white collars in the system.

In all types of countries, the proletariat and the people must not only wait on the crisis of the system but engage in ideological, political and organizational building and wage a revolutionary mass movement in order to render the current enemy incapable of ruling and making the system unstable from one regime to another until it becomes possible to overturn the system and install the socialist system.

The relationship of the struggles for socialism in the underdeveloped, retrogressive and overdeveloped countries are interactive and help each other in advancing the world proletarian revolution. The earlier advance of armed revolution in the underdeveloped and retrogressive countries paves the way for that in the overdeveloped countries.

Under conditions when the major imperialist powers are still sufficiently united to oppress and exploit the people of the world, the proletariat and people of the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries can be expected to be at the forefront of waging armed revolutions.

But the crisis of the monopoly capitalist system can become so severe that the extremest reactionary forces arise in the imperialist countries and consequently the major imperialist powers align and realign against each other and carry out wars against each other, as in the preludes of World War I and II. Under such conditions,

ized by Estrada's frenzy of providing mansions and limousines to his many wives.

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

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

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

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

Cardinal Sin, former presidents Aquino and Ramos, the LAKAS-NUCD and United Opposition are vigorously demanding that vice-president Macapagal-Arroyo replace Estrada. Other significant

groups of the anti-Estrada reactionaries are the Council of Philippine Affairs (COPA), headed by Jose Cojuangco, the People's Consultative Assembly (PCA), pushed by former president Ramos, Kangkong Brigade (consisting of governors and mayors in Southern Tagalog, Metro Manila and Central Luzon) and Kompil II, initiated by Jesuit-inspired "social-democrats" who are in fact upper-class Christian-democrats.

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

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

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

There is a bitter split between the Lacson clique in the PAOCTF and regular police and military forces. The issues involve PAOCTF monopoly of protection money, lion's share in intelligence funds, favoritism in promotions, undue interference by Lacson even in military promotions, corruption in supply contracts and delayed payment of salaries to the rank and file outside PAOCTF.

riod has ensued, with sufficient seeds for burgeoning in the 21st century.

The struggle for socialism in various types of countries will rise and win great victories in the forthcoming decades as surely as monopoly capitalism and state monopoly capitalism will intensify the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the rest of the people.

We have seen the bankruptcy of neoliberal "globalization" coming faster from its beginnings as official policy in the early eighties than the longer-lived Keynesianism of the thirties to the end of the seventies. Some of the bourgeois economic and political leaders are now so distressed that they pretend to step back from the worst manifestations of the so-called free market and misrepresent themselves as advocates of the "third way".

Whatever tack the imperialists will take in seeking stability for their national and global systems, the crisis of monopoly capitalism will proceed and inflict terrible suffering on the proletariat and the people.

The sequence of new-democratic and socialist revolutions will burst out on an unprecedented scale in the third world and in the former Soviet bloc countries. They will run ahead of the proletariat in the imperialist countries in building the subjective forces of the revolution, in waging democratic revolutions and in reaching the goal of socialism.

The proletariat in the industrial capitalist countries can strengthen themselves and carry out successful uprisings upon the worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system, the intensification of the class struggle, the spread of armed revolutions in the third world and in the former Soviet bloc countries, and the escalation of inter-imperialist contradictions.

There have been significant outbursts of sector-wide strikes of workers and broad protests against the bourgeois states and their multilateral agencies. The proletariat and the rest of the people decry the oppressiveness and exploitativeness of capitalism and call for socialism.

In industrial capitalist countries, the proletarian revolutionaries wage legal struggle as the main form of struggle for a long period of time in order to build a powerful mass movement. At the same time, it must build a strong underground in preparation for the workers' uprisings in the future. They cannot play with insurrection when the crisis of the ruling system does not yet render the bourgeoisie incapable of ruling in the old way, when the people are not yet desirous of overthrowing the state and when the party of the proletariat is not yet strong enough to lead a successful revolution.

The conditions are becoming ever more favorable for genuine Marxist-Leninist parties to emerge and gain strength. They have to work hard to develop the subjective forces of the revolution. They have to overcome the stupor from previous relatively better times, the widespread petty bourgeois mentality subservient to the big bourgeoisie and the reformist, social democratic and revisionist ideological and political currents among the workers. They must consciously develop and intensify the militant political actions directed against the reactionary state and the monopoly bourgeoisie.

#### **IV. Conclusion: Prospects of Socialism in the 21st Century**

We might say that at the end of the 20th century a period of revolutionary struggles for socialism has passed. But a new pe-

The Federation of Retired Commissioned and Enlisted Soldiers (FORCES) and several underground groups of active military and police officers have arisen to call for the resignation of Estrada. They urge the active military and police officers to withdraw support from him and respect the people's right to assemble. A big number of military and police officers are increasingly manifesting their opposition to Estrada and Gen. Lacson and are in a position to neutralize them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the preceding year, under “Oplan Makabayan” and related campaign plans, the regime launched massive military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary forces nationwide, with

So, in the retrogressive countries, the proletarian revolutionaries and the people have to undertake once more a democratic struggle towards socialism and seize the initiative from the anti-communists and anti-socialists who misappropriate the slogan of democracy and misinterpret it as bourgeois liberalism for the purpose of sugar-coating big bourgeois rule.

Even in the industrial capitalist countries, advanced or lesser ones, there is no straight line from the material conditions of capitalism to socialist revolution. Between the two, there is necessarily a period of some significant duration for a broad democratic struggle, because the monopoly bourgeoisie does not give up its power and wealth voluntarily but unleashes fascism to preempt the seizure of political power by the proletariat.

It is understandable that in the imperialist countries, the communist parties and the revolutionary mass movements are currently small and weak. That is because the imperialists are strongest in their own homegrounds to resist the proletarian struggle for socialism. They can bribe a section of the working class to become labor aristocrats and use an array of big bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, organizations and institutions to mislead the masses. They are ever ready to use the coercive apparatuses of the state whenever they deem necessary.

The Left parties and the progressive mass movements in the lesser industrial capitalist countries are currently bigger in size than in the advanced ones. However, they are under the heavy influence of modern revisionism and social democracy. At present, there are communist and workers’ parties striving to lead the workers and the semiproletarian masses as the crisis of monopoly capitalism is worsening and the labor aristocrats are becoming discredited.

a significant proportion of peasants and farm workers, there is also the need for the new-democratic revolution prior to the socialist revolution.

In socio-economic terms, the need for the democratic revolution is increasing in the face of the closure of heavy and basic industries, the general deterioration of the economy and the conversion of the industrial workers into peasants and farm hands. But always in political terms, in the face of a class enemy that never surrenders voluntarily, all must win the battle for democracy in legal and armed struggles.

Under extreme conditions of oppression and exploitation and benefiting from the legacy of socialism in theory and practice, the proletariat and oppressed peoples in the former socialist countries or what we call retrogressive countries, will eventually be among the first where the class struggle between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie will intensify to the point of armed revolution.

In some of these retrogressive countries, it is possible that the proletariat and oppressed peoples shall run ahead in waging armed revolution for socialism earlier than the proletariat in industrial capitalist countries or even many of the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But we must not have the illusion that in a country where socialism has been replaced by capitalism there will be a straight return to socialism as a result of the struggle of the proletariat and the rest of the people.

The proletarian revolutionaries have to confront the fact that the revisionists who toppled the proletariat discredited socialism by misrepresenting as socialism the gradual evolution of capitalism for several decades. The blatant anti-communist full restorers of capitalism continue to heap calumny on socialism and the new big bourgeoisie and the imperialists would use all anti-democratic and violent means to combat the return of socialism.

emphasis on three to five regions at every given time. It has carried out large attacks on the camps or areas of the MILF in a futile effort to whip up Christian chauvinism, paint itself as strong and divert public attention from the corruption scandals.

But the NPA has victoriously carried out brilliant guerrilla tactical offensives against the soft points of the enemy, while wisely evading militarily superior units of the enemy. The army of the MILF has also adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare and is likewise dealing deadly blows on the enemy.

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

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

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

## II. Urgent task of overthrowing the Estrada regime

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

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

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

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

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

The Party strives to exercise leadership and maintain independence and initiative by pursuing the long-term program of new democratic revolution even as it cooperates with a broad range of allies by carrying out with them the urgent task of removing the Estrada

in Southeast Asia, which was once in the eye of the global revolutionary storm in the fifties, sixties and seventies. They have proven that they can advance in armed revolution in a country, which US imperialism regards as a strategic base historically and currently, and they are determined to carry forward the armed revolution in the 21st century.

In countries which are semicolonial and semifeudal, where the peasants remain the majority of the people and the land question has to be solved, the revolution has to be carried out in two stages: the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

The new-democratic revolution has to be carried out in order to do away with the political and economic power of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. In the course of the new-democratic revolution, the prerequisites for the subsequent stage of socialism are developed.

Upon the basic completion of the new-democratic revolution through the nationwide seizure of political power, the socialist revolution can start on the basis of the following: revolutionary leadership of the proletariat through the communist party, the full development of the worker-peasant alliance and the leadership of proletarian party over the people's army as the main component of state power, all organs of the state and the entire economy, especially the commanding heights. At the core of the people's democratic republic is the class dictatorship of the proletariat.

In taking the socialist road after seizing political power, we must be ready for the probable developments, as we have seen in previous socialist revolutions: the transitional measures, the basic socialist transformation, the great leap in socialist revolution and construction and the cultural revolution.

In the very few so-called dependent countries, where previously there were some heavy and basic industries but where there is still

### III. The Struggle for Socialism

The struggle for socialism is carried out in various types of countries according to their concrete conditions. In every case, the modern proletariat is necessarily the leading class. It is the most progressive and productive political force, capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and ruling society in lieu of the bourgeoisie. The communist party is the advanced detachment of the working class.

The most favorable objective conditions for making revolution towards the goal of socialism are still in the underdeveloped and retrogressive countries, which are the most oppressed and exploited by imperialism and local reaction. The chronic crisis of the ruling system in these countries provides excellent conditions for armed revolution, especially protracted people's war in many of them.

There are communist parties and national liberation movements in a number of countries. These are still in various stages of development. They are faced with the problem of confronting imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction. They have to decide for themselves how they can advance the struggle for socialism against imperialism.

As a matter of fact, there is grossly uneven development of the subjective forces of the revolution, even in the countries where objective conditions are similarly excellent for waging revolution. To say the least, there are variations in the preparation of the armed revolution as well as in carrying it out.

We can speak most competently about the Communist Party of the Philippines as a revolutionary party of the proletariat leading and waging a protracted people's war. In this connection, we are contributing an additional paper on the Philippine example.

The Filipino people and revolutionary forces have persevered in revolutionary war, despite the liquidation of other people's wars

ruling clique from power. The upsurge of the legal mass movement complements the intensification of armed struggle as the main form of struggle.

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

The revolutionary forces have a clear understanding of the immediate and long-term objectives of the mass movement. There is no confusion among them about the modes of action to be taken in the urban and rural areas. The "Left" and Right opportunists who in the 1980s held high positions and spread confusion within the Party have long deserted to the side of the enemy.

The "Left" opportunists had the illusion that they could actually bring down the entire ruling system with the Marcos ruling clique through urban insurrection or rural militarism cum urban insurrection. Now, they are open psy-war and intelligence agents of the enemy like Romulo Kintanar, Arturo Tabara and Benjamin de Vera. Filemon Lagman and other Trotskyites still pretend to be more "Left" than the Left by demanding the immediate resignation of all reactionary officials in a futile attempt to split the broad united front and deflect the concentrated fire on the Estrada ruling clique.

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

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

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

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

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

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

on them. In recent times, imperialist war has taken the form of aggression against unwieldy puppet states.

Most of the countries of the world are still agrarian and are dependent on raw material production for export. They have not lifted themselves out of the status of the semicolonial and semifeudal. The countries that are engaged in producing cheap consumer semi-manufactures for the imperialist countries are very few. There is a crisis of overproduction now not only in raw materials but also in semi-manufactures.

The ranks of underdeveloped and impoverished countries are now augmented by the countries whose economies have retrogressed due to the destruction of the industrial base or heavy and basic industries previously established under the auspices of socialism or bourgeois nationalism.

Under the auspices of "free market" globalization, there is unprecedented destruction of productive forces in the third world and former Soviet bloc countries. All of them are being crushed by gigantic amounts of foreign debts and trade deficits. Closure of enterprises is rampant and regular employment is wiped out on a massive scale. At any rate, even according to a recent World Bank report, more than 50 percent of the people of the world live on less than two dollars a day.

The economic and social degradation of most countries of the world has resulted in a political degradation that involves violent conflicts of reactionary factions that use ethno-centrist, racist and religious slogans against each other. Under conditions of turmoil, the imperialists lose market on a long-term basis and proletarian revolutionaries have the opportunity to prepare for revolution. Lenin teaches us that social disorder is the prelude to social revolution.

these loans have gone sour since 1997 and have conjoined with the domestic bad loans to crush the economies.

The economy of the European Union has been stagnant. Real unemployment is far higher than the official figures. The expansion of the West European capital into Russia and Eastern European countries has been limited by the rapid socio-economic deterioration in these retrogressive countries.

In the entire world capitalist system, real economic growth has gone down but the decline has been camouflaged by the abstract averaging of inflated assets in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The overconcentration of finance capital in the US is portentous. Economic crisis in the US will certainly be worse for the world than the Great Depression, which ushered in World War II.

At the base of the global economic and financial crises is the fact that all types of goods and services are now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market. Under these circumstances, the competition among imperialist countries has considerably sharpened.

The lesser industrial countries are squeezed in the current crisis of the world capitalist countries. Even such economies as those of South Korea, which can produce steel, cars, home appliances and consumer electronics, are now distressed by the crisis of overproduction of these products. Thus the workers' strike movement has been stronger in the lesser industrial capitalist countries than in the advanced ones.

The imperialist countries compete with each other but are still united in oppressing and exploiting the overwhelming majority of countries of the world which are underdeveloped. They extract the highest rate of profits by extending commercial and other non-productive loans to these countries and dumping surplus products

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

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

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

In maintaining and strengthening the broad united front, we must consciously apply the revolutionary class line consisting of the following:

1. The working class must have the leadership through the Communist Party of the Philippines. The underground party must exercise leadership by using correct methods and style, especially in the urban areas.

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

3. The alliance of progressive forces must put into full play the forces of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The mass movement must

bring about further political education, organization and mobilization of the urban petty bourgeoisie in concert with the toiling masses.

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

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

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

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

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

The anti-Estrada Right includes the forces that represent the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords, regard Estrada as an intolerable liability to the ruling system and wish to replace him in order to strengthen the ruling system. Such forces can remain in the broad united front for as long as their contradictions

tion of financial assets, with profits from financial operations outstripping by unprecedented leaps and bounds those from industrial production.

At the productive base of the economy, the adoption of higher technology is used to cut down regular employment in order to maximize profits. The imperialist state provides more capital to the monopoly bourgeoisie through purchase contracts, tax exemptions, subsidies, bargain sale of public assets and loans. At the same time, it cuts down or eliminates hard-won social benefits and touts private corporate welfare against social welfare.

The profits of the monopoly bourgeoisie have multiplied and the wage income of the proletariat has decreased in inverse proportion. In the industrial capitalist countries, the income of less than one percent of the population is more than the income of more than ninety percent of the population. The drastic decrease of regular employment, wage income and social benefits is generating the chronic crisis of overproduction. It is pushing the class struggle of the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie to the surface.

There are rapidly growing differences between the most advanced and the less advanced industrial capitalist countries and among such centers of global capitalism as the United States, the European Union and Japan. The US enjoys the position of hyperpower among the imperialist powers by taking advantage of its accumulated political and military power and its lead in high technology, inducing Japan and the European Union to buy US stocks and bonds and pursue a trade offensive in industrial and agricultural goods.

As a consequence, the domestic economy of Japan has been depressed for more than a decade. It has been hard pressed more than ever to seek the solution of its economic problems by increasing exports and lending funds to other countries, especially in Asia. But

nialism and wars of aggression, the imperialists are carrying out the most bitter oppression and exploitation and the ruination of the economies in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the former Soviet bloc countries. The ground for armed revolution is therefore most fertile in these countries.

The contradiction among the imperialist powers is intensifying on economic, political and military issues. But so far, the US-led imperialist alliance is holding insofar as they are united in oppressing and exploiting the people of the world and in trying to contain and engage Russia and China which they fear as imperialist rivals if these two large countries are not further weakened.

In the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is intensifying in varying degrees. The polarization between the proletariat and the rest of the people on the one side and the monopoly bourgeoisie on the other side will proceed faster as the struggle of the oppressed peoples and the anti-imperialist contradiction further intensify.

The epochal teaching of Marx remains valid, that the contradictory relationship of the social character of the forces of production and the private method of appropriation leads to class struggle of the proletariat and other exploited classes to fight for emancipation from the chains of capitalism and to aim for socialism.

The current combination of high technology or the rising social productivity in the most advanced capitalist countries and the most rapacious forms of profit-taking under the neoliberal rationale are implosive and explosive.

In the industrial capitalist countries, there is an unprecedented concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie through the exploitation of the proletariat at home and the oppressed peoples abroad. There is a rapid infla-

with the Estrada ruling clique are not resolved through the ouster of the latter.

The scheme of Estrada for staying in power includes the following:

1. Red-baiting, intimidation and intrigue for the purpose of splitting the broad united front and the mass movement and using the power and resources of his office against the mass movement,

2. Exercising control over at least eight senators through past favors, renewed bribes and pork barrel fund releases and harping on the claim that the Senate trial is the sole “constitutional process” for dealing with the charges against him,

3. Cheating in the May 14, 2001 elections after getting an acquittal from the Senate trial or after disabling it from making any judgment before the 2001 electoral campaign period.

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

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

The evidence already presented in the Senate trial against Estrada is overwhelming and incontrovertible. It is more than enough

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

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

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

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

The Left must maintain its own independence and initiative, take advantage of the crisis of the ruling system, win over the Middle in mass actions and keep the cooperation of the anti-Estrada Right. The forces of the national-democratic movement have correctly

## II. The Current Global Situation

The world is still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution precisely because of the revisionist betrayal of socialism in several countries and the co-optation of the newly-independent states by neo-colonialism.

Monopoly capitalism with US imperialism at the head is dominant. Under the neoliberal slogan of "free market" globalization, it is taking a vengeance on the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and is escalating oppression and exploitation.

But the proletariat and the oppressed peoples are fighting back and are striving for national liberation, democracy and socialism. They are steadily rising up along the general line of anti-imperialism and are fighting for the socialist cause.

The resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement and the world proletarian revolution is as certain as the intensification of oppression and exploitation by imperialism and local reaction. Our revolutionary optimism has a scientific basis in the recognition of the gravely worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism and the growing resistance of the proletariat and the people.

A new world disorder arose in the last decade of the 20th century, exactly when imperialism was gloating over the fall of "socialism" (meaning to say, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the fall of the revisionist regimes) and was intensifying the exploitation of the proletariat and oppressed peoples under the slogan of "free market" globalization. After so many decades, wars have again broken out inside and in the vicinity of Europe, as in the period before World War I.

All basic contradictions in the world capitalist system are sharpening. The main contradiction is the one between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples. Through the use of neocolo-

despite the communist signboard of the ruling party and socialist label on state enterprises.

The attitude that we take towards the ten-year victory of the GPCR and its subsequent defeat up to the present is the same attitude that Marx took towards the short-lived victory of the Paris Commune and its subsequent defeat. We grasp the essence and significance of the revolutionary phenomenon and we learn lessons from it, including its positive and negative aspects, in order to raise revolutionary theory and practice on a new and higher level.

At this point in history, it is absolutely clear that Mao was correct in posing the problem of modern revisionism in China and the Soviet Union and elsewhere and demanding solution to it. He is vindicated by the actual undisguised restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries.

In the course of the Cold War and the hot local wars after World War II, the imperialists did not defeat the socialist cause in the former socialist countries by economic and military blockade or by war. In fact, the deadliest enemy of socialism has been modern revisionism.

Confidence in the ultimate victory of socialism cannot be assured among the proletariat and people without a reference to the need to combat revisionism before and after the seizure of political power. For an entire historical epoch, socialism has to be consolidated not only through socio-economic progress but through a protracted and persuasive cultural revolution.

The immediate conditions of oppression and exploitation drive the proletariat and the people to make revolution. But the given fact of the restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries requires us to assure the proletariat and the people that we are prepared to face up to the problem of revisionism and capitalist restoration whenever socialism arises and develops.

made common agreements with other forces and have assured them that mass actions will continue to be peaceful and increase in magnitude and militancy.

The Party has announced repeatedly that in accordance with its own line it does not deploy units of the New People's Army to join the legal mass actions in the urban areas because the proper role of the NPA is to intensify armed tactical offensives in the countryside. Active and retired military and police officers have also called for the resignation of Estrada and have declared that they would respect the right of the people to assemble and express themselves. It is therefore possible, as in the dying days of the Marcos fascist regime, to prevent the Estrada ruling clique from using the military and police forces against the rising masses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Putting the theory into practice, he launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). This brought up important principles and methods and prevailed in China from 1966 to 1976. It aroused, organized and mobilized hundreds of millions of the Chinese people. It was democracy on the most extensive scale whereby the workers and peasants exercised their democratic right to uphold, defend and advance socialism.

It sought to prevent the bureaucracy and new intelligentsia from becoming petty-bourgeois in mentality and from serving as the social base of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration. It gave revolutionary experience to the youth and trained them to become revolutionary successors.

It established revolutionary organs of political power combining representatives of the Party, the masses and the people's army and balancing the proportions of the young, middle-aged and elders. It also created a new system of factory management which combined representatives of the Party, the workers and the experts and in which managers participated in work on the bench and workers participated in management.

In its own period, the GPCR succeeded in revolutionizing both the social base and the superstructure of Chinese society. It also raised the level of industrial and agricultural production. But it would be reversed and defeated by the Dengist counterrevolution.

The Chinese revisionists preached the dying out of the class struggle and sought modernization through capitalist-oriented reforms and opening up for integration in the world capitalist system. Much faster than the Soviet Union, the revisionists in China have restored capitalism. At this point in time, there should be no more doubt about the capitalist restoration in China. Once more the big comprador and bureaucrat capitalists are dominant in China,

dominated by imperialism. He was able to defeat the “Left” and Right opportunists who opposed socialism.

Further in the stage of Leninism, greater victories were won by the proletariat and the people in connection with the second general crisis of monopoly capitalism and the second inter-imperialist war. Several socialist countries arose in one third of the world. And a great wave of national liberation movements and newly-independent states likewise did.

In the aftermath of World War II, it looked like the proletariat and people of the world could proceed to make socialism dominant in the world and defeat imperialism. However, even as communist and workers’ parties celebrated their unprecedented victories and expressed the determination to take advantage of the third stage in the general crisis of monopoly capitalism, modern revisionism had already taken hold of the Soviet party and the pro-Soviet parties in Eastern Europe.

For several decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling cliques, from Khrushchev through Brezhnev to Gorbachov, gradually restored capitalism until Gorbachov could openly proclaim an undisguised and unbridled kind of capitalism. They consistently proclaimed that the proletariat had already accomplished its historic mission even as they adopted capitalist-oriented reforms.

The stage of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism arose in connection with Mao’s critique of modern revisionist trends in China and the revisionist-ruled countries. Mao thought out how socialism could be kept up and advanced through proletarian class struggle for an entire historical epoch. He put forward the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat modern revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

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

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

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

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

The crisis of the ruling system is so grave that the new regime is under compulsion to yield further to the dictates of the imperialists and at the same time to avoid the wrath of the people by some token measures and deceptive tactics, without which her isolation will come fast. The same crisis of the ruling system encourages the legal democratic forces to press for reforms beneficial to the

people, while the Party and the revolutionary masses continue the struggle for national liberation and democracy through protracted people's war.

The continued aggravation of the basic problems of the people by the new regime and the worsening of the social and economic crisis of the ruling system will generate graver political crisis. As fast as that regime bares its antipeople, antinational and antidemocratic character, the revolutionary resistance of the people will intensify and a broad united front against it will certainly arise.

The imperialist banks, firms and multilateral lending agencies (IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc.) will further make impositions that put their puppet in an untenable position. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system will result in the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and will render futile any attempt of the new regime to appease, deceive or intimidate the people.

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

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

The Communist Party of the Philippines is ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to confront the new ruling clique

In the stage of Leninism, Lenin further developed Marxism in all its major components and fought for socialism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. He led the Bolshevik party and the proletariat in seizing political power and established the first socialist state in the history of mankind, in one sixth of the world.

To win victory, Lenin stood and fought for the revolutionary cause of socialism against the Tsarist regime, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. He paid close attention to the misleading line of the classical revisionists and struggled against it both in the Russian revolution and the Second International. He inspired the Third International in order to struggle against the Second International.

Lenin defined the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. He pointed to monopoly capitalism as the highest and final stage of the development of capitalism and as a parasitic and moribund kind of capitalism, aggravating and deepening the uneven development of capitalism and the uneven conditions of the world. Monopoly capitalism brings about severe economic crises and inter-imperialist wars which destroy productive forces and generate conditions for revolutionary wars for national liberation and socialism.

The first socialist state arose in the weakest link of the chain of imperialist countries and did so in connection with the first general crisis of monopoly capitalism and the first inter-imperialist war. It was not an easy task to carry forward the socialist cause as the Bolsheviks had to overcome the civil war and interventionist war, the economic and military blockade and eventually the Nazi invasion which threatened the socialist state and wrought terrible destruction on the life and the economy of the Soviet Union.

On the foundation of Leninism, Stalin pursued the work of socialist revolution and construction for decades. He proved conclusively that socialism could be built in one country in a world still

the battle for democracy, they meant upholding and realizing the rights and interests of the proletariat and the rest of the exploited people. In general and essential terms, they defined the way to socialist revolution and construction.

In their lifetime, Marx and Engels devoted their time to research and propagation of the socialist cause. They reached out to the working class through the First International and contended with petty bourgeois radical currents that competed for the adherence of the workers.

They celebrated the Paris Commune of 1871 as the prototype of the proletarian dictatorship and drew lessons from its brief victory and subsequent defeat. They stressed above all that for socialism to triumph the bureaucratic and military apparatuses of the bourgeoisie must be smashed. In their lifetime, they were not able to build a socialist state but they laid the theoretical basis for future proletarian revolutions.

By the last decade of the 19th century, Marxism became the dominant trend in the European working class movement, with the German social democratic party as the largest party. But even so, Bernstein would betray Marxism with his revisionist theory of evolutionary socialism.

For a while, Kautsky was an outstanding defender of Marxism but subsequently he also betrayed it. He was so taken in by the global expansion of capitalism under imperialism and by the rewards of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. He promoted classical revisionism and misdirected the Second International exactly when it was riding high on the strength of the militant workers' movement and the prestige of Marxism. The social democrats would vote for the war budgets of the bourgeois states and supported imperialism. They helped the monopoly bourgeoisie bring about the first inter-imperialist war.

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

## **TACTICS IN THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE US-ESTRADA REGIME**

Memorandum from the Executive Committee of  
the Central Committee (EC-CC)  
December 4, 2000

### **Significance of the anti-Estrada front**

The explosion of crisis and protests has brought forth an anti-Estrada front with a breadth and militancy that history has seldom seen. It includes workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie and anti-Estrada sections of the ruling classes. Its extraordinary breadth can particularly be seen in the broadness of sections from business, churches, the academe and the mass media that openly call for Estrada's resignation.

The front's basis of unity is the immediate ouster of Estrada through resignation, impeachment or other means. It has succeeded in severely isolating the Estrada regime. Exposes continue through street protests, the mass media, congress, the internet, text messages and others. The pressure continues to mount for Estrada's immediate removal from power.

The front's special political relevance lies in its arousing and mobilizing large numbers from among the masses in the quickest way; and assiduously isolating and dealing the most intense blows against the despicable ruling regime.

For these reasons, it is necessary to deal appropriately with the various forces fighting the regime. Compared to other considerations, we give greater weight to arousing millions of people and intensifying protests and struggles to overthrow the ruling regime. For instance, although we are waging an intense struggle against

ism continues. Ultimately, the proletariat shall fulfill its historic mission of building socialism on a world scale and bring us to the goal of communism upon the global defeat of imperialism.

We must have a clear view of history since the Communist Manifesto of 1848. The revolutionary cause of socialism has advanced and accumulated victories in theory and practice. It has done so by going through twists and turns and ups and downs.

The tremendous odds that socialism faces are posed not only by the frontal enemy in the form of the big bourgeoisie but also the enemy from within in the form of revisionists. But no matter how big is the setback that socialism suffers at one time, it subsequently resurges and advances in an unprecedented way.

So far, the socialist cause of the modern proletariat and the entire people has passed through three major stages. These are the stages of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism.

In the stage of Marxism, Marx and Engels established the theory of scientific socialism against utopian socialism. They formulated such components of Marxism as the philosophy of dialectical materialism, the fundamental critique of capitalism in political economy and scientific socialism.

They studied the material conditions brought about by industrial capitalism and discovered the laws of motion of capitalism. They brought to the fore the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, resulting from the contradiction of the social character of the forces of production and the private character of the mode of appropriation.

They pointed to the need for the forcible overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the revolutionary prerequisite for building socialism. When they spoke of the proletariat as having to win

# THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

Contribution of the Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
To the International Conference On Socialism  
in the 21st Century  
November 5, 2000  
Kathmandu, Nepal

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with other revolutionary forces of the Filipino people, convey their warmest greetings of comradeship to the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) and the Madan-Ahrit Memorial Foundation and to all the participants in this International Conference on Socialism in the 21st Century.

We thank all our Nepalese comrades for inviting us and we congratulate them for successfully convening this conference. We are confident that all participants can learn from each other in the course of exchanging experience, ideas and views.

We have been assigned to present this thematic paper on the struggle for socialism in different countries. We therefore proceed to discuss the history, the current global situation, the struggle for socialism in various types of countries and the prospects of this struggle in the twenty-first century.

## I. The History of Socialism

It is a delusion of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its anti-communist petty bourgeois camp followers that history has ended with capitalism and bourgeois liberalism. The epochal struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between capitalism and social-

yellow unionism in the workers' movement, it is correct to cooperate with anti-Estrada yellow unions in launching general strikes and massive protest actions seeking Estrada's resignation.

From the revolutionary movement's point of view, the anti-Estrada front attains more relevance as it delivers more stinging blows against the ruling regime and as it mobilizes broader sections of the masses of the people to wage resistance. As people's actions become more militant, more confrontational and more massive, the actual and potential benefits increase in terms of developing the masses' consciousness and practice, weakening the rabid reactionaries, advocating relevant reforms and advancing the revolution.

The overall front is an informal one. Linkages and coordination revolve around the conduct of joint actions. It is the intensity of resistance that pushes anti-Estrada forces to cooperate and assiduously expand and intensify mass protests. On the other hand, because the front is an informal one, independent initiatives predominate when it comes to analyzing issues, formulating calls, mobilizing forces, linking with the broad masses, forming organizations and forging multilateral and bilateral ties.

In accordance with the front's informal character, it has no common political program and no fixed structures of leadership and coordination. Its advantage: attention and linkages are focused on the immediate intensification of protests and struggles. Disagreements are handled with maximum flexibility and disputes over ideology and territory are avoided in the interest of intensifying the struggle.

## Slogan for Estrada's ouster

The Party's general call for the current situation is "Overthrow the reactionary US-Estrada regime, expand and intensify the revolution!" This clarifies the principal task of overthrowing the ruling

regime and the need to accomplish this through means that shall bring the revolution closer to victory. In accordance with the actual level of revolutionary advance, the overall balance of forces and the people's level of consciousness and practice the objective is not overall victory but a major advance in the revolution.

The general call also recognizes the primary and secondary arenas of struggle to overthrow Estrada. The primary arena consists of street protests, meaning, the legal arena and struggles. Armed and illegal struggles are secondary.

The slogan of oust/impeach/resign are legal slogans for the overthrow of the US-Estrada regime.

The overall stress of these legal calls is to expand and intensify mass protests and other legal struggles to remove the Estrada regime from power. The highest stage they could reach is massive civil disobedience, including the people's siege of Malacañang to force Estrada to resign. Of course, if the crisis is not resolved through legal means, the issue of non-constitutional means (assassination, coup d'etat, armed revolution) of overthrowing the loathsome regime shall come to the fore. Even now, talk is rife over moves by military and police forces to support the call for Estrada's resignation.

In order to advance the legal struggle against the reactionary US-Estrada regime in a manner that advocates the line of people's democratic revolution, there is need to:

Massively mobilize the people for protests and other mass struggles; disseminate national-democratic propaganda along with, and in relation to, agitation against the Estrada regime; advance anti-Estrada struggles as anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist struggles; vigorously expand and strengthen national-democratic organizations; daringly expand the Party and the revolutionary underground movement in order to link legal and illegal forces and

officials and personnel in the anti-Estrada struggle. We must encourage patriotic and democratic military officials and personnel to make a stand and align themselves with the people's struggle against the ruling regime.

### **Crisis and the armed struggle**

The armed and illegal revolutionary forces are part of the anti-Estrada front. But the overall focus of struggles to overthrow Estrada is on the mass protests in the streets. And besides, the linkages, coordination and cooperation between the armed and illegal revolutionary forces and the legal forces, alliances and struggles are indirect.

Tactical offensives are among the most stinging blows that may be dealt against the reactionary ruling regime and thus, they must be expanded and strengthened to accelerate the weakening and overthrow of the regime. Severe defeats in battles are sure to accelerate the shattering of support by the counterrevolutionary military and police for Estrada. The people's army is also necessary in order to punish and bring to justice the worst and biggest criminals and people's enemies.

It is through armed struggle (army-building, agrarian revolution and base-building) that the people and the revolution can attain the most solid benefits in the struggle against the hated ruling US-Estrada regime. Thus, advancing the armed struggle is crucial to the accumulation of strength by the revolutionary and progressive forces for waging protracted struggle.

Instead of saving itself, the ruling regime's desperate schemes can only deepen the grave it is already in. The bankrupt government's coffers are being further depleted, the forces of an already overextended AFP-PNP further spread thinly and the flames of the people's wrath and resistance further stoked. There is greater need to tighten our grip on our weapons and daringly advance people's war. #

forces to clarify to the masses Macapagal-Arroyo's reactionary stance and political record and the need for continued militancy and struggles after Estrada is overthrown. Along with this, it is neither necessary nor correct to raise the exposure of Macapagal-Arroyo's reactionary character to the level of opposing and resisting her as Estrada's successor so as not to blunt the isolation of, and the struggle against, the ruling Estrada clique.

At present, even as we neither endorse nor oppose Macapagal-Arroyo's succession, the legal national-democratic forces are conducting public exchanges of views to present the policies and programs that a Macapagal-Arroyo government should advocate. Thus, the national-democratic forces clearly declare their stand and continue fighting for it. Along with this, we do not stop struggling for reforms, advancing legal and parliamentary struggles and working within reactionary institutions with the aim of conducting political exposes and fighting for relevant benefits and concessions for the people's welfare.

### **Threats of a coup d'etat**

Calls by retired generals for the AFP-PNP to turn their back on the despicable ruling regime, talk of a coup d'etat as well as intensifying surveillance, harassment, violence and threats of violence against anti-Estrada forces, including Estrada's political rivals (the most striking example of which is Dacer's abduction), are manifestations of a further deepening of the political crisis.

We must roundly condemn and resist any intervention or use of the counterrevolutionary AFP-PNP to suppress the democratic forces resisting the loathsome ruling regime.

Along with this, we must avoid the bourgeois pacifist and constitutionalist posture on the issue of the involvement of military

struggles and strengthen various types of support for the armed struggle in the countryside.

### **Tactical alliance with anti-Estrada reactionaries**

The correct way of dealing with contradictions and rivalries among reactionaries is a basic question in revolutionary tactics. It is a serious error for revolutionaries to ignore this issue. We must actively take advantage of, and further intensify divisions and rivalries among, reactionaries to accelerate the weakening of reaction and the strengthening of the revolution.

There is currently a need to broadly and more aggressively forge tactical alliances because divisions and rivalries among reactionaries are so intense. These rivalries are factional rivalries related to the crisis of the semifeudal system. The spoils that reactionary factions can divide among themselves continue to dwindle and the fighting is so intense as to who among them will prevail. Such rivalries are exacerbated by the extreme avarice, brazen abuse of power, plunder, corruption, cronyism, militarism and the incompetent administration of the ruling Estrada clique.

Is it correct for the current struggle to narrow its target of attack to the ruling Estrada clique? It is correct and necessary, contrary to the claim that some pseudo-leftists have been mouthing, that it is supposedly more revolutionary to attack several enemies all at the same time. It is a fundamental policy in the united front to win over the many, struggle against the few and defeat the enemy one by one.

This policy relies on making correct distinctions among friends as well as enemies. We must distinguish between long-term and reliable friends and friends who are temporary and unreliable. We must make distinctions among big, middle and small enemies, between those who are in and out of power and between current and future enemies.

Narrowing the target of attack does not mean terminating the struggle against secondary and future enemies. A tactical alliance does not mean that the struggle against unreliable, temporary and reactionary allies has stopped. We continue to struggle with them to protect the ideological and organizational integrity of the Party and the revolutionary movement. This is also necessary in order to expand and develop our linkages with, and leadership over, the masses. Nonetheless, we struggle with restraint and in consideration of the need for unity and cooperative struggle against a common enemy.

While bilateral and multilateral consultation and coordination are being advanced within the tactical alliance, we strengthen the initiative of the revolutionary forces. Thus, we avoid being mere tails of reactionary allies and ensure that we can pursue the struggle even if they vacillate or turn against us and that we can continue to strengthen the revolutionary forces.

With their slogan “Resign All”, the pseudo-leftists wish to expand, instead of narrow down, the target of the people’s struggle and push the formation of a supposed third “leftist” front that is ramming itself against the broad anti-Estrada front. They serve Estrada’s divisive tactics and blunt the aim of the people’s attack against the reactionary ruling regime. They attempt to confuse the revolutionary and progressive forces by muddling ideological and political issues and through the dogmatist superimposition of fundamental and long-term issues on tactical situations and issues aside from spreading intrigues and blatant distortions.

Fomenting trouble and casting aspersion on the Party and the revolutionary movement continue to be the predominant activity of these counterrevolutionary renegades. They must continuously be exposed, isolated and dismantled.

There are instances when these impostors are able, against our will, to sneak into alliances or joint activities by latching onto allies. We do not let this interfere with our alliance work and the

intensification of protests so long as we ensure that they occupy a minor place and that they are unable to vilify us or cause us harm.

### **On the issue of Estrada’s successor**

As a replacement for the hated ruling regime, the national-democratic forces are advocating the formation of a national council of unity and change that has appropriate representation from workers, peasants and other democratic classes and sectors aside from other anti-Estrada forces, and advances an anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist program. This is most certainly better than the “united opposition” that is composed only of reactionary political parties. Even if this does not push through, we will be able to clarify to the masses the national-democratic movement’s own stand and program.

For so long as the primary arena and means of overthrowing the Estrada regime are legal, Macapagal-Arroyo and the “united opposition” will be first in line among those who will take over the reins of power. Her resignation from the Estrada cabinet was an important turning point in the isolation of the Estrada regime and the intensification of anti-Estrada struggles. There is no doubt that Macapagal-Arroyo is a representative of the local reactionary classes and her political record speaks of her being a leading advocate of pro-imperialist, antipeople and anti-democratic policies. But because she has allied herself with the anti-Estrada front and is seeking the support of the protest movement, she is obliged to adopt a posture of openness to the progressive forces and promise relevant reforms.

Within the framework of the informal tactical alliance to overthrow the reactionary Estrada regime, the national-democratic forces, including the legal national-democratic forces, are not obliged to formally endorse Macapagal-Arroyo as Estrada’s successor. In fact, it is the right and duty of the national-democratic