ANG PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG

Ang Bayan

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Editorial

INTENSIFY PARTY REBUILDING AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The holding of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines for the first time not only since the Congress of Re-establishment but since more than eighteen years ago is clearly a highly significant event indicative of the new vigorous forces of the people's democratic revolution now resurging.

However, what is most essentially significant about the First Plenum is that it is the concrete result of determined efforts by proletarian revolutionary cadres to integrate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Philippine Revolution. In this sense, the First Plenum of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the supreme guidance and inspiration of Mao Tsetung Thought is firmly in line with the Congress of Re-establishment of December 26, 1968.

That the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines had never been convoked since the 1951 CC emergency meeting in Sierra Madre is a damning indictment of those who assumed the formal titles of leadership in the Party but who have wantonly abandoned their responsibilities. The revisionist renegade heirs and propagators of Lavaism and Taruc-ism have consistently tried to suppress Party life and the people's democratic revolution only to protect their selfish interests. Their errors and crimes are sufficiently exposed in the document, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party", adopted by the Congress of Re-Establishment.

Like the Congress of Re-Establishment, the First Plenum under the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought continues to repudiate Lavaism and Taruc-ism, the two major local sources of modern revisionism, and celebrates the Party's latest triumph, that is, over the Taruc-Sumulong clique which is a ramification of Lavaism. The New People's Army, cleansed of Lavaism and Taruc-ism, is now securely under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and is steadfastly fully in the service of the people.

At the moment, only a few months after the Congress of Re-Establishment, the Communist Party of the Philippines has already triumphed over the city-based ringleaders of Lavaism and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique that have maintained their "independent kingdoms" in Manila and Angeles City, respectively. Theirs is the common task of obstructing and sabotaging the advance of Mao Tsetung Thought and the people's democratic revolution in their sinister capacity as henchmen of U. S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. But we have cast them away to such an extent that the road of armed revolution has been cleared away sufficiently for old and new Party cadres and members to take.

While the First Plenum correctly sums up the triumphs achieved in the Party rectification and rebuilding movement declared by the Congress of Re-Establishment, all Party cadres and members should recognize that the struggle against modern revisionism and all forms of subjectivism and opportunism does not stop under the present historical circumstances. It is correct for the First Plenum to resolve once more to grasp Mao Tsetung Thought firmly and carry out the party rectification and rebuilding movement through to end.

So many tangible results have already been won in taking resolute efforts to rebuild the Party and carry out armed struggle under the beacon light of Mao Tsetung Thought. The First Plenum can never be forgotten as the occasion when preparations are made for the agrarian revolution, when the Central Committee is re-strengthened with the representative inclusion of more proletarian revolutionary cadres from the New People's Army and the peasant movement, when the Military Commission is formed, when the Basic Rules of the New People's Army is ratified and the party organization, party education and party finances are further improved.

All of these have been undertaken by the First Plenum of the Party Central Committee under the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought in order to intensify Party rebuilding and the armed struggle.

The great spirit that should now prevail among all Party cadres and members in the intensification of Party building and the armed struggle under the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought.

If this is so, then the most vigorous and resolute efforts should be exerted to arouse and mobilize the masses so as to create the widest grounds for rebuilding the Party and waging armed struggle. By doing so, the revisionist renegades can be thoroughly exposed for what they are, as traitorous accomplices of U. S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. By doing so, real political power can be won and consolidated by the forces of the people's democratic revolution. This is transforming Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party's Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution into a material force.

The First Plenum correctly sets the stage for waging an armed agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class and its most advanced detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines. A peasant war must be waged in order to create a powerful base for a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle for people's democracy. All the national democratic struggles of workers, students, teachers, the entire urban petty bourgeoisie and patriotic businessmen will be rendered weak if the Communist Party of the Philippines and the working class do not intensify their efforts to lead, rouse up and mobilize the poor peasants and farm workers in an agrarian revolution. By waging a peasant war, the Party will actually accomplish the basic alliance between the working class and the peasantry as the invincible foundation for a united front of all patriotic classes, groups and individuals aspiring to overthrow U. S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

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CARRY STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM THROUGH TO THE END

The revisionist renegades are creating trouble locally and all over the world and are vainly trying to impede the victorious advance of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines and of the world proletarian revolution.

It is impossible to fight and defeat U. S. imperialism and local reaction without fighting and defeating modern revisionism.

Modern revisionism performs the special task for U. S. imperialism and local reaction of undermining and sabotaging the revolutionary movement from within.

For a long period of time in the Philippines, Lavaism and Taruc-ism--the two major local sources and bases of modern revisionism--have derailed the Philippine Revolution and besmirched the honor and prestige of the Communist Party of the Philippines. At present, they continuously try to hamper the advance of the revolutionary movement by confusing the friends of the revolution, by spreading slander against proletarian revolutionary cadres, by betraying them to the enemy and by resorting to intimidations.

The two "independent kingdoms" of the Lava revisionist renegade clique and the Taruc-Sumulong clique, though they have their own contradictions, consistently attack the Communist Party of the Philippines which is under the powerful inspiration of Mao Tsetung Thought by employing the same dirty tactics.

Though it appears that the Taruc-Sumulong clique is the more dangerous of the two revisionist renegade cliques in the country today, the Lava revisionist renegade clique is actually the one that poses a greater danger to the Party of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It consistently performs revisionist work ideologically, politically and organizationally and

The "intellectual" blubber impresses so much the social strata (the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie) that usually serve as the basis of subjectivism and opportunism and it tries to spread the spirit of reformism among the peasants and workers. In the case of the Taruc-Sumulong clique, it is so bereft of any kind of support now that it has become purely a crime gang.

The Lava revisionist renegade clique carries the support of Soviet revisionist social imperialism. Though it is wracked by internal contradictions, a majority within determines the character of the clique as a puppet of Soviet revisionist social imperialism. With the knowledge and tacit approval of the reactionary government, it was able to send five "secret" delegates to the "World Communist Conference" organized by the Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique.

The Lava revisionist renegade clique is the purveyor of the most sustained attacks against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. At every turn it defends the most glaring acts of Soviet social imperialism such as the Soviet aggression against the Czechoslovak people and the armed provocations against the Chinese people on China's frontiers.

The Lava revisionist renegade clique stands to gain temporarily from the "new" foreign policy of the reactionary government and the current attempts to "legalize" the Communist Party of the Philippines. The principal leaders and henchmen of this clique are openly in the payroll of the reactionary government, in the state university, in "brain trust" groups for high reactionary politicians and in business enterprises.

It is necessary for the Party of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to sustain a protracted struggle against modern revisionism, whether it be of the Lava or Taruc-Sumulong brand. All proletarian revolutionary cadres should always maintain the spirit of carrying through to the end the rectification movement and the fight against modern revisionism, Lavaism and Taruc-ism.

Under the present historical circumstances, the heirs and propagators of Lavaism and Taruc-ism have a resilience that can be fatal to genuine Marxist-Leninists if there is no constant revolutionary vigilance and active struggle against their revisionist intrigues and machinations.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines should steadfastly rebuild and consolidate the Party. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, they should strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally on the basis of resolute mass struggle against the class enemy.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA CELEBRATES FORTY-EIGHTH FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY TODAY

The Chinese people and the People's Republic of China celebrate today, July 1, the forty-eighth founding anniversary of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China under the invincible and ever victorious leadership of Chairman Mao.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, as all other proletarian revolutionary parties of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, is exceedingly joyous that the Communist Party of China has remained ever loyal to Chairman Mao and has persisted as a vigorous vanguard organization of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses.

The forty-eighth anniversary of the Communist Party of China is a most happy occasion for all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples throughout the world because it comes soon after the overwhelming victory of Mao Tsetung Thought in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Ninth Party National Congress.

On this day, the Communist Party of the Philippines declares to all its cadres, members and candidate-members that it is their proletarian internationalist duty to study ardently the history of the Communist Party of China in order to seek revolutionary lessons and emulate the correct application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The unique achievement of the Communist Party of China is that in all its revolutionary efforts in class struggle, production and scientific experiment it has proven the universal truth of Mao Tsetung Thought for the benefit of all revolutionaries throughout the world.

Comrade Lin Piao correctly stated in his Report to the Ninth National Congress that the Communist Party of China owes all its achievements to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and that these achievements constitute victories of Mao Tsetung Thought.

In its current efforts at Party rebuilding, the Communist Party of the Philippines has the bounden duty to study carefully how the Communist Party of China has been nurtured and built by Chairman Mao.

The Communist Party of China has grown from Communist groups with only a few dozens of members in 1921 to become the great, glorious and correct Party leading the powerful People's Republic of China.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must trace how from stage to stage, through revolutionary wars and struggles, the Communist Party of China was able to seize power and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the Communist Party of the Philippines is now vigorously engaged in a rectification movement against subjectivism and opportunism, particularly against Lavaism and Taruc-ism, including the Taruc-Sumulong clique, it is exceedingly necessary to study and emulate the great revolutionary struggles against subjectivism and opportunism conducted by Chairman Mao within the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China has remained ideologically, politically and organizationally strong and powerful because Chairman Mao has consistently combatted the bourgeois headquarters within the Party. The various rectification movements he has consistently directed leads up to his creation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which successfully weeded out the big renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his counter-revolutionary revisionist gangmates.

The history of the Communist Party of China shows how a proletarian revolutionary party can remain firmly Marxist-Leninist, how the revolution can be continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat, how modern revisionism can be successfully defeated and how socialism can be built and consolidated.

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao!

Down with Soviet revisionist social imperialism!

Long live the fraternal bonds of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Philippines!

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS FIRST PLENUM TO INTENSIFY PARTY REBUILDING AND ARMED STRUGGLE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines held somewhere in Central Luzon last May 12 and 13 its First Plenum since the Congress of Re-Establishment (December 26, 1968) and since the emergency CC meeting of 1951 in the Sierra Madre.

The First Plenum was called principally to intensify Party rebuilding and the armed struggle under the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chairman Amado Guerrero delivered the opening address. He summed up the experiences of the Party since the Congress of Re-Establishment and pointed out the successes of the Party in rectifying the errors of Lavnism and Taruc-ism, as the two major local sources of revisionism, in repudiating the heirs and propagators of Lavnism and Taruc-ism and also the Taruc-Sumulong clique, and in rebuilding the Party and the People's Army. He described the national and international situation as extremely favorable for making the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines and showed the impending doom of U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction. He stated the main tasks of the Party and the People's Army, laying stress on the necessity of waging an armed agrarian revolution to create and consolidate the base areas and guerrilla zones to encircle the cities. Consistently, he put forward the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung Thought in order to cast aside completely the urban parliamentarist and legalist orientation of the Lava revisionist renegade clique of Manila and the line of mediation in the countryside and the roving rebel band outlook of the Taruc-Sumulong clique of Angeles City.

Comrade Dante read to the Central Committee the Statement of the Meeting of Red Commanders and Soldiers of March 29, 1969 repudiating once and for all the Taruc-Sumulong clique and proclaiming the formation of the New People's Army. The statement affirmed the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the correct line set by the Party's programme for a people's democratic revolution. The statement exposed and criticized the crimes of the Taruc-Sumulong clique and traced their historical development within the Party and the People's Army. Finally, the statement declared the main tasks of the New People's Army with regard to helping rebuild the Party; carrying out the armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base-building; and building the national united front.

The Plenum ratified the Basic Rules of the New People's Army. The Central Committee thoroughly scrutinized the basic rules, thus, ensuring that Mao Tsetung Thought is correctly and fully embodied.

The Plenum passed seven resolutions intended to intensify Party rebuilding and the armed struggle. The seven resolutions are the following:

1) Resolution on the inclusion in the Central Committee of nine proletarian revolutionary cadres from the New People's Army and the peasant movement;
2) Resolution on the composition of the Military Commission;
3) Resolution on the inclusion of the Commander-in-Chief of the New People's Army in the Political Bureau and the Executive Committee of the Central Committee;
4) Resolution electing Comrade Dante as Commander-in-Chief of the New People's Army;
5) Resolution on Party organization;
6) Resolution on Party education; and
7) Resolution on Party finances.

During the Plenum, quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung were read aloud for the guidance and edification of the Central Committee on particular problems. It was decided by the Plenum that all Party members and candidate-members should be provided with Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung in Pilipino and the Guide for Party Cadres and Members which contains the basic documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

Comrade Amado Guerrero, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, presided over the Plenum.

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REACTIONARY TROOPS FAIL TO SUPPRESS REVOLUTIONARIES IN TARLAC

During the last three months starting last April, reactionary troops mustered under Task Force "Lawin" and ranging in size from 3,000 to 5,000 have been trying to locate, encircle and suppress the proletarian revolutionary cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines and units of the New People's Army in Tarlac province.

Until now, they have utterly failed to trap a single Red cadre or soldier. That is plainly because the Party and the New People's Army are closely linked with the masses of the people and are completely in their service and that is because they are armed with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought.

"Operation Prophylactic" was started last April with the ambitious objective of ferreting out and destroying Party branches and units of the New People's Army. But the PC-Army units which swarmed the five towns of Tarlac, Concepcion, La Paz, Capas and Bamban, only reaped a whirlwind of mass protest, culminating in the protest march of more than 10,000 workers, peasants and students in front of Malacañang, Congress and the U. S. Embassy. The reactionary authorities were compelled by the wave of popular anger to hold sham public hearings into the abuses committed by the PC-Army troopers.

The abuses of uniformed government troops were to be followed in May by the abuses committed by the "Monkees", small car-riding units composed of goons and government soldiers in civilian clothes. They performed the raid on Angeles City on May 22 in an attempt to misrepresent the New People's Army and terrorize the people by the senseless killing and wounding of innocent civilians. Three days after, assassination attempts were made on several suspected sympathizers of the New People's Army resulting in the killing and wounding of a number of persons.

While the "Monkees" were creating trouble in the plains, three big columns of uniformed troops moved separately from the Pangasinan-Tarlac and Pampanga-Tarlac boundaries and from inside Tarlac. This time the reactionary military authorities boasted in the press that they would trap the "Stalin University" (Revolutionary School of Mao Tsetung Thought) in the mountains between Tarlac and Zambales. As the armed columns moved and converged in the mountains in their futile hunt, the reactionary troops only committed such abuses as rape, looting and torture against the Baluga national minority and other mountain people. As usual the reactionary troops failed to accomplish their objective but only succeeded in enraging the people and in strengthening their love for the New People's Army.

In all its actions the reactionary troops created enmity between themselves and the people. The New People's Army, on the other hand, received reliable information on enemy troop movements from the masses so that they could evade the enemy and deal him deadly blows outside of any encirclement.

After their futile mountain search, the reactionary government troops proceeded to make trouble in the plains. Employing the random tactics of sending into a barrio a squad or two at dawn, the reactionary government troops would make abuses in order to provoke the people. These small units would break down doors, maltreat people and loot their homes and a sizeable force, a company or battalion is right behind to follow up their dirty job.

But these thugs of the reactionary government get nowhere. Although on June 9, in their raid on Barrio Sta. Maria of Capas, Tarlac they stumbled upon two tunnels and some books and mimeographed documents, they failed to come upon a single Red cadre or soldier. They merely stumbled upon some facilities captured from them by the New People's Army in previous engagements and some reading materials inadvertently left and which could in no way help them suppress the rising wave of armed struggle.

The movement of a reactionary armed unit, small or big, or the slightest intrusion of an informer is effectively and promptly relayed to the Red cadres and soldiers by the people. The New People's Army either immediately prepares to annihilate the enemy when it can or merely circles around for a better occasion to wipe him out. Such is the fighting style of the people's guerrillas.

The New People's Army continues to expand rapidly not only in Tarlac but in several other provinces. At this stage, the reactionary armed

Person of the Philippines can no longer hope to quell the people's fighting forces by pouncing on this or that barrio. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, both guided and inspired by Mao Tse-tung Thought, are making active preparations to transform their wide guerrilla zones into more powerful base areas.

The Task ~~Force "Lawin"~~ has been concentrating on what it calls "preventive actions" on the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army because the U. S. imperialists, the landlords, and bureaucrat capitalists are terribly afraid of Mao Tsetung Thought taking deep roots in the Philippines.

The reactionary authorities are getting hysterical now that they have discovered that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is guiding the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. They are afraid more than ever of their impending doom.

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ROVING REBEL BANDS MAKE EASY PREY FOR REACTIONARY PUPPET TROOPS

Because of its isolation from the masses of the people, the few armed men that continue to be misled by the Taruc-Sumulong clique have become easy prey for reactionary puppet troops.

In four encounters in various parts of Pampanga last May and June, the Philippine Constabulary annihilated what amounted to ninety per cent of the armed strength of the Taruc-Sumulong clique.

These have further reduced the area of maneuver for the Taruc-Sumulong clique who are now reported to be negotiating the terms of its surrender to the reactionary government under the guise of "amnesty".

Upon the formation of the New People's Army, only a small number of armed men continued to be hoodwinked by the Taruc-Sumulong clique. The overwhelming majority of Red commanders and soldiers followed the call for unity under Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and firmly approved the Statement of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969.

Now, only die-hard gangsters are left with the Taruc-Sumulong clique. They are completely deprived of the company of Red cadres and fighters who know how to take the revolutionary mass line. They are completely isolated from the masses and become easy prey for government informers and reactionary troops who compete with them in extorting money, grain, livestock and other material possessions from the people.

During the past few months, the Taruc-Sumulong clique and its armed goons have completely shed off their masks. They continue to pursue the line of modification in favor of the landlords, to build up their private wealth, to avoid "provoking" the U. S. imperialists and to engage in the most depraved activities.

To discredit the Party and the People's Army, the reactionary authorities wish to allow them to exist. In that way, these renegades play a role that no out-and-out reactionary can play better. But at the same time, the reactionaries wish to finish them off. Not only do the government informers and reactionary troops want to eliminate them for being tough competitors in making extortions from the people, but Marcos no less for when they have started to campaign this early wants to finish them off as a trophy in this forthcoming elections.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique is fast losing time and ground as the masses are repudiating it. Marcos is deliberately holding off on negotiations for an "amnesty". The Taruc-Sumulong clique foolishly entertains the illusion that Marcos would give guarantees for the retention of its private wealth and armed men in exchange for surrender.

POOR PEASANTS AND FARM WORKERS DISGUSTED WITH BOURGEOIS LAND REFORM

Contrary to the expectations of the U. S. imperialists, the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists, the bourgeois Agricultural Land Reform Code is proving to be more of an accelerator of revolt among poor peasants and farm workers all over the country than a damper.

The reactionary government is begrudgingly proclaiming certain areas as land reform districts but its agencies are not provided with the necessary finances required by a bourgeoir land reform program.

The reactionary government has already great difficulties in maintaining its standard administrative operations. Yet its funds are dissipated by unnecessary expenditures benefiting rapacious exploiting classes. It cannot even extend enough credit to one per cent of the peasantry. How can it have sufficient funds to expropriate the large estates of landlords?

Even within so-called land reform districts, the poor peasants continue to be serfs of their landlords and more than ever are heavily indebted. The landlords even intensify their methods of exploitation. The statutory daily minimum wage of ₱3.50 for farm workers is already too low and yet they receive much less and are deprived of those other benefits that are due them according to the bourgeois Land Reform Code. The landlords simply classify them as "temporary" workers to circumvent the bourgeois code.

The poor peasants and farm workers all over the country are eager to wage an agrarian revolution. They realize that if they refuse to deliver the landlord's share all at one time within a wide area, there will not be enough police, troops, thugs, lawyers, judges, courts, and prisons to force them to submission. They can seize the lands, confiscate the landlord's granary and livestock, eradicate usury, punish all local despots and establish political power, if they want to.

The poor peasants and farm workers over large areas are now enthusiastically responding to the call for organization among them. "Get Organized!" is their current slogan.

In accordance with the decision of the First Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the Barrio Organizing Committees (B.O.C.) set up previously are now being transformed into revolutionary barrio councils or peasant committees for launching the agrarian revolution.

These revolutionary barrio councils or peasant committees, with the full support of the Party and the New People's Army, shall pursue an anti-feudal revolutionary class line which is to rely mainly on the poor peasants and the farm workers, unite with the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants against the landlords. This revolutionary class line repudiates the counter-revolutionary class line of the Taruc-Sumulong clique which makes the pretext of mediating between the landlords and the tenants but actually favoring the landlords. It also repudiates the counter-revolutionary class line of the Lava revisionist renegade clique which maintains a legalist and reformist peasant organization, covers up the key role of the agrarian revolution and leaves the land problem to the bourgeois government.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are indefatigably preparing for the upsurge of the revolutionary peasant movement. Through the mass struggle of the peasantry, the Party and the People's Army shall surely temper themselves and increase their strength severalfold.

The Party and the People's Army, having great faith and trust in the masses, are confident that a single spark may soon start a prairie fire in the countryside of the Philippines.

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REACTIONARY ARMED FORCES INTENSIFY ATTACKS AGAINST LABOR, PEASANT, STUDENT, AND OTHER MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The principal reason why the budget of the reactionary government could not be passed by the regular session of Congress which ended last May was the long debate arising from the enormity of the funds being appropriated for the parasitic reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines and the blatantly malicious character of their intended use.

Wary that the Armed Forces of the Philippines would be used against them by the ruling Nacionalista Party in the forthcoming national elections, the Liberal Party members of Congress questioned from the very start the original proposed budget. Aside from those budgetary items directly under the Defense Department, there were also items formally under other departments but actually intended for the Armed Forces of the Philippines under the guise of "civic action".

The military budget was whittled down to some extent but to the end of the session, the most reactionary members of Congress insisted on keeping and enlarging the appropriations for the payment of civilian elements whose services are bought by the military for counter-insurgency purposes and also for intensifying the detection of "subversive" activities of labor, peasant, student and other mass organizations.

The reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines keeps on sharpening its sword but the people are daily becoming more rebellious.

Labor organizations hate the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines for breaking up picket lines, escorting scabs into strike-bound factories, using enlisted men as scabs and arresting and murdering workers and their leaders.

Genuine peasant organizations always make it a point to adopt measures of self-protection. The reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines daily commits atrocities against the well-organized peasantry of Central Luzon and employ bandits, cattle-rustlers, extortionists and special killer units like the "Lawins" and the "Monkees" against the people.

The student rebel movement faces stern suppression by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The Defense, Education Departments and university authorities have been holding conferences to plot measures for suppressing what they expect to be the outbreak of student rebel actions this school year.

No matter how well-equipped and well-funded the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines is, it cannot help but be the instrument of coercion in the hands of ruling reactionary classes. On the other hand, the people have no alternative but to fight it to the end as the main component of a reactionary state that daily increases its oppressiveness.

The limited capabilities of the Armed Forces of the Philippines can easily be determined by the people, however. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, the people can easily isolate it and destroy it part by part.

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MARCOS PUPPET ADMINISTRATION CONDONES ABUSES IN U. S. MILITARY BASES

The puppetry of the Marcos administration, despite its protestations of initiating an "independent" foreign policy, is blatantly demonstrated by its condonation and approval of the absolute right of the U. S. imperialists to murder and exploit Filipino workers in the U. S. military bases.

A Filipino worker, Gliceria Amor, was murdered on June 10 by the U. S. imperialists inside the Subic Naval Base. Until now, the Marcos administration has not taken any step in defense of a Filipino citizen. Instead it has merely issued press statements affirming the "right" of U. S. base authorities to investigate and try the murder case under the unjust US-RP

[illegible] in the case of [illegible] U. S. base authorities [illegible] the local officials who [illegible] in discouraging the [illegible] from pursuing their work among the masses.

The Marcos administration, through its Labor Secretary Blas Ople, has [illegible] made a reactionary labor agreement with U. S. military base authorities specifying that only the Philippine government and the U. S. government are the only two legitimate parties to make consultations on labor problems within the U. S. military bases. The agreement also affirms the authority of U. S. base officials to hire and fire Filipino workers even contrary to labor laws here in the Philippines.

The reactionary character of the labor agreement known as the Ople-Williams agreement was exposed when the U. S. base authorities decided to fire a number of Filipino workers in line with the U. S. policy of saving dollars. The Marcos puppet administration acted to stop the Filipino Civilian Employees Association from carrying out its general strike in all U. S. military bases in the country.

The U. S. military base authorities have established the so-called "Red Patches" which acts as the American Gestapo against Filipino workers. The "Red Patches", together with their PC subordinates, has been manhandling, inflicting indignities and committing atrocities on Filipino workers. The "Red Patches" and the PC together are so hated by the Filipino workers that whenever the latter have the chance to retaliate against them, they never hesitate to do so.

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KALINGA PEOPLE TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST U. S. IMPERIALIST MINING FIRM

Three hundred men of the Kalinga national minority armed with spears drove away last month the U. S. imperialist mining firm, Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company, from the Batilan copper mines of Lubuagan, Kalinga-Apayao province.

The heroic people of Kalinga burned down four bunkhouses of the imperialist mining firm as the Philippine Constabulary men assigned to protect the foreign mining officials scampered away to save their own skin.

As early as two years ago, the people of Kalinga had protested the entry of the U. S. imperialist mining company in the area and had already served warning that there would be bloodshed.

The people of Kalinga strongly oppose the seizure of the mines and the adjoining lands from them. They deeply resent the subjugation of the mountain people by the U. S. imperialist mining firms that abound in the Mountain Provinces.

While the native workers sweat it out, the U. S. imperialists live it up and bring out of the country what is mined and the profits therefrom.

The people of Kalinga are prepared to wage armed struggle to drive out the U. S. imperialists and the reactionary puppet troops helping them.

The Batilan copper mines are located in the boundary of Lubuagan and Tinglayan, Kalinga and Sadanga, Bontoc. This is an area that is extremely favorable for people's war. It is well-populated, mountainous and is in the heart of the Mountain Provinces.

If the people of Kalinga will persist in their struggle against the U. S. imperialist mining firm, they will surely open the path of revolutionary struggle for the people of the Mountain Provinces.

At the moment, the U. S. imperialist mining company and the reactionary puppet authorities are trying to weaken the resistance of the people of Kalinga by using terror through the PC and also by manipulating private claims to the mines and the adjoining lands.

[illegible] FROM LEFT AND RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS [illegible]

In consideration of bourgeois justice has [illegible] Lin Piao [illegible] to the [illegible] of Chou [illegible] of Certainly of political prisoners [illegible] in 1959.

The reactionary government finds it convenient to release them at a time that some of them [illegible] their political following and that most of them are subjectively being a revisionist line on the question of state and revolution.

It is only a matter of a few months that the principal members of the [illegible] leadership in 1950 within the Party are released on the basis of the national court decision last May.

It is well known among Party members that most of the "Left" opportunists of yesterday have been giving their blessings to the Lava revisionist renegade clique and their names have often been invoked superficially to support the anti-Party and anti-Marxist theory of "noble lineage". The first of these to be released was Yeh in 1960. William J. Pomeroy, has been acting as the international representative of the local revisionist renegades and is living it up on the back of the Soviet embassy in London.

The fears of some of the leading political prisoners of 1950 is well expressed by their spokesmen who declared that they would get into either "the factory and poultry business or social action" after their release.

When they do get into "social action", they may either remold their thinking and join the armed revolutionary movement in the countryside or simply join the Lava revisionist renegade clique and compete with the traitor and each into turn for the applause of bourgeois audiences and patronage of the reactionary government.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Inc., a bourgeois pacifist organization duly registered with the reactionary government and outspokenly echoing the line of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, has been spearheading the campaign for the release of a choice number of political prisoners led by Juan Lava.

While the Lava revisionist renegade clique may think that the release of the "left" opportunists of yesterday would boost its political status, the other possibility is clear that the attempt of these released political prisoners to realize their "leadership" will provoke another internal strife and further disintegrate what is already a narrow revisionist grouping rabidly divided over Soviet social imperialist actions and policies since the Soviet aggression against the Czechoslovak people.

Meanwhile, the reactionary government is definitely interested in allowing the legal operation of a revisionist renegade party which can perhaps show outward-out reactionaries cannot do better against the proletarian revolutionary party armed with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. This is a tactic in line with the ideologic alliance of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

* * *

MAGSAYSAY AND OSMEÑA
AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES OF REVOLUTIONARY CLASSES

The Liberal Party national convention chose Sen. Sergio Osmeña as its presidential candidate last June 15 and the Nacionalista Party national convention chose Ramon Magsaysay as its presidential candidate last June 21. Both conventions were open proofs of the colonial servitude and domination of both bourgeois-landlord parties.

In the Philippines, however, elections, the Filipino electorate will only be mobilized to choose between two feudal puppets of U. S. imperialism and domestic landlords.

[illegible]

[illegible] years of denunciation of political prisoners [illegible]

[illegible] Since it convenient to release them at a [illegible] have been their political following and they come [illegible] a restrictiveness line on the question of state [illegible]

It is only a matter of a few months that the principal members of the [illegible] of life within the Party are released on the basis of the amnesty [illegible] last May.

[illegible] Turkey recovers [illegible] most of the "left" opportunists [illegible] have been giving their allegiance to the Tito revisionist [illegible] clique and their [illegible] have offered been invoked superficially in [illegible] anti-Party and anti-Marxist theory of "socio liberal". The first [illegible] to be released was Dzhi in 1950, William J. Pomeroy, has been active [illegible] the telecommunications representative of the local revisionist renegades and is living it up in the "East of the Devil" already in London.

The wave of wind of the leading political prisoners of 1950 is well [illegible] by their spokesmen who declared that they would not take either "the property and problems questions or social action" after their release.

[illegible] say as the term "social action", they may either proceed their [illegible] join the active revolutionary movement in the countryside or [illegible] revisionist renegade clique and compete with the [illegible] for the applause of bourgeois audiences and patronage of the reactionary government.

The Dorothea Lamont Scott Foundation, Inc., a bourgeois pacifist [illegible] fully registered with the reactionary government and outspokenly [illegible] the idea of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, has been [illegible] the campaign for the release of a chosen number of political prisoners and by [illegible].

While the Soviet revisionist renegade clique may think that the release of the "Party" opportunists of yesterday would boost its political status, the other possibility is that the attempt of these released political prisoners to realize their "leadership" will provoke another internal strife and further disintegrate what is already a motley revisionist grouping. Moreover, they have served social imperialist motives and policies since the Soviet aggression against the Czechoslovak people.

Moreover, the reactionary government is definitely interested in [illegible] the local generation of a revisionist renegade party which can performs [illegible] functions like those of better against the proletarian revolutionary party and also initiate the Tatung Incident. This is a [illegible] to deal with the strategic alliance of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

* * *

MOTIVE AND CONCLUSION

[illegible] of Revisionism Stands

[illegible] Party [illegible] Dr. Sergio Ramos as the [illegible] Party [illegible] Dr. Ramos [illegible] the revisionist [illegible] Dr. Ramos [illegible] of the original [illegible] and [illegible] of Dr. Ramos's [illegible] positions.

In the [illegible] situation, the Philippine situation will [illegible] complicated by which between the [illegible] of U. S. imperialism and [illegible] Conditions.

[illegible] is [illegible] between the two, [illegible] paid for services. Marcos appears to be the better [illegible] platform [illegible] to what [illegible] to U. S. imperialism and domestic feudalism.

The two presidential candidates are the two most corrupt and mercenary representatives of the exploiting classes at the present moment. Their harangues and counter-accusations will provide the people a particular education about the rottenness of the same system of exploitation.

The forthcoming November elections may still turn out to be the dirtiest and bloodiest bourgeois elections ever held in the country. Both presidential candidates have already prepared themselves for the worst in vote-buying, fraud and terrorism.

It is important for a genuine Marxist-Leninist party to unite the people at the [illegible] to dismantle them and to intensify the armed opposition to the established system of exploitation at a time that the internal contradictions of the ruling classes are most intense and manifest and the coercive forces of the state are most spread thinly.

The Communist Party of the Philippines will never have a standing in this country if it does not pursue to the end its revolutionary goals. At the moment, the two "independent kingdoms" of the local revisionist renegades are already separately but [illegible] part [illegible] of issues.

* * *

CENTRAL BANK RAISES REDISCOUNT RATE TO 10%

The Monetary Board of the Central Bank has raised the rediscount rate from 8 to 10 per cent. This means that the Philippine financial system is close to the end of its rope.

The commercial banks now have an extremely narrow allowance for making profits. The maximum interest charge that they can make on secured loans is 12 per cent and on unsecured ones, 14 per cent.

The raising of the rediscount rate has the single effect of tightening credit and slowing down business activity. It is the highest rediscount rate in the whole history of the Central Bank.

This action has been taken by the Central Bank to minimize the pressure on the country's supply of dollars.

It is a superficial action to counteract the worldwide financial crisis. The puppet republic has already been sufficiently undermined during the last fifteen years by the imperialist policies and expenditures of the U. S. government. The U. S. is now making every effort to shift the burden to its puppet governments.

* * *

SOVIET CULTURAL MISSION PROBES STRATEGIC ALLIANCE BETWEEN U. S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

The strategic alliance of Soviet social imperialism and U. S. imperialism became more evident in the Philippines when puppet President Marcos welcomed to the Soviet cultural mission, composed of Mr. [illegible], Dr. [illegible] and Dr. Alexander [illegible], who came [illegible] cultural exchange and friendly [illegible]".

In their meeting with the puppet president last June [illegible], the Soviet cultural mission [illegible] to vilify the People's Republic of China as a [illegible] of pleasing the U. S. imperialists and local [illegible].

[illegible] the Soviet cultural standard and the [illegible] to [illegible] not [illegible] the Communist-envoy of [illegible] the Philippine [illegible] of China and to make [illegible] [illegible] recognition.

At the Philippine Military Academy, where [illegible] of the people are [illegible], the [illegible] chief Ivanov described the revolutionary military [illegible] as "[illegible] respected, as the self of the fatherland." At the University of the Philippines, where the students and faculty members are denouncing the Communist [illegible] and their politics, the Soviet ambassador [illegible] all praise for the institution and expressed to the [illegible] students [illegible] the desire of the Soviet totalitarian rulers to have [illegible] relations in the same manner as the U. S. [illegible] of cultural [illegible].

The Soviet cultural mission also opened in Manila an exhibition of [illegible] revolutionary art of Soviet revolutionist painters. In its meeting with Marcos, it [illegible] his "[illegible]" the coming of the Soviet [illegible] to partake of the opening of Nor Colleral Center.

In all [illegible] government officials, attended social gatherings and was treated in the correct life of Filipino sophistication, the Soviet cultural mission was [illegible] enthusiastically accorded by two top anti-Communists, Sen. Manuel Serrano and Constantino Salazar, and certain "progressive" persons who had previously sponsored the Sverga Report.

Other Soviet [illegible] of the Soviet cultural mission were the [illegible] of Rep. Manuel Manaro and General Ishmael Lopez, chief of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency and prominent CIA agent. The [illegible] of these two anti-Communists are among the first Filipino attempts to study in the Friendship University in Moscow.

The Soviet cultural mission is merely one of a series of efforts to carry out the Soviet imperialist designs of the Moscow revisionist rulers clique. It expressed confidence that trade and diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines would develop soon.

* * *

SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS PLOTTED IN AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA

The Chinese government has protested to the Soviet Union over Soviet intrusion, provocations, provocations and kidnapping, along China's border. The protest lists the incidents that have occurred since March and deals in detail with the more recent forms of aggression.

Neither the incidents that occurred in May.

On May 2, one hundred Soviet troops with six large contingents of troops, including with several hundred horses, armored cars and vehicles, and in-[illegible] into the western region of Barlik mountains in Yumen County, Sinkiang, China, penetrating as deep as five miles into Chinese territory and [illegible] interfering with the passage of Chinese herdsmen and their herds.

The Soviet troops stated their case of the Chinese Invalids [illegible] and harassment made by saying that should they pursue to withdraw from the area, the Soviet side would wipe them out completely by force of arms. The Soviet was accepted only because the Chinese side exercised forbearance.

Seven Soviet armed troops were successively fired from the market with light and heavy ammunition at Kapalan Jaisma on the Chinese side of the [illegible] line of the Soviet phases of the Chinese river in Ili [illegible] province, and on the Chinese side, one civilian [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] 15, the Soviet brought what was [illegible]

[illegible] — [illegible] on May 24, a motor boat, a Chinese passenger ship that had a [illegible] of the Soviet side intruded into the Heilungkiang forced area in the [illegible] of the middle part of the main channel of the Heilung river in Linkuo county, Heilungkiang province.

The ship's [illegible] officer, fearing fully armed soldiers forcibly landed on the ship and took the circumstances closely in an alarm situation engaged in preventive labor on the ship, savagely beat them up with rifle butts, [illegible] wounding two of them, and took four of them by force into Soviet territory.

Having embarked upon an illegal trial and forcibly detained them for eight days, the Soviet side was compelled to send them back only after repeated protests from the Chinese frontier representatives.

At 9:30 a.m. on May 20, backed-up by nearly a hundred Soviet army men, some Soviet country soldiers led by a lieutenant-colonel intruded into the Tahsiaho area in Chaocha county, Sinkiang and grossly violated the Chinese frontier guards' patrol share by dragging among them as [illegible].

In the afternoon of the day on, large numbers of Soviet troops intruded into the Chiaomaohsi area of Tahchong county, Sinkiang, beat up three Chinese civilians there and two Chinese frontier guards, carried them away by force, seized the arms and ammunitions of the frontier guards, and have refused to send them back.

At 9:45 p.m. on May 19, when the Chinese passenger ship "Tungfanghong No. 10" was sailing on the main channel of the Heilung river, the Soviet side directed the dazzling beams of its searchlights on the ship, thereby disturbing the Chinese pilot's vision and causing the ship to get stranded.

When the Chinese ship sent three persons on a small boat to seek rescue, the Soviet troops sent a gunboat and three patrol boats to kidnap the three Chinese civilians together with their boat, and have thus far refused to send them back.

At 12:30 on May 26, supported by a helicopter, Soviet troops in three gunboats intruded into the area of Furuntsehshatzu island on the Chinese side of the control line of the main channel of the Wetung river in Fuyuan county of the island, illegally carried away 10 Chinese fishermen who were in production on the island and seized their four fishing boats and one motor boat, and have refused to send them back.

During the period from March 29 to May 31, Soviet aircraft, including bombers, fighters and reconnaissance planes wantonly intruded into China's airspace for harassment and reconnaissance in as many as 57 sorties and some of them even penetrated a depth of over thirty-six miles into Chinese territory covering a distance of more than 240 kilometers.

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PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM ESTABLISHED

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has been proclaimed and June July replaced the South Vietnam National Liberation Front from the west in the Paris talks.

The U. S. aggressors and the Saigon puppet regime are too quick to [illegible] this as a mere change of name. But the truth is that the establishment of the provisional revolutionary government reflects the greater consolidation and greater victory of the South Vietnamese people's struggle against U. S. aggression.

The [illegible] offensive of the South Vietnam people's liberation armed forces has carried further the destruction of the forces of aggression and raised up the people's democratic power outside of the re-

[illegible] of U. S. imperialism. The success proved effective in [illegible] totally the remaining fortresses of U. S. aggression and [illegible] to be no more successful than the spring offensive.

While the resolute heard clamored of the Vietnamese people in advance [illegible] victory to victory, the Nixon administration is trying to [illegible] the hope of "troop withdrawal" and to bargain for concessions, [illegible] of the holding of "elections under the joint supervision" of the Saigon puppet regime and the National Liberation Front for purposes of creating a coalition government.

Upon the widely publicized of U. S. imperialism chieftain Nixon and the Saigon puppet dictator Nguyen Van Thieu, the "withdrawal" of 25,000 U. S. troops was announced by Nixon as Thieu proceeded to prepare himself for "elections" by forcing an "alliance" under his dictatorial powers.

At this stage of the South Vietnamese struggle for national salvation against U. S. aggression, the Provisional Revolutionary Government should assert its authority and sacred powers and demand the total withdrawal of all U. S. and allied mercenary troops and the dissolution of the Saigon puppet regime. The heroic people of South Vietnam have the capacity and right to secure all these outside of the Paris talks. The proclamation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government would be more than a change of form and would constitute an advance if it should seek to invalidate once and for all any posturings of the Saigon puppet regime.

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ASPAC IS A TOOL OF SUPER GOVERNMENTS OF U. S. IMPERIALISM

In the ministerial conference of the Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) at Kyoto, Japan, last month, Foreign Secretary Carlos P. Romulo made the preposterous suggestion that the People's Republic of China join the ASPAC.

This ludicrous question of a running dog of U. S. imperialism in the capital of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people led by Comrade Mao.

The ASPAC is an aggressive bloc controlled by U. S. imperialism through the puppet parties, Japanese imperialism and through its entire assembly of puppet governments. The People's Republic of China would absolutely have nothing to do with a list of puppet regimes like those of Japan, Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, South Korea, Saigon and Chiang Kai-shek clique to speak of.

The preposterous statement of Romulo is calculated to create the false impression that ASPAC is "independent" of U. S. imperialism. Only the most delusioned fool would fall to see the brazen lie.

The ASPAC has been set up to maintain a SEATO that has become useless as a tool of U. S. aggression. Romulo proves himself a big liar by asserting that ASPAC is a "non-ideological" and a "non-military" organization.

It is an old trick of U. S. imperialism to make it appear that the People's Republic of China is now going to join U.S.-controlled organizations like the ASPAC or the United Nations.

* * *

SEATO IS A SINKING SHIP

An atmosphere of doom prevailed over the annual council meeting of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) held in Bangkok last May 30 and 31.

The relentless onslaught of revolutionary armed struggle against U. S. imperialism in Southeast Asia and the internal weakness of the South

clique which has since 1964 formally usurped the leadership over all from the very inception nearly weighed down the annual council meeting, especially among the foreign ministers of the puppet reactionary governments of Thailand and the Philippines.

At the meeting, U. S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers did his best to cheer up the lackeys of U.S. imperialism. He assured them of "unwavering support".

But he could not help admitting that the United States "faces difficult decisions about how to allocate available resources against many claims". While stating clearly that the Nixon administration is no different from the Johnson administration in its policy of imperialist aggression, Rogers pointed out the grave external and internal difficulties buffeting U.S. imperialism.

General Jesus Vargas, secretary general of the aggressive bloc and long-time Filipino CIA agent, whined that never had the validity of the SEATO been so strongly "challenged" as at the present time. He made it clear that the SEATO could manage to survive only if U.S. imperialism would continue supporting it.

Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman expressed strong fears about the rising people's wars in Southeast Asia and advocated the adoption of "nonpeaceful methods", peaceful and non-peaceful, to fight them.

Foreign Secretary Carlos P. Romulo tried to steal the show by making certain proposals for "peaceful" and "unconventional" counter-insurgency. He banked greatly on the old tricks of cultural aggression but none of them could greatly improve the status of the SEATO a single bit.

The communique on the meeting expressed nothing new and as a western news agency report opined, "it was the lack of any mention in the communique of specific national changes or improvements which sounded the death knell for the organization."

Boasting of its nature as a U.S.-controlled bloc of imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia, the SEATO launched from the Manila Bay soon after its meeting its "Exercise Sea-Spirit" with the revolutionary people of Thailand as its assumed enemy.

While failing to cow the revolutionary people of Thailand, the naval exercise only succeeded to demonstrate that the SEATO is a sinking ship. The mid-ocean collision of the Australian aircraft carrier Melbourne and the U.S. destroyer Evans has rubbed the naval exercise of any saber-rattling effect as anybody.

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THAI PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY GROWS RAPIDLY

Barely four years after the first revolutionary rifle shot in Thailand was heard in 1965 at the Puparn mountain, northeastern Thailand, the flames of armed struggle have already spread to 33 of the 71 provinces in the country. The Thai people's armed forces have since then substantially raised their combat skill in wiping out the enemy in the course of their struggle.

According to incomplete figures, the Thai people's armed forces in 1968 wiped out more than 1,400 enemy troops and shot down 25 enemy aircraft. In the four months ending in March this year, the people's forces wiped out more than 400 enemy troops and destroyed or damaged more than 30 enemy aircrafts in fierce battles against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns in three northern provinces.

Guerrilla games and mass areas already all over Thailand's vast countryside have constantly been expanded and consolidated through the concerted political and military lines of the Communist Party of Thailand guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought which is closely linked with the practice of Thailand's revolution. Implementing in full the Marxist policy of relying on the masses and depending on their own efforts, the Thai People's Liberation Army, built up through the arduous efforts of the Communist Party of Thailand and proclaimed as established on the New Year's Day of this year, has overcome numerous difficulties, withstood the enemy's large scale 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns and vicious sabotage. Despite the superiority in number and equipment of the troops of the U. S. imperialists and Thai reactionaries, the Thai people's armed forces have always gained the initiative on the battlefield.

On the basis of fully arousing the masses, the Thai people's armed forces sent many armed work teams and propaganda teams deep into the remote countryside, explained in various ways before the peasants the criminal rule of the U. S. and Thai reactionaries, led and supported the peasants' struggles against traitors and local despots, and organized and trained the peasants in the course of fierce struggle.

With the support of the broad masses, especially the peasants, the People's Liberation Army has grown rapidly by learning warfare through warfare, constantly summing up experience, raising its political consciousness and its strategic and tactical lead and arming itself with weapons seized from the enemy.

The Thai People's Liberation Army, led by the correct Communist Party of Thailand, has set an example to the oppressed peoples of the world to overcome various difficulties along their revolutionary path, and eventually overthrow the criminal rule of imperialists, local reactionaries and win complete emancipation after a protracted and stubborn struggle.

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CRISIS FOR U. S. AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM SHARPENS IN MALAYA

In a vain attempt to save its tottering regime, the Rahman puppet clique has launched a fascist and chauvinist campaign of terror against the people of various nationalities in Malaya.

The Rahman puppet clique is undertaking this campaign of terror shortly after its reactionary Alliance Party suffered serious defeats in the last parliamentary elections.

Smarting from its electoral losses, the Rahman puppet clique dispatched hooligans and troops to attack victory celebrations held by the people.

In the guise of suppressing "racial conflicts", the Rahman puppet clique created the first incident of bloodshed in Kuala Lumpur on the evening of May 13. Similar incidents followed in Malacca and Penang. Hundreds of people were massacred by troops and police in several consecutive days. Innumerable people were wounded and thousands of people were arrested. The homes and shops of tens of thousands of people were looted and burnt down. As in the past, the Rahman puppet clique centered its attacks on Malayan citizens of Chinese descent.

The Rahman puppet clique is employing the standard trick of fascist regimes in Southeast Asia of rousing up racial hatred against people of Chinese descent in order to divert attention from the imperialists and to maintain its reactionary rule by the use of fascist methods.

The Rahman puppet clique hopes vainly to split national unity and divert the rising Malayan liberation struggle against U. S. and British imperialism. The anti-democratic abuses of the Rahman puppet clique has

only infuriated the Malayan people even more. After his blood-thirsty [illegible] on May 13, which tried to fan up racial antagonism and [illegible] only put the blame on citizens of Chinese descent, his "official resignation" was [illegible] by the people.

By suspending parliament and by trying to negate the results of the elections by force of arms, the Rahman puppet clique is compelling the Malayan people to wage armed struggle. The armed struggle in Malaya led by the Communist Party of Malaya is intensifying.

The anti-Chinese racial terror in Malaya, like that in Indonesia, provides a lesson to the Filipinos of Chinese descent and Chinese nationals in the Philippines. It is important for them to prepare themselves for the eventuality that the local reactionaries choose to divert the rising movement against U. S. imperialism and local reaction by rousing up anti-Chinese, anti-China, anti-Communist and anti-people hysteria. It is necessary for them to unite and side with the forces of national liberation and people's democracy against U. S. imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

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INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE LAUNCH ARMED STRUGGLE

The Indian Communist revolutionaries and Indian revolutionary people are making remarkable achievements in fighting the several hundred years of brutal rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Indian Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought launched a powerful struggle against the revisionists within the Party taking the "parliamentary road" who had won the praise and support of the notorious Khruschchev and the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, and embarked on the revolutionary road of armed struggle. Summing up the experience and lessons gained by the Naxalbari peasant struggle in 1967, they have understood more fully the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

Indian Communist revolutionaries pointed out that one of the causes of the temporary setback in the Naxalbari struggle is the "absence of a Party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tsetung Thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear self-criticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work".

Another important question raised by the Indian Communist revolutionaries concerns that of having faith in and relying on the masses and fully arming them based on Chairman Mao's thesis on "serving the people wholeheartedly". The Indian revolutionaries pointed out that only by arming the peasants, organizing guerrilla units and a regular armed force and building liberated areas in India can the political power of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords be overthrown and a new political power inaugurated.

After the Naxalbari experience, the Communist revolutionaries and revolutionary people of India have gained, as they will gain more and bigger, victories. The flames of the peasant struggle have spread to the hill people of Srikakulam District, Andhra State, to the plains and coastal areas and the adjoining Orissa State, to Bihar State, Uttar Pradesh and in Kerala State and 30 other villages winning one victory after another.

Under the leadership of the Indian Communist revolutionaries, revolutionary peasants in those places have heroically dealt heavy blows on the reactionary troops and police of the landlords, seized back large tracts of land and confiscated livestocks and food grain from the landlords, organized the rural population into peasant committees and set up revolutionary political power in embryo and smashed the power of the landlords.

[illegible] revolutionaries and revolutionary people have [illegible] great and dazzle of Mao Tse-tung Thought for the [illegible] people's struggle for emancipation in order to overthrow the reactionaries who have launched counter-revolutionary violence while piously mouthing of the "blessings of non-violence".

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GIVING REVISIONIST TRAINING IN INDONESIA

One Indonesia's bad boys' most glaring counter-revolutionary crime in Southeast Asia is the dealing of the reactionaries in Southeast Asian countries with large quantities of weapons and other military equipment to help them ruthlessly quell the revolutionary armed struggle of the people.

So far, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has provided Indonesian reactionary troops with 1,200 million dollars' worth of arms, which is much larger than those provided by U. S. imperialism. It was disclosed that 70 per cent of Indonesia's naval vessels and half of its air force's aircraft are Soviet made. Most of the aircraft and field pieces used by the Indonesian reactionaries in their counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the people's armed forces in West Kalimantan and other places come from the arsenals of the Soviet revisionists. In the latter part of 1969, the arms used in "training a new-type infantry", organized by the reactionary military authorities in the Indonesian provinces to suppress the people's armed forces, were provided jointly by U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

Furthermore, to ensure the effective use of Soviet supplied weapons, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent the Indonesian reactionaries military 'experts' to give them 'technical guidance'. It also trained large numbers of Indonesian military cadres in the Soviet Union free of charge for the Suharto fascist military junta to use in suppressing the people's armed forces. It has even repeatedly sent military personnel to the frontlines in the counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns staged by the Indonesian fascist military regime against the people's armed forces. These Soviet military personnel put their know-how at the disposal of the Indonesian reactionaries and tried to boost their morale. The Japanese journal Research in Military Affairs has revealed: "the anti-guerrilla units of the Suharto regime were trained in the Soviet Union.... High ranking officers of the Soviet armed forces have been sent on missions to the East Java region to give support to the punitive operations against the guerrillas".

Last July, at a time when the Indonesian fascist military regime massed its Soviet-equipped bandos to "encircle and suppress" the East Java people's armed forces, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique signed with this regime "ratification" on deferring the repayment of Soviet arm loans. In this way, it energetically supported the regime's criminal suppression of the people's armed forces.

This excerpt from Peking Review No. 20 is a damning indictment of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

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PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE ADVANCES AS SOVIET IMPERIALIST FOLKS TRY TO SABOTAGE IT

The Palestinian Armed-Struggle Command has issued a communique reporting that in May the "Al Assifa" commando forces, the People's Liberation Forces, the "Al Saeqa" forces and the forces of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine mounted 200 attacks against the Israeli aggressors.

In Gaza [illegible], the Palestinian commando forces attacked an occupied Israeli barracks and posts, blew up six ammunition depots, 65 artillery and reconnaissance cars and 140 military vehicles. They also destroyed three armoured bulldozers and eight bridges.

As the indomitable people's armed struggle against Israeli Zionism is unfolding, the four powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Great Britain through their representatives are continuously meeting in New York and are manoeuvring to stop it by cooking up a "peaceful solution" or "political settlement".

The response of the Arab revolutionary people to this vile manoeuver of imperialism is instant. It rejects it as being no different from previous attempts, like the "resolutions" of the United Nations, the "formula" of U. S. imperialism, the "plan" of Soviet revisionism and the "missions" of U. N. envoy Jarring which were all designed to legalize the Zionist expansion and perpetuate the imperialist interests of the four powers in the Middle East, especially with regard to oil and the use of the Suez Canal.

The Zionist forces of aggression, instigated by U. S. imperialism, attacked the Arab countries and grabbed 65,000 square kilometers of Arab land to expand Israel on June 5, 1967. Since then, Arab resistance to Israel heightened with the Palestinian revolutionary struggle taking the lead.

Starting with only one machinegun and thirty grenades in 1967, the armed fighters of Palestine have become a formidable force. Various Palestinian revolutionary forces have united to wage armed struggle and they have also impelled the unity of the Arab revolutionary peoples against Israeli Zionism, U. S. imperialism and local Arab reactionaries. In their relations with other Arab countries, the Palestinian revolutionary people have combined unity and struggle with respect to certain parties and persons with high governmental authority who make a fetish of modern weapons and who are afraid of the revolutionary people and who tend to entertain proposals for compromise dished up within and outside of the United Nations by U. S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, British imperialism and French imperialism.

The four powers have consistently harped on the theme of nuclear annihilation in order to suppress or dampen the Palestinian armed struggle. So far all the Arab peoples are heroically defying this nuclear blackmail.

The ~~Palestinian revolutionary people hold~~ the view firmly that people are more important than any modern weapon. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, they can see clearly that Israeli Zionism has only over-extended itself by its acts of aggression and that it has become extremely weak by being weighed down by an enormous military budget and by manpower shortage. The 100 million Arab people have all the time and opportunity to wage a protracted revolutionary people's war against the counter-revolutionary wars of aggression launched by Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East.

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MILITANT AMERICAN STUDENTS JOIN WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES

A new high tide in the progressive student movement in the United States has risen as enormous numbers of American students have begun to combine their struggle with that of the workers. Quite different from previous years, the students' spearhead of attack is directed at the reactionary policies of the U. S. monopoly capitalist ruling clique. Thousands upon thousands of black students side by side with their white counterparts have exposed the truth about the use of the universities as instruments in the serving of U. S. imperialist aggression and war abroad. The students have also exposed the decadent capitalist system of education and the policy of racial discrimination.

Even the students at the Harvard University, considered to be "cream" known to cause rebellions which swept the nation", joined students from Columbia, Princeton, Cornell and dozens of other universities, colleges and secondary schools all over the United States to expose the bankruptcy of the American educational system.

A most noteworthy fact showing to what extent class contradictions in the United States have sharpened and the progressive students have become aligned is the taking up of arms by the extremely oppressed black students and the unflinching support they gather from white students and from the workers irrespective of color. At the same time, many students have left school to support workers' strikes and take active part in the anti-war struggle. In some places where workers' strikes are unjustifiably suppressed through court actions, progressive students form picket lines in front of court rooms and distribute leaflets in support of the workers' struggle. On the other hand, in one outstanding case, the workers of San Francisco gave support to the student strikers of the San Francisco State College.

In all of the student demonstrations, the oppressive arm of the reactionary U. S. government with Nixon as its chieftain, is used to suppress the students. Large numbers of progressive students are clubbed and arrested by the reactionary police. But the militant students are not cowed and they show their militance by arming themselves with rifles, shotguns, hatchets and spears.

The ruthless suppression of the students by the reactionary U. S. government will only intensify their just fight for their rights and for those of the oppressed classes of the United States.

Chairman Mao said: "The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably present an upsurge of the whole people's movement". The progressive American students clearly demonstrate the truth of this great statement.

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STRIPPING CADRES AND REMOULDING THE PARTY

PART IV

MAIN ERRORS AND WEAKNESSES

A. Ideological Manifestations

The main ideological weakness of all previous leaderships of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been subjectivism, appearing in the form of dogmatism and empiricism, and resulting in Right and "Left" opportunist lines. The Philippines, being a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, has a large petty bourgeoisie which serves as the historical and social basis for subjectivism. Since the Party exists in this kind of society, it is liable to reflect subjectivist trends from without and from within if it is not alert and careful in its Marxist-Leninist ideological building which is the first requirement in Party-building.

The Party could be penetrated by a considerable number of Party members of petty bourgeois and bourgeois orientation who fail to remould their world outlook and methods of thinking in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and who fail to integrate revolutionary practice and dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

Although the first Party members were mainly from the working class represented by Comrade Crisanto Evangelista, the Party leadership erroneously put much reliance on open, legal, parliamentary and urban political activity which resulted in the paralysation of the Communist Party of the Philippines once it was illegalized a few months after its founding. A revolutionary and thoroughgoing proletarian world outlook would have made the Party recognize the dialectics of the whole Philippine situation, adopted the correct method of legal and illegal struggle and averted the disaster that befell the Party during its period of immaturity.

It was around 1935, however, while the Party was still illegalized by its class enemies when a considerable number of Party members of petty-bourgeois class status crept into a fluid underground Party that was deprived of a definite central leadership and tried to carry on political work, bringing with them their unremoulded petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas. At the head of these petty-bourgeois elements within the Party were those who were greatly influenced by the empiricist and Right opportunist current of Browderism. At this time the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. had close association; and the latter, under the auspices of the Communist International, assisted the former by seeing to it that cadres like Dr. Vicente Lava who became their leading representative would carry on Party work.

Subjectivism of the empiricist type was manifested by major political policies and developments such as the principal importance given to urban Party work before the outbreak of the Pacific war; the merger of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party which artificially increased the membership of the latter and the Rightist preamble in the Constitution; capitulationism towards U.S. imperialism and the Commonwealth government; the absence of any plan to shift the Party Headquarters from the city to the countryside; the adoption of the "retreat for defense" policy of 1943 and the belief of Vicente Lava that there could be no proletarian leadership in the countryside; the purely anti-Japanese line during the war period and the shift of Party control organs to the city after the anti-Japanese war and the blatantly Right opportunist policies of Vicente Lava, Jorge Primatea and Pedro Castro during the period of 1945-1948.

Empiricism arose as a static underestimation of the people's democratic forces and as a static over-estimation of the enemy strength. Party work becomes dictated by the actions of the enemy instead of by

[illegible] balance of the situation and the release of forces. Revolutionary dialectics became lost behind a static, one-sided, fragmented and narrow view of what are the dialectical, all-sided, whole and usual requirements of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle.

Thus, there is the overconcentration on urban political work because of the subjectivist and opportunist desire to compete or collaborate with the bourgeois parties and groups, and beg for peace and democracy from the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries in their own urban citadel. The revolutionary initiative of the proletariat in the countryside, where its main ally - the peasantry is, and where it has the widest area for maneuver, is underestimated. There is also the personal desire of the petty bourgeois to enjoy the comforts and the prestige of city life.

There is, however, the other side of the coin of subjectivism. Between 1966 and 1974, subjectivism of the dogmatist type arose under the Jose Lava leadership and partially under the Jesus Lava leadership. This dogmatism arose on an over-estimation of the people's democratic forces and an underestimation of the enemy strength, without taking into full account the protracted process of a protracted people's war. Under the Jose Lava leadership, the strategic view was adopted that, in a brief period of two years, the Party was certain to seize power. It did not take into full account the necessity of a concrete and extended process of Party building, building of a people's army and the building of a revolutionary national united front.

Subjectivism of the dogmatist type represented by the Jose Lava leadership was fond of jargon unrelated to the whole basic situation. It took the style of confounding comrades with book knowledge and some supposedly special knowledge about the world situation and about the inner circles of the enemy. On the basis of these, it took decisions that over-strained the Party and the masses beyond their capability and understanding at a particular time. It did not care for painstaking work among the masses in the development of a protracted people's war.

On the other hand, subjectivism of the empiricist type represented by the Vicente Lava leadership and the Jesus Lava leadership was overwhelmed by the incumbent military superiority of the enemy. These leaderships took the line of passivity both strategically and tactically. They lost sight of the possible development of revolutionary principles and policies correctly adopted and applied on the basis of the internal laws of development of Philippine history and Philippine society. They simply went with the tide of defeat, without trying to seize revolutionary initiative.

Empiricism and dogmatism are two sides of the same petty-bourgeois coin, however. A twirl of the coin of subjectivism will show this or that wrong side. The subjectivist errors of the Vicente and Jose Lava leadership, empiricism and dogmatism, both belong to the same petty-bourgeois coin. They are also the same petty-bourgeois disease of subjectivism that has afflicted the Party and that has wrought havoc in our Party history.

Reversals from empiricism to dogmatism and from dogmatism to empiricism is peculiarly common to those who still retain the petty-bourgeois world outlook. Nevertheless, when one is the principal aspect of a subjectivist mind, the other is bound to be the secondary aspect and the secondary aspect becomes the principal aspect at another moment. That is the dialectical relationship of empiricism and dogmatism. Comrades should not wonder why under a dogmatist leadership there should be cases of empiricism; what is common between dogmatism and empiricism is the use of narrow and limited experience as the basis for over-all subjective decisions. Also, comrades should not wonder why a leadership with the same petty-bourgeois orientation should swing from empiricism to dogmatism and back to empiricism, and so on and so forth. All subjectivists fail to grasp the laws of dialectical development and so they are vacillating and erratic.

In 1952, the Jesus Lava leadership continued to carry the dogmatist [illegible] of the Jesus Lava leadership. But, after a few more years, subjectivism of the dogmatist type started to overcome the Jesus Lava leadership because of military defeats. Subsequently, this leadership started to over-estimate the strength of the enemy and it adopted parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle, took flight from the countryside and then took up the so-called "single file" policy based on his narrow individual experience.

During the subjectivist leaderships of Vicente Lava, Jose Lava and Jesus Lava, we see state that the main petty-bourgeois disease that has so far afflicted the Communist Party of the Philippines is Lavaism. It is revisionism in the Philippines and it is essentially the inability to apply proletarian revolutionary ideology and apply this on the concrete conditions of Philippine society. Lavaism has afflicted the Party for the last more than thirty years; this accounts for the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is still weak despite its decades of existence. Although the political errors of each Lava leadership were recognized after the far-reaching damage had become exposed in practice, no thoroughgoing rectification movement had ever been conducted to expose and correct the basic errors in ideology. Despite the fact that Vicente Lava's subjectivism as expressed by his "retreat for defense" policy had resulted in great damage to the Party, there was no subsequent rectification movement that could have prevented the right opportunist errors of the subsequent early post-war years. Also, despite the serious errors of the Jesus Lava leadership, the subsequent leadership did not engage in any serious rectification movement. Until now, despite the grave errors of the Jesus Lava leadership and those of other previous leaderships, there has been strong resistance to their ideological, political and organizational correction. Thus for the last more than thirty years, the Party has floundered from error to error because there has been no systematic and objective evaluation of each error ideologically, politically and organizationally as each occurs.

The fact that Party leadership was passed from one blood brother to another, a singular phenomenon in the entire international communist movement, could be taken as a magniloquent symptom of the subjectivism that had predominated within the Party.

Lavaism is cancering on a grand scale within the Party. A dangerous pattern has been established wherein Party responsibilities are apportioned to blood relatives on the basis of personal trust rather than on the basis of ideological and genuine Party trust. In this manner, a mechanical and slavish artificial majority could always be depended upon to elect the Lava brothers as general secretaries of the Party in a series.

The evil of subjectivism is still persistent within the Party and must be eradicated. It still appears in the form of sentimentalism on the part of older cadres who had received their ideological training from the previous leaderships. Sentimentally, they recognize the personal sacrifices of the Lava brothers but at the same time they do not see how many lives of people and cadres have been sacrificed at the altar of subjectivist errors and failures and they do not see that the so-called personal sacrifices of the Lava brothers were the very product of their own subjectivist errors and failures.

This sentimentalism has become a hindrance to the rectification of ideological, political and organizational errors. It is combined with a subjectivist awe for high bourgeois academic degrees that some cadres have. It also appears in the form of personal trust for those who have had ideological training from and those who enjoy the sanction of the series of Lava leaderships.

Lavaism as it has developed on the basis of subjectivism now nourishes the growth of modern revisionism in the Philippines. Since we are determined to rebuild the Party, Lavaism and all errors of sub-

[illegible] must be resolutely opposed and weeded out by a strengthening rectification movement. To nourishing such a movement it is not as much the lessons of the Lava regime that we are after; what we are after is the rectification of the subjectivist trend. If no rectification movement is to be undertaken, if no ideological consolidation of the Party is to be made, then surely revisionism would flourish to disarm and neutralize the people's democratic revolution. Lavaism had been persistent for decades and within the Party only because rectification, as demonstrated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in the Chinese Communist Party, has never before been conducted as seriously as we have decided to. A rectification movement within the Communist Party of the Philippines, the vanguard of the proletarian dictatorship, should be conducted in the Marxist-Leninist way that a cultural revolution is conducted within the proletarian state in order to combat Right opportunism and modern revisionism.

The predominant form of subjectivism that characterizes Lavaism is empiricism. The dogmatist leadership of Jose Lava and, partially, of Jesus Lava was approximately an eight-year "Left" interregnum in what is more than thirty years of Lavaist empiricism carried out mainly by the Vicente Lava and Jesus Lava leaderships. During the entire period of Lavaism, bourgeois empiricism principally characterized its world outlook; and dogmatism secondarily. Empiricism in philosophy results in Right opportunism in politics. Empiricism and Right opportunism in turn provide the basis for modern revisionism which is persistently advocated by the neo-bourgeois and revisionist renegade clique in Moscow. At present, modern revisionism is futilely trying to gain ground. The Communist Party of the Philippines must combat it thoroughly and seriously, especially now that Party rebuilding is being undertaken.

B. Political Errors

Right and "Left" opportunism have been committed in the history of the Communist Party of the Philippines. These political errors emanated from the subjectivist world outlook; it has restricted the Party from building up a Marxist-Leninist party that is firmly and closely linked with the masses on a national scale, working with the correct style and combining criticism and self-criticism that implements a programme of agrarian revolution and that makes use of the national united front to broaden its influence and support in its struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The urban, parliamentary and open character of the Communist Party of the Philippines during the early months of its existence in 1930 and 1931 was mainly responsible for the political disaster and difficulties that it soon suffered. During this early period, the Party leadership was given to the use of "Left" language in public against the entire bourgeoisie and yet illegal work was not effectively carried out together with the legal work. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the countryside encircling the city was not yet grasped by the Party.

Closed sectarian was a marked tendency of the Crisanto Evangelista leadership; the idea of the national united front was not immediately taken up and adapted. The urban petty-bourgeoisie was not seriously paid attention to as a close ally and as a source of cadres, because the Party was still being built up among the workers. Pertaining to the most important ally of the working class, the peasantry was not immediately considered as a main force that the Party should have aroused and mobilized, because the center of gravity of the political activity of the Party was in the city. Even when the principal leaders of the Party and its mass organizations were banished to different provinces, they were not conscious of the significance of planting the seeds of the democratic revolution under proletarian leadership in the countryside.

During the period of illegalization of the Party, cadres of petty-bourgeois origin drove back the Party and their presence therein became evident by 1937 and thereafter. Because of their continued petty-bourgeois social nature and because of the inadequacy of cadres working among the toiling masses, it was during this period that an imbalance in Party work, which essentially meant the inadequacy of Party cadres among the peasants and workers, occurred. In the trade unions, Party cadres working illegally could be counted on one's fingers and among the peasant masses, it was only somewhat in 1937 that a still fewer cadres were working illegally in a few towns of Central Luzon with very modest success. It was the Socialist Party of Pedro Abad Santos, however, which had a large mass base and following; a few socialist activists actually read Marxist literature but were lacking in the discipline of communist cadres. The reason was obvious -- the Crisanto Evangelista leadership never had the chance to conduct political work among the peasantry and develop illegal party work before the Party and its mass organizations were illegalized.

The merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party in 1938 artificially and in a liberal manner brought together quite a number of peasants in Central Luzon, particularly those of Pampanga, and the city workers whom Crisanto Evangelista immediately tried to arouse and mobilize under the banner of the anti-Fascist Popular Front. Also under the same Popular Front banner, Party members of petty-bourgeois origin tried to bring the urban petty-bourgeoisie closer to the Party through some anti-fascist organizations as the League for the Defense of Democracy and the Civil Liberties Union. Unfortunately, what amounted to be the principal Party work was again urban.

It was through the merger that the black bourgeois line of revisionism became formalized with a Rightist clause in the Preamble of the Party Constitution, stating that the Party "defends the Constitution (of the U.S. puppet Commonwealth government) and the rights proclaimed therein." Getting the good wishes of Quezon in the Popular Front preoccupied a great deal of Party leaders then.

The necessity of preparing and developing rural bases in the face of the growing threat of fascism was not fully grasped by the Party leaders; and even if it were so attained, no adequate preparations for armed struggle were made. The international situation that was already clearly pointing to the imminence of World War II was not fully related to the Philippine situation. From 1938 to 1942, the first and second lines of leadership agreed on the principal importance of urban Party work and the former over-concentrated on defending "civil liberties" while minimizing the importance of Party building and Army building among the peasants under a programme of agrarian revolution. It was simply assumed that the merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party would assure the peasantry to the side of the Party. Under the banner of the Popular Front and under the auspices of the Commonwealth government, leading Party cadres ran for electoral offices haphazardly in Greater Manila and in some few provinces, without consciously pursuing what was principal revolutionary work in the countryside.

At the outbreak of World War II, the Party submitted a memorandum to Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon for arms support from the bourgeois government; but the latter, sure of his class interests, refused despite the Popular Front. Instead of having relied mainly on the principal revolutionary work of arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses under the leadership of the working class, the Party leadership chose to place the main stress on the secondary, which consisted of legal and urban work under the banner of the Popular Front. It was stalled by the false prospect of arms support from a puppet government under U.S. imperialist control.

When the Japanese imperialists invaded Manila, the first line of leadership was ambushed in the city and the rest of the city cadres spontaneously fled to different points within the city and to the countryside, without any plan of organized retreat. At this point, we can see the error of Right opportunism as having grown within the Party without having been the object of critical exposure and thoroughgoing criticism-self criticism movement.

Caught, however, by the immediate situation, the Party leadership held the Central Luzon Bureau Conference and organized the People's Army Against the Japanese (Hukbalahap) on March 29, 1942 to lead the popular resistance against the Japanese invaders and their puppet government. The Mount Arayat area was chosen as the center of the national resistance movement and, soon after, the People's Army proved its revolutionary courage and patriotism to the Filipino people.

After the Japanese pinpointed Mount Arayat as the seat of the Party and after having been frustrated in the use of captured Party leaders, like Pedro Abad Santos and Guillermo Capadocia, for making a campaign of "peace and friendship", the Japanese launched a raid on Mount Arayat which resulted in the capture of many leading Party cadres and members. It was after this March raid of 1943 that the Vicente Lava leadership showed its Right opportunism by adopting the "retreat for defense" policy, a policy that tried to encourage the demoralization of the Party cadre following in the Mount Arayat area. It was a policy of avoiding armed struggle with the enemy, reducing the size of armed units and making them passive. Vicente Lava averred that proletarian power could not be established in the countryside while the Party was not in full control of the city. The active resistance of the masses and the impracticality of the policy soon exposed its bankruptcy.

Although the Bagumbayi conference of September, 1944 declared the Right opportunist policy of "retreat for defense" erroneous and resulted in the demotion of some Right opportunists and in the regrouping of Huk squadrons for intensified resistance, the Right opportunist error was not thoroughly rectified and the Right opportunists still retained a big say in the Party Central Committee. Furthermore, the "socialists" who had numerically swelled Party members by virtue of the 1938 merger were not provided by the party leadership with the correct Marxist-Leninist education. The capitulationist and renegade Luis Taruc would remain to be the general representative of these "socialists" who failed to advance to the level of Marxist-Leninists.

It was in the course of the armed struggle that the masses of the people gained real power. But as American imperialist troops landed to reclaim the Philippines, Right opportunism became more prevalent within the Party and there arose the illusion that the people were tired of war and that the Party could strive for the realization of its principles under conditions of "peace and democracy" granted by U.S. imperialism and the landlords. The brutalities committed by the Military Police, the civilian guards and all kinds of American agents against the people and the unjust arrest and incarceration of the principal leaders and fighters of the Hukbalahap did not dispel the Right opportunist illusion of bourgeois parliamentarism. The Party leadership allowed the disbanding of the majority of Hukbalahap squadrons and token arms surrender were made. The Party was determined to shift back the center of its political activity to the city under the banner of bourgeois parliamentarism.

The 1946 Constitution of the Party continued to carry the black bourgeois line of revisionism by stating in the Article VIII, Section 2, "Affiliation with or participation in the activities of any group, class, faction or party which aims or acts to destroy, weaken or overthrow the Democratic Constitution of the Philippines shall be punished with immediate ouster from the Party."

Until May, 1964 when the Jose Lava leadership assumed central responsibility, the Party experienced the blatant reign of Right opportunism or revisionism. During the early post-war period, the Right opportunist influence of Vicente Lava, Pedro Castro and Jorge Brianza prevailed. Jorge Brianza was removed from the general secretaryship and expelled for Rightism but again no thoroughgoing rectification movement was conducted to weed out the persistent roots of the errors. The Pedro Castro leadership was also denounced and replaced for Right opportunism and taillism and for advocating the development of a mass and open Party that was supposed to engage solely in bourgeois elections. But the errors of this leadership were never consistently rectified ideologically and politically all throughout the Party although drastic organizational measures were taken against those who took sides with Pedro Castro without so much explanation to the masses of Party members.

The assumption of Party leadership by those represented by Jose Lava was never attended by any thoroughgoing rectification movement. Without clarifying the ideological, political and organizational grounds for a protracted people's war, this leadership merely took advantage of the Party's and people's clamor that armed struggle was necessary on account of the fascist attacks against them and a number of duly-elected representatives in Congress who opposed the Bell Trade Act and the Parity Amendment. This leadership automatically expected revolutionary triumph on the basis of external conditions such as the revolutionary successes of fraternal parties, the U.S. economic recession, and an "impending" Third World War and the growing split in the local ruling classes.

Because of the absence of a thoroughgoing rectification movement against the previous Rightist leadership being conducted aside from organizational repudiation, Right opportunism could still persist as a strong undercurrent or secondary aspect of opportunism even under the "Left" opportunist leadership of Jose Lava. Soon after its assumption of office and adoption of the line of armed struggle, it actually permitted Luis Taruc to negotiate the terms of surrender and amnesty for the people's armed forces with the Quirino government. This was another instance of an opportunist dual line that undermined the revolutionary will of the masses more than it deceived the enemy. No genuine Marxist-Leninist Party leadership would ever consider any offer of surrender and amnesty from the bourgeois state. To do so would be to commit the opportunist fallacy that would only confuse the fighting masses, encourage capitulationism and serve the enemy.

The Jose-Lava leadership committed mainly the error of "Left" opportunism by dogmatically assuming that the class enemies of the proletariat were weakening and splitting up all the way on a straight line and that the Party could seize power within a very short period. There was a failure to recognize that, under the circumstances then obtaining and as now, a protracted people's war would have to be waged because the enemy was and is still actually strong. Because of previous failure to distribute cadres to important parts of the country other than Central Luzon, Manila Rizal and Southern Tagalog and because of the Right opportunism during the anti-Japanese war and just after, the Party and the People's Army were not able to build up on a national scale and, therefore, were not able to unite with the people on a national scale. The Party could depend only on the people in areas covered by the Wakhalihap and the Barrio United Defense Corps during the anti-Japanese struggle. It would require a protracted period of time for the Party to convert into a revolutionary advantage the initial disadvantage of fighting for people's democratic power in an archipelago like the Philippines.

The "Left" opportunist leadership of Jose Lava failed to understand comprehensively the requirements of a people's Democratic revolution. It failed to see the necessity of solid party-building, the development of rural base on the basis of an agrarian revolution, and

a revolutionary multi-sectoral united front. If it recognized the necessary combination and mastery use of these weapons, then it could have easily seen the view that people's war is protracted and painstaking.

-- Because of the petty-bourgeois impatience to seize power, it incorrectly early opinion to put the purely military viewpoint in command, as says military technical articles summarized in the BMB Bulletin, to study and adopt the 20-week "Master Training Schedule" -- a manual used by the U.S. Army and the reactionary Philippine Armed Forces, etc. Such specific instances showed the utter-lack of understanding of the nature of people's war on the part of the Jose Lava leadership.

The "Left" opportunism of the Jose Lava leadership was marked mainly by military impatiently and petty-bourgeois vindictiveness manifested inside and outside of the Party. What was, however, in common between the "Left" opportunism and the Right opportunism it opposed was the petty-bourgeois illusion that the people's forces could be commanded from the city and that the City of Manila, the strongest base of bourgeois state power, could be easily seized without building rural bases. There are more points to discuss under the section of military errors pertaining to the military adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership.

The Central Committee plenary session which was held by the Politburo-Out under the Jesus Lava leadership in February-March of 1951 after the capture of the Politburo-In failed to clarify fully the building up and wielding of the three weapons of the Philippine Revolution; namely, Party building, armed struggle and the national united front. It obscured the basic errors of the Jose Lava leadership by superficial rationalization such as "carelessness" of the captured Party leaders and the tactical errors of lower commanders and rank and file. A rectification movement would have unfolded the ideological and political basis of the failure of the Jose Lava leadership and, thus, remove the danger of opportunism continuing in its Right or "Left" form.

After the Jesus Lava leadership assumed command, "Left" opportunism continued in the form of roving rebel tendencies on the basis of a forced dispersal of armed units. With the central command looking in a main armed force, the dispersed armed units now subjected to massive encirclement and suppression operations of the reactionary army committed in the name of "struggle for survival" or "economic struggle" certain individual abuses and excesses that the enemy used to their psycho-war advantages. Taking advantage of some real individual excesses of some units of the People's Army, the reactionary army systematically used reactionary troops in civilian clothes to make their own abuses and excesses and blamed them on the People's Army. A deep line of sectarianism within the Party leadership of Jose and Jesus Lava was taken advantage of by the enemy.

Deprived of effective central command over all units of the People's Army and further burdened by the series of military difficulties exerted by the enemy and by the capitulationism and splittism of Luis Taruc and his Titoist cohorts, the Jesus Lava leadership was weighed down until it itself entertained Right opportunist illusions. Right opportunism of the Jesus Lava leadership became most evident in the adoption of parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle in 1957 and the disbandment of armed units under his command. This Right opportunism would continuously be further borne out by the subsequent one-man flights of principal leaders of the Party from the countryside to the city, resulting in their capture in the city. This one-man flightism resulted in the worst policy of the Jesus Lava leadership, the "single-file" policy, which meant the liquidation of the collective life of the Party and the actual dissolution of a great number of Party units and armed units, thus defeating even the Right opportunist objective of engaging mainly in parliamentary struggle. In 1963, Jesus Lava tried to overcome his liquidationist policy by advocating the united front policy as the main line of the Party; but he only became more deeply enmeshed in various ideological and political errors by continuing to issue political proclamations without the benefit of collective discussion within the party.

The militant vanguards of the Communist Party of the Philippines are taken as nucleus of the emergence of new Party cadres and re-activated Party cadres who are now guided by the highest development of Marxism-Leninism- in the present era, Mao Tsetung Thought.

At the present moment, however, Lavaism remains a pernicious influence within the Party. Afflicting the Party for an exceedingly long period, without having been profoundly criticized before this present stage of the development of our Party, Lavaism cannot be defeated within a few weeks, months or years. It cannot be removed from the Party even if their direct representatives are overthrown from their positions of Party authority unless we combat the ideological and political roots of their errors. Considering the present circumstances the dangers of Right or "Left" opportunism will always confront us. But those who hold on to Mao Tsetung Thought and to the correct mass line of the Party will always maintain and heighten their revolutionary strength and will in order to prevail.

It should be kept in mind though that Lavaism is mainly Right opportunism and secondarily "Left" opportunism. Today, some Party members over-estimate the value of legal urban-based "nationalist" mass organizations like the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism, and such government measures as the Magna Carta of Labor, the Agricultural Land Reform Code and others. On the other hand, there is a minor undercurrent of infantile "Left" opportunists who excessively under-estimate the value of legal mass organizations and who are used to "Left" phrase-mongering without actually engaging in mass work and struggle against the exploiters of their own people.

Modern revisionism has gained a foothold in Philippine society through Lavaism and through the Right opportunists. It is necessary to combat modern revisionism with the revolutionary practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Otherwise, the Communist Party of the Philippines will continue to suffer stagnation and reverses in the struggle for people's democratic power.

C. Military Errors

Errors in ideology and politics always lead to errors in the armed struggle. A Party that does not seriously pay attention to this relationship is bound to fail in performing its central revolutionary task of seizing political power and consolidating it.

Armed struggle is the main weapon of the Communist Party of the Philippines in pursuing the people's democratic revolution. Without a People's Army under the command of the Party, the people have nothing as Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us in his theory and practice of the Chinese revolution. Being in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, our Party, in waging a people's war in the countryside must integrate three necessary and inseparable components: namely, agrarian revolution, rural bases and armed struggle.

During the first twelve years of the existence of the Party, 1930 to 1942, the Party did not immediately develop these three components. In 1931, it met its first concrete experience of suppression by the bourgeois state power. This bourgeois state power, with all the weapons of coercion in its hands, succeeded in creating grave difficulties for the Party for so many years.

Focusing Party work on parliamentary struggle, the merger Party of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of the Philippines failed to make the most essential preparations for the anti-fascist armed struggle. The city cadres who fled to the countryside at the time of the Japanese invasion were unable to withdraw in an organized way, thus exposing the failure of the Ortigas Evangelista leadership to build up the Party with deep foundations among the peasant masses on the basis of their

enough for land reform is the main content of the people's democratic revolution. There was no rural base that was well-prepared for waging a people's war against the fascists.

During the anti-Japanese war, the Right opportunist errors of the "retreat for defense" policy was an error in military line. It contravened the Marxist-Leninist principle that land power could be won only by waging revolutionary war. The "retreat for defense" policy was nothing but a variation of the USAFFE "lie low" policy of sacrificing armed struggle with the Japanese invaders and their mercenaries. This Right opportunist military line restricted the rise of proletarian revolutionary power, not only in the short-run but also lasting in the long-run even after it was considered an erroneous policy and the Huk-Hukbalahap squadrons won victory after victory during the latter part of 1944 and early part of 1945.

After the "retreat for defense" line was abandoned, the strength of the Party and the People's Army increased by leaps and bounds. In a few months' time, the area and population covered by both increased rapidly to an extent that the greater part of Central Luzon was under the effective leadership of the Party and the People's Army and that the People's Army could send out sizeable units to establish armed bases in the Southern Tagalog area.

However, because of the failure to remove its philosophical and organizational roots in the Central Committee, the Right opportunist military line would persist as a strong undercurrent and subsequently re-surge as the main line at the end of the anti-Japanese struggle. A dual line was adopted, with the so-called "propaganda" line differing from the so-called "true" line. The so-called "propaganda" line was that the Party was publicly desirous of "peace and democracy", of participating in bourgeois politics through the Democratic Alliance and the "true" line was that it was actually keeping in reserve its armed power in the form of concealed arms caches. Idealistically, deception was intended as an essential component of the strategic line. Nevertheless, while the enemy was not fooled by the token surrender of weapons by the Hukbalahap, confusion was introduced into the ranks of the cadres and masses. The Party leadership failed to establish firmly the mass line as it adopted a dual line and it lost its grip on the gun.

The enemy continued to suppress the people and the Party while voluntarily the Party disbanded armed units of the People's Army under the erroneous banner of "peace and democracy" unlike in China and Indo-China where the people held on to their arms. The essential fact of Right opportunism perpetuated by the Party leadership has been explained in the previous section.

Under the Jesus Lava leadership, the error of military adventurism and putting the purely military viewpoint in command was perpetuated as an extreme counter-development of Right opportunism. The petty-bourgeois world outlook of Lavaism was the fundamental cause of the "Left" subjectivist errors of military adventurism represented by Jesus Lava. It did not permit the Party leadership to understand the laws of development of a people's war in Philippine society and, thus, prevented the adoption of the correct strategy and tactics.

The selfish desire to seize power in the city in so short a time as two years without laying an extensive groundwork among the people showed lack of understanding of protracted people's war. As "Left" opportunism emerged as the principal aspect of Lavaism under the leadership of Jesus Lava, Right opportunism persisted as a secondary aspect or as an undercurrent. As the power of the reactionary ruling classes was estimated to be weak because it was wracked by an internal split, the Jesus Lava leadership gave orders to direct fire only against Filipino puppet troops and to strictly avoid attacks against U.S. military personnel.

The underestimation of U.S. military support for the local reactionaries was Left opportunism. But at the same time, equally scary and the same period that avoiding military engagement with U.S. military personnel would save the fight for the Red Army easier which was Right in effect. This secondary Right opportunist tendency was still a carry-over of the counter-revolutionary Rightist line during the anti-Japanese war that the United States would return to the Philippines in order to restore "peace and democracy" after overcoming the fascists.

Another big instance of muddled military thinking was the principal excessive "Left" reliance on the internal split of the ruling classes and the secondary but excessive Right illusion that the bourgeois politicians, Laurel and Rodriguez, would lead revolts against the Quirino government from Batangas and Rizal in concert with the People's Liberation Army. This false illusion was used to reinforce the argument that seizure of Manila "soon" was possible. At this time the HMB had not yet gained enough strength to capture Manila; no more than 3,000 Red troops could be massed for the purpose, with the sure difficulties of overstraining the people's armed strength in all other places.

The predominating "Left" opportunist line of the Jose Lava leadership was evident in the issuance of military orders to the people's forces in the countryside from the city-based Secretariat or the Politburo-In. Even in the countryside the Politburo-Out was distant from the main military forces and relied on camouflage rather than on developing a stable rural base on which it should have relied. There was still a great gap between the Party leadership and the masses consisting of unstable areas in Central Luzon and blatantly White areas in Southern Luzon.

During this period, the notion became prevalent that the establishment of rural bases was a strange and utopian idea "because the Philippines is a small country and an archipelago having no rear adjacent to and contiguous with a big friendly country." Jose Lava as general secretary dismissed arrogantly the concept of rural bases as a grandiose idea. Little was it realized that the rural base was itself the great rear of guerrilla zones. The camp of the Politburo-Out in the Laguna portion of the Sierra Madre depended merely on a hidden physical base instead of a rural base where the people's support was strong because of the achievement of an agrarian revolution and armed struggle. Little was it realized that in reality then, armed units could operate in the plains where the people's support was the strongest such as Regional Command No. 2.

The armed struggle should have been waged as a protracted people's war combined with an agrarian revolution and the development of rural bases, from which the People's Army should have advanced in a series of waves under the leadership of a Party that was already entrenched in the countryside. But a petty-bourgeois Party leadership was too much in a hurry, too impetuous to capture within so short a period the bourgeois state power seated in Manila. This petty-bourgeois Party leadership never realized that it could fight the bourgeois state power by establishing the people's democratic power in the countryside. At the height of the adventurist folly, Party leaders would bid each other good-bye in public with: "See you in Malacañang!" This infantile talk reflected the adventurist desire of the Jose Lava leadership to move the People's Army to the city gates within a short period of time without first developing the armed power of the masses and then advancing in a series of waves from well-consolidated rural bases.

While the Party headquarters in the city was distantly separated from the Politburo-Out and the latter was in turn distantly separated from the main units of the People's Army, orders were brought down making the people's forces leap over unstable and unreliable areas to attack simultaneously widely separated targets, such as military camps, cities and provincial capitals. This kind of armed movements over-extended the

strength of the People's Army and further strained what had already been the stretched lines of communications and supplies. The raids of August 26, 1950 conducted by the People's Army in accordance with the "3 conclusions" of January, 1950 demonstrated fully the adventurist leadership of the Jose Lava leadership. In essence, it failed to recognized sufficiently the ability of the enemy to make a counter-attack that could break the over-extended lines linking the Politburo-Out to the Regional Commands and so on and so forth. The enemy exactly did this after the August raids by pitting 25,000 troops against a dispersed People's Army of a lesser number in Central Luzon, Manila, Rizal, Bicol and Leyte.

A short while after the raids of August 26, conducted by the People's Liberation Army, the Party headquarters in the city was smashed systematically by the enemy in October, 1950. Considering the extent of enemy success in this crackdown, the policy of rapid recruitment of Party members in the city was demonstrated to be a folly and a violation of the defensive and underground requirements of urban Party work. No less than the highest organs of the Party were infiltrated by the enemy. A security officer of the Politburo, Taciano Rizal, turned out to be a traitor, a paid agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Soon after this, the Congress of Labor Organizations whose officials had always publicly proclaimed that they would lead a general strike in concert with the People's Army offensive in the countryside was also struck down by the enemy in January, 1991.

The failures of the military policy vis-a-vis the enemy were also paralleled by the incorrect handling of cadres and soldiers. Under the guise of "Bolshevization", the Jose Lava leadership adopted harsh attitude on those who were found committing even minor errors. The imposition of death penalty on cadres and soldiers for errors occurred even where a lighter punishment would have sufficed. In meting out punishments, the life history of erring cadres and soldiers were not considered seriously and oftentimes the immediate error was isolated from the circumstances. What was mistaken for "Bolshevization" was the rules of war from bourgeois military books. This mishandling of soldiers and cadres became more aggravated as the People's Army suffered an increasing number of setbacks and a tendency towards disintegration occurred.

As the armed struggle started to ebb during the latter part of 1951, the relation between the People's Army and the people were mishandled in a serious way. Distinctions were made between friendly and hostile barrios. The distinctions were made not for purposes of waging the correct propaganda drive to win over the people from a hostile attitude to a friendly attitude but for purposes of making retaliatory and vindictive foraging attacks over against ordinary peasants some of whose work animals were confiscated to provide food for the beleaguered soldiers of the People's Army. Production teams had been set up before in the countryside and plans but these were destroyed by the enemy because these were protected under the mechanical principle of camouflage instead of by political support of the masses. Many abuses were committed in the name of "economic struggle" as a result of desperation due to the absence of an effective Marxist-Leninist command and the failure to adopt the correct mass line. It was not fully realized that aside from being a fighting force, the People's Army was a propaganda and productive force.

It was the result of the mistakes of the Jose Lava leadership and of the counter-attacks made by the enemy that a tendency towards roving rebel bands and a degeneration of some of these bands occurred because of the absence of genuine proletarian discipline, the wanton dispersal of the People's Army and the concomittant loss of effective central command.

The Jesus Lava leadership could not correct the military adventurism of the Jesus Lava leadership because it did not have any comprehensive understanding of the nature and requirements of a people's war. It was completely ignorant of how to conduct people's war at its stage of strategic defense and tactical offense. As before, it was completely ignorant of how to launch an enemy campaign of encirclement and suppression. Because of its failure to grasp Mao Tse tung Thought, it was never able to regroup the dispersed armed units of the People's Army which were attacked in a massive way by the reactionary army continually from 1951 to 1955. The Jesus Lava leadership suffered the certain disease of invalid subjectivism.

In 1957, under conditions of military defeat, the Jesus Lava leadership took the Rightist line and adopted parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. Jesus Lava became guilty of liquidationism when he actually disbanded armed units, including his own armed security, and chose to live the life of a city fugitive. The individual flights of the commander-in-chief of the People's Army, Casto Alejandrino, and the general secretary of the Party, Jesus Lava, from the countryside to the city and their subsequent capture in the city manifested clearly the erroneous line of the Party leadership.

It has been only in the area of Regional Command No. 2, particularly in the province of Pangasinan and partially in Tarlac, Bataan and Nueva Ecija where remnants of the People's Liberation Army have persisted. At the present moment, it is not those who have slavishly followed the leadership of the Lava's who are now waging the armed struggle. But, a thoroughgoing rectification of Lavaism and the capitulationism of Luis Taruc must be waged particularly in this area. Roving rebel tendencies and practices must also be corrected here. What is to be generated is a genuine People's Liberation Army that is under the effective command of a Marxist-Leninist Party guided by Mao Tse tung Thought, that is a weapon for agrarian revolution and that builds up stable rural bases.

It has been a disadvantage for the Party to have established its strength only in the areas of Greater Manila, Central Luzon and partially in Southern Tagalog although these areas have strategic value because it is here where bourgeois state power is most concentrated throughout the archipelago. However, new military strategy and tactics in line with Mao Tse tung Thought must be adopted taking into full account the weak links of the bourgeois state power, turning the archipelago from a disadvantage into an advantage for the Party and the People's Liberation Army. The development of the people's main military forces and rural bases in Luzon other than in Central Luzon should be well-considered, and the other islands of Visayas and Mindanao should be utilized to disperse and disrupt the main forces of the enemy concentrated in Luzon.

D. Organizational Errors

Organizationally, the main disability of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been its failure to build up an organization that has a broad mass character and that is national in scale. Where the Party has been built, the principle of democratic centralism has not been applied correctly in the organizational life of the Party, resulting in errors of sectarianism and liberalism, and commandism and tailism, because of subjectivism and opportunism.

Building up a Party of a broad mass character requires a national system of Party cadres who build up a great mass following. Under the difficult conditions existing in Philippine society, it is a wise policy to build up the Party carefully; therefore, recruitment and development of cadres must always conform to the standards of a proletarian revolutionary party.

A Party with a broad mass character means that existing Party members must have a big mass following through the adoption of the correct outlines, political line, and principles and methods of organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines can have a broad mass character only if its cadres could lead masses of workers and peasants through revolutionary struggle and thereby increase their own strength. The Party guides the revolutionary struggle of the masses and in turn the struggle produces the best and most advanced fighters of the Revolution who become Party members.

The Party gained strength during the anti-Japanese war only by leading revolutionary armed struggle and leading the peasant masses. In 1948, the Party regained revolutionary strength for sometime until the upsurge of adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership undermined the revolutionary resurgence. In this instance, it was shown that the Party could gain real mass strength only to the extent that it merged with and led the peasant masses. In a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like the Philippines, the Party can gain strength only by arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses in line with the agrarian revolution as the main content of the people's democratic struggle. In the final analysis, the proletarian revolutionary party in the Philippines can have a broad mass character only if it gains the mass support of the peasantry, particularly the poor peasants and farm workers.

Until now, Party members are relatively over-concentrated in Central Luzon and in the Manila-Rizal areas. Even in the previous high tides of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines, the Party did not succeed in broadcasting sufficiently on a national scale the people's democratic revolution through the systematic disposition of cadres.

In the course of his long period of being a trade union leader, Crisanto Evangelista developed a small amount of relations with other trade union leaders in the Visayas. But he himself, even as late as the later part of the thirties, had the illusion that if the Party could gain control of Central Luzon, then Luzon would easily follow; and if the Party could control Luzon, then the whole archipelago would follow. As previously explained the Party leaders who were banished to various parts of Luzon did not consciously try to build up the Party while they were in banishment.

At the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, there was an attempt to send a team of cadres to the Visayas but it was called off. During the war, the Party and the Hukbalahap were built up mainly in the single region of Central Luzon. Even in the accessible region of Southern Tagalog, the Party was not able to seize leadership and initiative in the anti-Japanese war from pro-American guerrilla units. After the war, the question of sending out cadres to other islands was not immediately taken up seriously.

It was only at the height of the armed struggle under the Jose Lava leadership that Party cadres were sent out to Cagayan Valley, Bicol, Panay, Ilocos and Mindanao to build up the Party. But these pioneering comrades were not able to build the Party on strong foundations and did not have sufficient time to develop armed struggle for which they had been sent there primarily because of the failure of the Party leadership to adopt a correct political line. The main policy of rapid military victory did not allow the cadres sufficient time to develop the three requisites for people's democratic power: an agrarian revolution, rural bases and armed struggle.

During the entire period of the Jesus Lava leadership, the failure to build a national organization persisted. This leadership saw the destruction of old Party units including the new ones established outside of Central Luzon. Even during the later part of the 1950's when legal mass organizations under the leadership of the Party could be established, there was no serious attempt made by the Party to build up legal mass

organizations as the medium for Party expansion. It would only be after that, through the initiative mainly of new and re-activated old Party members, the Party would dare to push forward the resurgence of the revolutionary movement. Now the Party has started to make modest gains in building a Party of national scale.

Through a national united front, the proletarian revolutionary party which is carrying out agrarian revolution, with the full support of the oppressed peasantry, can still broaden its support by allying itself with such supplementary revolutionary forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic section of the national bourgeoisie.

In the Philippines, the Party first experienced a united front policy when it opposed fascism during the days of the Popular Front. But during this period, the powerful influence of the petty bourgeoisie within the Party started to corrode the revolutionary will of the Party in a subtle way. During the war, the Party did put up various organizations under the principle of the national united front. The leading organizations were the Hukbalahap itself and the Barrio United Defense Corps.

After the war the Democratic Alliance was put up as a formal united front organization. But this alliance served only to support Right opportunism and allowed some bourgeois personalities to assume the leadership. The Party practically carried the sedan chair for them for sometime until they scurried away when the armed struggle became intensified.

During the Jesus Lava leadership, no genuine united front could be built up because of the failure to develop armed struggle and legal mass organizations under the leadership of the Party. At the time that Claro Mayo Recto was already spearheading a progressive type of nationalism, the Party failed to take advantage of the situation fully because of the liquidationist policy that gravely hampered and threatened the very organizational existence of the Party.

The Party failed in many instances to combine legal and illegal struggle in its organizational work. At the time that the Party was illegalized for the first time there was no secret second line of leadership that could carry out Party tasks legally and illegally. At the beginning of the war, a second line of leadership replaced an incapacitated first line but the former had in the main been detached from mass work previously, being engaged in limited political work among urban petty-bourgeois elements.

As a result of erroneous political lines, grievous organizational errors were committed. Democratic centralism did not come into full play in order to arrive at the correct decisions.

The development of Lavaism is in itself the result of the gross violations of democratic centralism. The astounding series of Lava leaderships was the result of bourgeois maneuvers that caused a falling off and demoralization among Party cadres through a period of thirty years. Liberalism in the most vulgar forms like nepotism and favoritism for personal friends was practised in the making of assignments and promotions. The monstrous result in the making of decisions was Lavaism.

Liberalism marked the merger of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of the Philippines. Members of the Socialist Party were taken wholesale into the Communist Party notwithstanding the ideological requirement of being a Marxist-Leninist. The first and second line of leadership adopted a liberal attitude to Party organization as they concentrated on urban and legal political work before the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war. The liberalism in organizational work that occurred during the "retreat for defense" flowed from various developments. Also, the big upsurge of liberalism and legalism represented by Vicente Lava, Jorge Vrianeza and Pedro Castro, after the anti-Japanese

[illegible] coexisting with an unrectified Right opportunist line [illegible] arising from prior before the war. Jorge Vilanueva advocated the [illegible] dissolution of the People's Army and "united front" with the Pontevedra Manila government; and Pedro Castro advocated the organization of a "mass party" for parliamentary struggle and the liquidation of Hukbalahap Party work. Within the Democratic Alliance, a liberal policy of allowing the prevalence of bourgeois personalities occurred. It was itself an act of liberalism to allow the Democratic Alliance to play the central role in the political struggle of the masses.

Although the main organizational error of the Jose Lava leadership was sectarianism, it perpetrated liberalism in appointing to high Party positions and recruiting into the Party persons who happened to be relatives, personal friends and townspeople of the Lava family, without benefit of undergoing the tests of proletarian revolutionary struggle. Generally, liberalism was essentially involved in the rapid recruitment policy in the city of Manila, a policy which allowed the penetration of the Party by enemy agents. The cornerstone of this policy was personal trust. The ludicrous example of liberalism was the appointment of Thelmo Rizal to a decisively important position on the narrow consideration that he bore the name of the bourgeois national hero, Jose Rizal.

Sectarianism was, however, the main error of the Jose Lava leadership while liberalism was its secondary error. Alienated from the concrete conditions of the armed struggle in the countryside, this leadership was commandist in bringing down its orders and in effect among the fighting forces in the countryside sectarian excesses occurred under the cover of the slogan of "Bolshevization". Contradictions among the people and minor infractions within the Party were considered as contradictions between the people and the enemy. Whereas a policy of persuasion and leniency was required in many cases, the harshest penalties were imposed on erring Party members and Red soldiers. In the city, sectarianism was also practiced in relation to the national united front. As a result of the failure of the Democratic Alliance, the Jose Lava leadership immediately discounted the importance of a consistent united front policy towards the middle forces and absolutely discarded all legal forms of struggle.

The Jesus Lava leadership carried substantially for some time the sectarianism of the Jose Lava leadership. For a number of years, the Party leadership represented by Jesus Lava resorted to the sectarian method of intimidation to put Party members into line and there were many cases of cadres executed for such reasons as the failure to implement the boycott policy in the 1951 bourgeois elections and also on the basis of mere suspicion as many Party members became demoralized and passive due to unrectified errors of leadership and the massive offensive of the enemy. Even when Right opportunism prevailed and armed units were unilaterally disbanded, sectarianism took the form of coddling Party members instead of putting them into the daily class struggle. In a matter of less than two years, the main line of parliamentary struggle degenerated further into liquidationism. The flight of the Party leadership from the countryside to the city resulted in the neglect of Party organizations in the countryside and finally, in the disastrous liquidationist "single file" policy which destroyed in a big way the collective life of the Party and cut off lines of responsibility between higher organs and lower organs and between the Party and its members and between the Party and the people.

The Jesus Lava leadership became reduced to the general secretary alone, who on-the-spot decisions, issued political transmissions from some secluded room and made appointments to high Party positions on the basis of blood and personal relations. During the late fifties, excellent opportunities for re-grouping Party and armed units in the countryside were completely disregarded and parliamentary struggle itself was not properly conducted. It would only be during the early sixties that

Party re-building and the establishment of mass organizations were effected by Party members independent of the isolated Party leadership.

Trailism was a basic character of the Jesus Lava leadership. Likewise, it had also marked the previous Right opportunist leadership of Vicente Lava, Jorge Frianeza and Pedro Castro.

In the main, Lavaism is organizationally the disease of liberalism, trailism and the violation of democratic centralism and the collective life of the Party. A thoroughgoing rectification movement to weed out the ideological, political and organizational roots of Lavaism must be conducted in order to rebuild the Party in accordance with Mao Tse Tung Thought. Lavaism can still persist if no serious efforts are taken to repudiate organizationally certain elements within the Party, who are the ideological and political agents of Lavaism and who are, therefore the political representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party.

(To Be Continued Next Issue)

As surely as the Communist Party of the Philippines is being regenerated, reoriented and re-established under the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought, the axe of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, the People's Liberation Army which the Party commands as its principal instrument in the Philippine Revolution is likewise being regenerated, re-oriented and re-established under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

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

The New People's Army is definitely emergent, after twenty-seven years of hard struggle and sacrifice in the people's democratic interests. It can take pride in its splendid achievements and in the glorious martyrdom of its heroic soldiers. It can also learn bitter lessons from more than one decades of not yet having won the Revolution nor having preserved a single liberated area in the country. It is now arduously striving to intensify the armed struggle in a number of guerrilla zones and girding for the realization of agrarian revolution as the condition for establishing rural bases and the armed independent regime.

At this juncture, the universal truth of Mao Tsetung Thought is now being consciously and thoroughly integrated with the concrete practice of the Philippine Revolution. After an extended process of rectification and self-criticism lasting for a number of years, reflected by the historic document, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," the Communist Party of the Philippines put out in its Congress of Re-Establishment on December 26, 1968, a new Constitution and a new Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution in order to give new guidance, the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought to the People's Liberation Army and to the conduct of our revolutionary armed struggle.

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

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

The New People's Army

Today, on March 29, 1969, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the People's Army, we have the best and happiest reasons for celebration. In line with the rectification, re-establishment and re-invigoration of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the powerful inspiration of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought,

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[illegible] the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and soldiers are convinced to formulate the adoption of the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party and Mao Tsetung Thought, announce the creation of the New People's Army and approve the draft of its Basic Rules for Submission to the Party Central Committee, proclaim our irrevocable repudiation of and triumph over the bourgeois headquarters in the Army which is lorded over by the Taruc-Sumulong renegade clique and express our resolute determination to combat and remove all vestiges of modern revisionism and Right opportunism, particularly Lavaism and Taruc-ism, which have besmirched the integrity and prestige of the Party and Army and have hindered for so long the advance of the people's democratic revolution against U. S. imperialism and domestic feudalism.

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

Our Army is new in two senses. It is new in the sense that it is fundamentally different from the reactionary puppet Armed Forces of the Philippines (and all its supplementary forces) that wages armed suppression of the people and defends the exploiting classes. It is also new in the sense that it is fundamentally different from the black bourgeois line that has persisted in the People's Army and has sabotaged the revolutionary armed struggle for quite a long time already.

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

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

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

The other main source of modern revisionism and Right opportunism is lorded over by the Pedro Taruc-Sumulong clique that misappropriates the name of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the People's Liberation Army to advance the selfish counter-revolutionary bourgeois and feudal ends that are essentially no different from those of the Lava clique.

In dealing with the present situation in the Army, we have to deal at length with the Taruc-Sumulong clique which has since 1964 formally usurped the leadership over all those units of the People's Liberation Army that have heroically persisted in armed struggle against the enemy. Though we the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and soldiers have already overthrown this revisionist renegade

ed to it the culpable, we must expose clearly its anti-Party and counter-revolutionary crimes so as to make them serve as negative examples and to show to all comrades and to the people that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are capable of rectifying errors and rebuilding themselves as genuine instruments of the people's democratic revolution against U. S. imperialism and feudalism.

Crimes of the Taruc-Sumulong Clique

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has deliberately encouraged the persistence of the ideology and activities of roving rebel bands for selfish counter-revolutionary bourgeois and feudal ends of its own. Though it has usurped the name of the Party and Army and even usurped high titles therein through a system of false appointments, it has outrightly taken the counter-revolutionary standpoint on many problems and issues of basic importance and has done so in open violation of the basic norms of a Marxist-Leninist Party and People's Army. Like the heirs and advocates of Lavaism, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has never found it necessary during the 1964-1969 period to put forward a new Party Programme and Constitution and other documents and directives to replace the outmoded ones put out during the 1948-1951 period and also those put out arbitrarily by Jesus Lava until his surrender. There has never been any attempt on the part of the heirs of Lavaism and Taruc-ism to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine Revolution. They have only consistently abandoned and violated it.

Despite its presumptions of leadership, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has willfully failed to issue ample, clearcut and correct Party guide in order to give the proper direction to the armed struggle. It has completely shunned the principle of agrarian revolution and has never made any significant step to advance towards it. Instead, this clique has merely made use of armed units of the People's Liberation Army to compel mediation by this clique between the landlords and the peasants; and this mediation has been used mainly to favor the landlords who get what they want by making financial or grain contributions to the "revolutionary" fund. In this manner, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has criminally tried to cut off the Red Army from the peasant masses. The outlook of the roving rebel has been bred by this clique on the basis of its criminal refusal to base the growth and development of the People's Army on the peasants' struggle for land and on the mobilization of the masses as the only true and strong basis for a people's democratic revolution.

On the other hand, this clique has systematically made use of the units of the People's Liberation Army to apply coercion more on the peasant masses than on the landlords whose friendship it would rather cultivate. It uses the flimsy reasoning that the landlords are needed in a "united front" against U. S. imperialism solely. But, when confronted with the specific case of poor peasants being ejected by the U. S. imperialists, landlords and capitalist bureaucrats as in Concepcion, Tarlac to make way for the gigantic radio installation of the Voice of America, this clique ordered the People's Army and the peasant masses to desist from fighting the ejection. In many instances, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has acted to discourage mass protest actions and labor strikes against the U. S. military on the counter-revolutionary ground that Angeles City would lose plenty of business if the U. S. imperialists were denounced and antagonized.

Shamelessly, this clique has on a big scale dictated the use of units of the Red Army as security guards for the landlords' fields and granaries again on the flimsy excuse of "actually helping out the peasants to cheat the landlords." This is a completely wrong orientation in the Revolution because the peasants do not have to cheat or be sly in fighting the landlords. The over-riding goal of the Party and Army is to arouse and mobilize the peasants into a revolutionary mass force capable of destroying the pillars of feudalism.

The peasants still voluntarily give support to the People's Army. That is because we the majority of Red commanders and soldiers have always tried to do our best in helping the peasant masses beyond the bureaucratic control of the Taruc-Sumulong clique. Being close to the masses of the people in the field, we the majority of Red commanders and soldiers have constantly sided with the peasants against the landlords, the armed agents and soldiers of the bourgeois reactionary government and such bad elements as cattle-rustlers, swindlers and bandits. In many areas, we have succeeded in reducing land rent and interest rates on loans beyond what the bourgeois Agricultural Land Reform Code promises. To reduce the bullying and abuses of the landlord class and the bourgeois reactionary government, we have used our weapons to wipe out both their big representatives and running dogs in many areas where the people now live in conditions better than elsewhere. We have also managed to help the peasants in their daily work and life.

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

In labor and student strikes in Central Luzon, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has also wantonly stood aside while the exploiting classes and their armed agents, the Philippine Constabulary and the local police wreak their vengeance on the strikers. In other cases, armed units have been scandalously used by the Taruc-Sumulong clique to coerce the strikers and their organizations to submit themselves to the capitalist owners of the hacienda, transportation company or school. This has been done in exchange for a paltry sum of money.

Class capitulation, class collaboration and class betrayal have been carried to the extremest point by the Taruc-Sumulong clique in several ways. Politically, it has kowtowed to the biggest representatives of the exploiting classes--such as Marcos, Nepomuceno, Cojuangco and the like, converted themselves into "compadres" of these reactionary politicians and made agreements of "ceasefire" and "political support" with them. The folly of embracing the enemy, of collaborating with reactionary politicians has already cost the exposure and murder of so many comrades after the elections of 1965. This class betrayal is nothing but a political reflection of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois and feudal character of the Taruc-Sumulong clique. In that regard, this clique has been blatantly spreading the philosophy of survival among the Red fighters. It has recently ordered the stopping of campaigns launched by revolutionary commanders to wipe out enemy detachments and agents in their field commands. To please the big reactionary politicians, this clique has also ordered, for monetary reasons, the surrender of a comrade to the reactionary government. Fortunately, this counter-revolutionary order to surrender a comrade has been frustrated.

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

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has deliberately restricted the growth of the People's Liberation Army and also smothered therein Party life so as to maintain its selfish capitalist and feudal rule. There is no democratic centralism; there is only the centralism of one big shot, "Commander" Sumulong. Abusing his private rule of centralism without democracy, "Commander" Sumulong has criminally made one-man decisions involving the execution of "erring" comrades and other people, the disposition of huge amounts of funds, and the like. Without due process and on the flimsiest grounds that usually have something to do with finance collection or some business enterprise, many comrades have been judged by him as deserving of the death penalty and mass murders have actually been committed on his orders. The Taruc-Sumulong clique has been directly responsible more for the killing of comrades and other people in connection with some shady business enterprise than in connection with revolutionary armed struggle against the enemy. Following the old sectarian style of the Joes and Jesus Lava leaderships, cases of "finance opportunism" involving the smallest amount have often been concocted to discredit and justify the mass execution of comrades whose life histories as cadres are never considered.

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

Consistently importing the style of the vagabond and the lumpen proletariat into the Party and Army and assuming a fascist gangster or petty warlord attitude, "Commander" Sumulong appoints goons and police characters to high responsibilities in his staff, mixes them up with dedicated comrades and thereby endangers these comrades, personally administers beatings to them alike and orders their execution whenever they fail to satisfy his financial demands. "Commander" Sumulong has also made use of the name of the Party and Army in practicing usury among comrades and the people at the average ratio of 50% a month, in forcing the sale of properties to him at the price he dictates and in extorting money and grain from the masses. He has actually manipulated units of the People's Liberation Army to conduct his evil business practices in the style of a protection gang. This man who has assumed the functions of Commander-in-Chief and National Finance officer of the People's Liberation Army is one of the blackest scoundrels that has ever infiltrated into the Party and Army. Pedro Taruc has to assume full responsibility as his accomplice.

Because of its selfish counter-revolutionary interests, the Taruc-Sumulong clique is afraid to see the building of a Marxist-Leninist party within the People's Liberation Army. It is afraid of inner democracy and the use of criticism and self-criticism within the Party and Army. It is afraid of seeing Party cadres and Red soldiers raise their quality and the Party and Army expand under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. It is afraid of being exposed, criticized and repudiated. Thus, would they rather have themselves continue acting like crime ring-leaders. It is now clear beyond doubt why the Taruc-Sumulong clique has consistently practiced sectarianism and a new brand of closed-doorism. It wishes vainly to prevent the expansion of the Party and Army and the emergence of revolutionary mass organizations in order to keep out the good and keep in the bad and maintain its counter-revolutionary renegade command and its system of privately appropriating wealth. This clique wishes to lord over the Party and Army in Central Luzon as if it were their "independent kingdom." It does this at a time when the urgent need is to rebuild the Party and Army as the intimate and conscientious servants of the people on a nationwide scale.

Historical Roots of the Taruc-Sumulong Clique

The black bourgeois lines carried out by the Pedro Taruc-Sumulong clique in Central Luzon has its historical roots. It has the same root cause as the counter-revolutionary revisionism and right opportunism of the Lava clique. It is merely a branch of the long line of Right opportunism that has run through the history of the Party and that has retarded the growth of the Party and Army and prejudiced the consistent advance of the Revolution. It is directly related to the Right opportunist line of Lavaism within the Communist Party of the Philippines for the last thirty four years or since the mid-thirties. It is immediately related to that black bourgeois line carried forward by Jesus Lava who, as already isolated from the masses of the people, the masses of Party members and masses of Red soldiers and already preparing to surrender himself to the enemy after failing to get the help of fraternal parties for him to escape from the country, made one-man appointments and decisions that benefited his close relatives and also his accomplice in counter-revolution, Pedro Taruc, who in turn appointed his close relative, "Commander" Sumulong, as the Commander-in-Chief and National Finance Officer of the People's Liberation Army.

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

It is possible to make an exposure and rectification of errors in the Party and in the People's Liberation Army because we, the majority of Party members and Red soldiers, have remained steadfastly true to the Party and to the Philippine Revolution. The Party and Army have persisted under the most difficult conditions because among the masses of Party members and Red soldiers the vast majority have remained faithful to the interests of the toiling masses and have consistently taken the mass line. The Taruc-Sumulong clique which has usurped Party and Army leadership in Central Luzon has long acted as a hindrance to the advance of the Revolution and as a heavy burden on the masses of the people. Their crimes have been utilized by the enemy to discredit the Party and the People's Army. This clique has perpetrated the most grievous crimes inside and outside the Party and Army. It is best, therefore, that the Party and Army should wage a rectification movement, ideological, political and organizational, in order to cleanse the Party and Army and make them ever stronger servants of the masses of the people.

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

However, to be most profound and to be of the greatest benefit to the Party and to the New People's Army, the rectification movement should encompass not only the wrongs committed by the Taruc-Sumulong clique but the whole history of the Communist Party of the Philippines. With such a scope of criticism, then comrades will fully understand why the phenomenon of a Taruc-Sumulong clique has come to pass and why, for instance,

many of those who entered the Party and Army at various stages have become passive, afraid and reluctant to carry out the tasks of the Revolution or have turned the other way around only to strike back at the Party and Army as counter-revolutionaries. To understand the present as something that develops into the future, with the true proletarian revolutionaries advancing and the degenerate capitalist-roaders being thrown away into the dustbin of history, we must know the past that has brought about certain wrongs and weaknesses and also that has brought about what is good and strong about us today.

An understanding of the whole history of the Party is necessary, especially because most of the Party members and Red soldiers who are now actively working for the success of the Philippine Revolution are literally a new generation. It is most important that we take advantage of the lessons of the past and of the positive and negative experiences of old comrades who now compose a minority within the Party and Army at the moment.

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

1. Period Before the Establishment of the Hukbo ng Bayan sa Hapon.

For twelve long years, after its formal establishment on November 7, 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines failed to create a People's Army to combat the U. S. imperialist regime and the puppet comprador-landlord government of Quezon. Without a People's Army, the Party was defenseless. A few months after its public founding, repressive measures were taken by the U. S. imperialists and the puppet government against the Party. In 1932, the Party and all the mass organizations associated with it were formally declared illegal by the reactionary government and all Party leaders were sentenced, imprisoned and banished to various parts of the country. While being completely illegal, the Party leadership still failed to recognize the importance of Party and Army building among the peasants in the countryside. Throughout the decade of the thirties, widespread agitation for independence and land reform was being conducted more vigorously by other organizations.

In 1937, the Party was again allowed to operate legally in line with the anti-fascist Popular Front and in 1938, a merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party was made under the influence of the Right opportunist leadership of Earl Browder in the Communist Party of the U.S.A. The Party leadership continued to concentrate on parliamentary work in the city and no armed preparations were undertaken in the countryside against the impending Japanese invasion. Only campaigns for the voluntary boycott of Japanese goods were made mainly by the trade union movement under the leadership of the CPP chairman Crisanto Evangelista. The cadres of the Socialist Party continued to engage in purely legal urban agitation. At this time, Party members of petty bourgeois orientation who stood out in advocating civil liberties and whose chief representative was Dr. Vicente Lava started to gain principal influence in the Party.

2. Period of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon

The People's Army in the form of the Hukbalahap was established under the leadership of the Party on March 29, 1942 in Central Luzon. Since then, confirming what Comrade Mao Tsetung has said that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, the Party and the people gained a certain amount of power and prestige in Central Luzon that they had never held before. Within one year of waging guerrilla warfare, the People's Army grew from a small force to a big one. Its strength grew rapidly as the peasants rallied around it under such favorable conditions as the evacuation of the U. S. imperialists and the Commonwealth

[illegible] from the Philippines, the disintegration of landlord power in the countryside and the clear need among the people to take up arms against the Japanese imperialists.

But after the Japanese raid on the Mt. Arayat base of the People's Army in the early part of March, 1943, the Party leadership of the Right opportunist Vicente Lava was overcome with pessimism and adopted the wrong policy of "retreat for defence" which was a passive military line, involving the dissolution of armed units and prevention of tactical offence against the enemy. The Lava leadership also entertained serious doubts about the working class being able to lead under conditions that the urban union movement in the city was in chaos. He did not recognize clearly that the Communist Party of the Philippines as the most advanced detachment of the working class was already in the countryside to lead the peasant masses.

The "retreat for defense" policy was formally declared erroneous only sometime in September, 1944 when the U. S. military forces and their puppet forces were already starting to make their own offensive. Because of this Right opportunist policy, which covered more than half of the three-year Japanese occupation, the Red Army lost the opportunity of building up more massive fighting forces and of expanding as fast as it should have even beyond Central Luzon. On a national scale, the Party and Army failed to seize the leadership in the anti-fascist armed struggle. The plan to send out cadres to other parts of the archipelago to develop armed struggle had been called off even as early as 1942. Thus, the development of armed struggle under the leadership of the Party became limited to Central Luzon and to a small part of Southern Tagalog. Furthermore, the Party leadership failed to use agrarian revolution as the basis for its strength in areas securely held by the People's Army. It also glaringly failed to expose U. S. imperialism as an enemy. It utterly failed to implement the Communist International's policy of using the anti-fascist struggle as an occasion to establish a people's democratic government.

3. Period of the Democratic Peace Line.

As the U. S. imperialist and puppet forces were advancing, the Party leadership still mainly influenced by the Right opportunism of Dr. Vicente Lava and Luis Taruc relied on the word of American agents who contacted them that they could participate in the parliamentary life and economic reconstruction of the country. The Party leadership passed on to more outright Right opportunists like Pedro Castro and Jorge Frianeza who advocated an open and legal mass party in the style of bourgeois parties and who carried out further the line of separating the gun from the Red soldiers, despite the atrocious crimes being committed by the U. S. imperialists and their puppets against Hukbalahap leaders who were being imprisoned by them, despite entire Hukbalahap squadrons being massacred by them and despite a sizeable force like the Banal Regiment selling out for American back-pay. The Party leadership failed to recognize that the U. S. imperialists and the landlords were systematically disorganizing the People's Army to strengthen armed counter-revolution and re-impose their control over the entire countryside and over the whole country.

True to its Right opportunist line, the Party leadership shifted its headquarters from the countryside to the city, launched the Democratic Alliance which was dominated by bourgeois personalities and engaged in the bourgeois electoral game only to discover too late that the U. S. imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords would violate parliamentary rules to get what they want, such as the Bell Trade Act, Parity Amendment and other reactionary laws, and would commit the most dastardly murders of revolutionary leaders and masses. During the period of the "democratic peace" line, the reactionaries were able to re-instal themselves in positions of power all over the country while unhesitantly using their guns to suppress the people as in the regions of Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog.

4. Presumption of the Armed Struggle and Military Adventurism.

As a result of the ouster of Party-supported members of Congress from their parliamentary seats, the murder of revolutionary leaders, Red soldiers and ordinary people, and the just clamor of the people for resuming armed struggle, the Right opportunist leadership in the Party was overthrown and the Party decided to launch the armed struggle of 1948. But, as no sufficient rectification movement was waged aside from organizational rejection of the Right opportunists, the Jose Lava leadership that tried to resume the armed struggle was not able to formulate correctly the ideological, political and organizational basis for a protracted people's war. While the Party was already bent on waging armed struggle, the Right opportunist Luis Taruc, who was commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army, was still allowed to negotiate the surrender and disarming of the People's Liberation Army in the same year of 1948.

Taking a dogmatic and sectarian attitude as clearly manifested by its PB Resolutions of 1950, the Jose Lava leadership adopted the impetuous petty bourgeois line of quick military victory within two years which underestimated the enemy and overestimated the revolutionary forces. It was a complete violation of Mao Tsetung's strategic principle of a protracted people's war. It was merely a subjective conclusion reached by heavily relying on such external possibilities as a third world war, the absolute breakdown of the U. S. economy and the violent split among the local political factions in the country which were foretold to occur within two years. The putschist line of military victory in two years overstrained the limited revolutionary forces, made them leap over unstable areas, instead of advancing wave upon wave, and impelled the imposition of bourgeois rules of war and sectarian punishments on the overstrained cadres, soldiers and masses. The more the Party and Army leadership waved the black flag of commandism, the more the Party and the Army became isolated from the masses on whom sectarian abuses were committed. Those sectarian abuses were repeated in a big way by reactionary soldiers in civilian disguise and were blamed on the Party and Army, thus isolating them further from the masses.

The Left opportunist leadership of Jose Lava (PB-In and Secretariat) was isolated in the city from which it dictated its adventurist orders. It had a sub-command under Jesus Lava (the so-called PB-Out) which was likewise isolated in a physical base, not a political base, in the Sierra Madre fastnesses of Laguna, far away from the main military forces in the plains of Central Luzon. Even before half of the preliminary raids decided by the 1950 PB Resolutions could be implemented, the Jose Lava leadership was quickly smashed by only a few major counter-attacks such as the total capture of the central Party headquarters in the city, the massive encirclement of the Sierra Madre, the slicing-off of over-extended supply and communication lines, large-scale enemy imitation of the roguish sectarian activities of a big number of Party and Army units and heavy enemy infiltration of the central headquarters because of a liberal policy of recruitment in the city. The Jose Lava leadership was criminally responsible for the almost total obliteration of the People's Army within the short period of two years and for the most wanton sacrifice of the lives of Party cadres and Red soldiers in the entire history of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

5. The Period of Continued Military Defeat.

After the enemy had smashed the Jose Lava leadership, Jesus Lava assumed the Party leadership and, together with Casto Alejandrino as Commander-in-Chief, continued the Left opportunist and sectarian line of his brother. Adducing the failure of the Jose Lava leadership to mere negligence and tactical errors of some comrades and to mere accidence, the Jesus Lava leadership carried further the line of his brother and failed to launch a much-needed rectification movement. Revealing its utter ignorance of the theory of people's war, this leadership asserted that the strategic phase that the People's Liberation Army had been in since 1949 was neither the strategic defense nor the strategic offense but what it muddle-headedly called the strategic "counter-offensive." The Central Committee Conference of February-March, 1951 which elevated

Jesus Lava to the general secretaryship did not find any substantial ideological, political and organizational errors in the previous leadership. Jesus Lava was more concerned then with outwitting and out-maneuvering the equally careerist renegade Luis Taruc to assume the Party leadership.

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

While the enemy launched a series of massive campaigns of encirclement and suppression during the period of 1951, the Party and Army were severely split between two factions and the Jesus Lava leadership failed to give the unifying ideological, political and organizational leadership for a protracted people's war. The relations between the Party and Army on the one hand and the people on the other, between Party officials and Army officers on one hand and soldiers on the other, and among soldiers worsened without let-up. The Jesus Lava leadership failed to grasp the mass line, failed to overcome but even increased the harsh sectarian activities of the previous leadership and continued to propagate a purely military viewpoint.

6. The Re-Emergence of Right Opportunism and Flightism.

In 1955, the Jesus Lava leadership was overcome with pessimism about the armed struggle as a result of its ceaseless military defeats and its isolation from the masses. Its dogmatism, Left opportunism and sectarianism easily reversed into empiricism and Right opportunism. It was a result of the continuous military defeats that this leadership subsequently adopted the line of parliamentary struggle. In 1957, it went out of its way to dissolve those armed units of the People's Army that it had access to and converted them into "organizational brigades". As Jesus Lava himself prepared to abandon the armed struggle and the countryside, he dissolved his own security unit. During this period, the Khrushchev revisionist renegades of the Soviet Union were already waging a world-wide campaign for the "parliamentary road" and the possibility of "peaceful transition". In 1958, he took flight from the countryside and began his career of being General Secretary in his secluded city room from which he issued political transmissions and directives without the benefit of collective discussions and concrete experience. This flightism was imitated by other principal Party leaders, particularly by the Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army, Casto Alejandrino.

But not even the efforts of the Party in the parliamentary struggle directly bore fruit. Independent efforts of the leaders of the national bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie advanced the line of anti-imperialism and left behind the Jesus Lava leadership in political agitation. What crippled the Party most in this period was the one-man decision taken by Jesus Lava that the Party must take the single-file policy in organization. This is liquidationism pure and simple, destroying the collective life of the Party. The vast majority of Party members became disconnected and became passive as they were easily cut off from their single files due to the arrest of a single Party member, the increasing passivity and opportunism of others, or the infrequency of contacts. It would only be in 1960 that new Party members in both legal and illegal forms of struggle emerged to re-invigorate the Party and Army.

Carrying out further his flightist policy, Jesus Lava sought vainly to leave the country. After failing to do so, he tried to cajole President Macapagal with several letters of support for his bourgeois policies and finally wrote him a treasonous letter offering his surrender. Before his "capture" by the enemy in 1964, he alone made appointments to the Party leadership. These appointments were characterized by nepotism, thinly camouflaged by the appointment in name of Pedro Taruc as the "sec-

retary for peasants." The nepotistic character of the other appointments to the Party Secretariat was very obvious in that the beneficiaries were close relatives who had never before excelled in Party work or mass work.

7. The Ascendance of Mao Tsetung Thought in the Party and Army.

The Right opportunist line of the Jesus Lava leadership resulted into two degenerate and counter-revolutionary trends. Feigning loss of contact with the People's Liberation Army and Party cadres therein led by Pedro Taruc, the heirs in leadership of the Lava family took the blessings of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, held a conference of its own in April, 1968 to perpetuate the "noble lineage" of the Lavas and put forward formally the line of opposing those engaged in armed struggle, of accepting the leadership of the reactionary government in land reform, of contraposing the united front with the armed struggle and of repeating the old error of letting bourgeois personalities assume the leadership in what they conceive to be a formal united front organization. On the other hand, also feigning loss of contact with the bare-faced city-based, local revisionist renegades, the Taruc-Sumulong clique defined a limited area in Central Luzon as its own "independent kingdom" and put forward its own line of Right opportunism and revisionist treachery in the countryside as explained previously. Pedro Taruc, acting on his own alone, committed the serious crime of appointing Sumulong as Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army and also as National Finance Officer despite the fact that the latter was still facing the serious charges of malversation and corruption made in 1963.

If there is a bourgeois headquarters within the Party and Army and even factions within the same bourgeois headquarters, the counter-revolutionary line they put forward is bound to be opposed by a revolutionary line put forward by the proletarian revolutionary headquarters within the same Party and Army. During the years of 1964 to the present, when the one-man decisions and appointments made by the renegade Jesus Lava was creating confusion within the Party, those upholding Mao Tsetung Thought led by Comrade Amado Guerrero rose up to criticize and repudiate modern revisionism, Lavaism and Taruc-ism, and thus, prepared the way for the re-establishment and rebuilding of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the supreme guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. At the same time, within the People's Liberation Army, Commander Dante, together with the late Commander Dolio, struggled hard to put other Red commanders and soldiers on the revolutionary path, continued to wage armed struggle most militantly and fostered the revolutionary spirit of serving the people and making the Red soldiers and people like fish and water. Today, the efforts of the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and soldiers led by Comrade Dante who remain ever faithful to the people's democratic revolution and to Mao Tsetung Thought are crowned with the transformation of the old People's Liberation Army into the New People's Army under the supreme command of Mao Tsetung Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Main Tasks of the New People's Army

Under the Marxist-Leninist principle that the Party commands the gun, the New People's Army follows the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the supreme command of Mao Tsetung Thought. The New People's Army is an instrument for implementing the Party Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution. It is, as a matter of fact, the principal organization under the command of the Communist Party of the Philippines, an organization for waging the main form of struggle, armed struggle in the people's democratic revolution.

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

1. The New People's Army Must Engage in Party Rebuilding.

It is by propagating Mao Tsetung Thought in the Army and among the

masses, applying it in revolutionary practice and organizing Party branches and committees inside and outside the Army that the New People's Army engages in Party rebuilding. The New People's Army is not only a fighting force, it is also a propaganda and organizing force. It must propagate and apply Mao Tsetung Thought as the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Its cadres, commanders and soldiers must all alike instill themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought by undertaking Mao Tsetung Thought study classes under the direction of the Revolutionary School of Mao Tsetung Thought, under the Army Political Department and under the Political Commissars appointed by the Party to supervise Party life and political education in every Red armed unit. All Party cadres in the Army, commanders and soldiers should in turn effect an ideological mobilization of the masses under Mao Tsetung Thought and they should see to it that the most advanced elements among the masses, as among the Red soldiers, should be taken as members of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the course of mass struggle. All daily problems of the Party, Army and the masses in politics, armed struggle, culture and economic work should be solved by applying the universal truth of Mao Tsetung Thought.

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

In instilling itself with Mao Tsetung Thought, the New People's Army instills itself with the spirit of serving the people and among its fighters repudiating self. It rejects modern revisionism and subjectivism in its dogmatist or empiricist form, Right and "Left" opportunism, sectarianism and liberalism, commandism and tailism and all other weaknesses and mistakes that have obstructed the advance of the people's democratic revolution. Mao Tsetung Thought is the most precise instrument for rectifying and weeding out all the weaknesses and mistakes bred by Lavaism, Faruc-ism and all other evil sources of errors in the Philippine revolutionary movement.

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

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

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

There shall also be military democracy, with the officers teaching the soldiers, the soldiers teaching the officers and the soldiers learning from each other with regard to military plans, methods and techniques of fighting. As much as possible, meetings shall be held before and after battles in order to raise their fighting knowledge and effectiveness. Bourgeois and feudal practices between officers and soldiers, such as beatings and bullying, shall be absolutely prohibited. The best of relations shall therefore be developed between officers and men within the Army so that the Army as a whole shall always be oriented towards the maintenance and development of the best relations with the masses.

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

2. The New People's Army Must Carry Out Agrarian Revolution, Build Rural Bases and Advance the Armed Struggle.

Since the people's democratic revolution is essentially a peasant war under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines, since the peasant struggle for land is the main content of the people's democratic revolution, the New People's Army must launch an agrarian revolution and mobilize the peasant masses, the vast majority of the Filipino people, for the people's democratic revolution. A revolution is a mass undertaking and so the New People's Army as a revolutionary army must rely on the masses for increasing its fighting strength, preserving itself, for winning battles; for winning the whole war and consolidating the power won.

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

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

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

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

To carry out the armed struggle, the New People's Army should develop four types of armed units: the regular mobile forces, the guerrilla units, the militia or self-defense corps, and the armed city partisans. The New People's Army must learn from the experience of the Chinese and Vietnamese people's wars and must be trained to employ old and new methods of fighting and military technique. Aside from developing marksmanship with various types of guns, the New People's Army must train in night operations, grenade throwing, bayoneting, using land mines, mortar fire, tunnel warfare and the like. It must also be able to muster all the indigenous methods of fighting that the workers, fishermen, peasants and national minorities know.

In building itself up, the New People's Army must be guided by the principle of self-reliance. So long as it is closely linked with the

masses of the people and enjoys their support, the New People's Army shall find its efforts adequate for a protracted armed struggle. The Party committees in the Army and in local areas must unite in every way to carry out the tasks of the people's democratic revolution.

3. The New People's Army Must Build Up The National United Front.

The New People's Army must build up the national united front by upholding and following the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, by welding together through armed struggle the workers and peasants whose alliance serve as the basis of the national united front and by attracting the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie to the fold of the people's democratic revolution.

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

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

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

In every instance of cooperative unity, the New People's Army must take firm hold of the revolutionary class line. So long as the goal of any class or group is the destruction of the power of U. S. imperialism and feudalism, the New People's Army shall always be willing to extend its cooperation and helping hand. But it shall always be alert to enemy infiltrators and revisionist saboteurs of the armed struggle.

In performing its revolutionary duty of fighting U. S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all local reactionaries, the New People's Army is highly conscious that it is contributing to the development of the international united front and that it is upholding the principle of proletarian internationalism. Revolutionary armed struggle in the Philippines is certainly an effective part of the world-wide struggle of all oppressed peoples against U. S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. The overthrow of U. S. imperialism and all domestic reaction in the Philippines will be a great contribution towards the total collapse of imperialism and the worldwide triumph of socialism.

Long live Mao Tsetung Thought.

Long live the Philippine Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

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