



POLITICAL REPORT
TO THE SECOND PLENUM OF THE FIRST CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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P O L I T I C A L R E P O R T
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I. From the Sixties to the Seventies

The decade of the sixties was marked by great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The fundamental class contradictions of the world underwent deep-going development. U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reaction met with disastrous defeats one after the other.

Amidst the turmoil of great revolutionary struggles, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought emerged triumphantly and gloriously to give correct direction to the revolutionary people of the world.

As soon as the decade of the seventies set in, the flames of revolutionary struggle rose higher and shone brighter throughout the world and in the Philippines. More and greater victories beckoned to the world's proletariat and the broad masses of oppressed people.

Chairman Mao has correctly pointed out: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today." In preparing against war, the people of the world are waging fiercer revolutionary struggles. The more U.S. imperialism and its counter-revolutionary allies threaten and provoke a global war the more do they find themselves encircled by a ring of fire which they have to go against like mad bulls.

The over-extension of U.S. imperialism throughout the globe has become wilder and more self-defeating. It is more than ever hopelessly spread thinly and open to the deadly blows dealt by the people of the world, including the great American people. Chairman Mao has correctly described the nature of U.S. imperialism: "U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle."

No one fears the vicious grimaces of a moribund monster. Though ferocious in appearance, U.S. imperialism has been rendered weak by revolutionary struggles. Its losses in so many parts of the world are now resulting into its internal decline.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the latest epochal achievement of Marxism-Leninism, has frustrated the desperate efforts of U.S. imperialism and world reaction to use modern revisionism to corrode and destroy the forces of the world proletarian revolution from within. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China, together with the Albanian Party of Labour and all other Marxist-Leninists of various countries, has forthrightly and firmly stood up against the treacherous attempts of Soviet social-imperialism to prolong the reign of imperialist oppression and exploitation.

In the transition from the decade of the sixties to that of the seventies, the single most important development in the Philippines was the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines as a revolutionary party of the proletariat holding aloft the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In so short a time since its re-establishment, the Communist Party of the Philippines has attained leadership over the armed struggle and the national united front against U.S. imperialism and all its reactionary allies.

The Philippines is now in the throes of a national democratic revolution. The broad masses of the people are fast rising up against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Trying to recover its losses in other parts of the world, U.S. imperialism has intensified the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. By doing so, it has only engendered popular resistance.

The broad masses of the people find immeasurable inspiration and strength in Chairman Mao's thesis: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

In addition to their own strength within their own country, the Filipino people can count on the powerful support of so many other people abroad who are fighting against U.S. imperialism and all its counter-revolutionary allies. By uniting in waging revolutionary struggles, the people of the world can defeat U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs. It is the broad masses of the people who are the real gigantic force. It is their enemy who is puny.

II. The World Proletarian Revolution

The world proletarian revolution is sure to win victory. We are now in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is marching toward world victory. The revolutionary people of the world are rapidly grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their invincible weapon.

The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, the Lenin of the present era, has successfully led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to solve the problem of preventing capitalist restoration in a socialist society and to smash the bourgeois headquarters of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi.

The People's Republic of China has become ever more consolidated as the center of the world proletarian revolution. Tempered by the process of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, the 700 million Chinese people are the iron bastion of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle. They provide an invulnerable rear for the revolutionary people of the world. They are thoroughly prepared against the war conspiracy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They are the shock force of the world proletarian revolution.

In Europe, the Albanian Party of Labour led by Comrade Enver Hoxha has also successfully conducted an ideological revolutionization movement among the Albanian people. Albania stands today as a powerful bulwark and inspiration for all people in Europe resisting U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

~~All over the world Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have~~ grown rapidly in strength and maturity. While old revisionist parties continue to disintegrate, Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have emerged to give correct direction and to lead revolutionary struggles. With greater confidence, the people of the world are steadfastly advancing.

The main regions of the storm of world revolution are Asia, Africa and Latin America where armed struggle is raging in more than thirty countries. People's war is being waged vigorously in the whole of Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine, Mozambique, Angola, Congo (Kinshasa), Dhofar, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and so many other countries that make the world's countryside. The people are held in bondage by arms; only by arms can they liberate themselves. They recognize unflinchingly that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

The expansion of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and Laos to Cambodia have only multiplied the losses of U.S. imperialism and enlarged the scale of its defeat in Indo-China. Contrary to its sinister expectations, U.S. imperialism has not gained anything but aggravated its hopeless situation by engineering the coup d'etat of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in Cambodia. Under the powerful counter-attack of the Cambodian people and the people of the world, U.S. imperialism has

been forced to feign a voluntary withdrawal of its aggressor troops from Cambodia. It is now callously sending in cannon fodder from southern Vietnam and Thailand and flaunting its air power.

While the Cambodian people are surging forward to wipe out their enemies, the south Vietnam and Laotian people's armed forces are also advancing without let-up. The National United Front of Kampuchea, the Laotian Patriotic Front, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have forged an unbreakable revolutionary unity. The three Indo-Chinese peoples are closely fighting together against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. Furthermore, all the Indo-Chinese people have the most powerful rear in the world, the People's Republic of China.

The revolutionary armed struggles waged by the people of Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Kalimantan Utara and the Philippines are immeasurably supported by the heroic resistance of the Indo-Chinese people for liberation and national salvation. So are the agrarian revolution now raging in India and the Palestinian and Arab struggle against U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism supported.

The determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, of the Korean people to reunify their fatherland and of the Japanese people to fight U.S. domination and the resurgent militarism of the Japanese reactionaries has risen ever higher.

U.S. imperialism cannot escape from being swept away from the wide storm belt in Asia, ranging from the Philippines to Palestine. It cannot escape the wrath of the people. The upsurge of people's war all over Asia spells the doom of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

U.S. imperialism tries by every means to push forward its global alliance with Soviet social-imperialism. It also tries to use Japanese militarism as its fogleman in Asia. But it can never escape its responsibility as the principal aggressor. Its co-aggressors, no stronger than itself, are only bound to suffer its fate.

Soviet social-imperialism has become utterly rotten to the core and has become as over-extended as its U.S. imperialist master. Within its own borders, revolutionary organizations are steadily growing to oppose monopoly bureaucrat capitalism, social-fascism and social-imperialism. The people of some countries in Eastern Europe and Outer Mongolia which are under revisionist and social-imperialist rule are straining to be liberated. Soviet social-imperialism has become isolated even in areas long known to be its sphere of influence. That is why it sends its hundreds of thousands of aggressor troops into Czechoslovakia and threatens fascist aggression against other countries in Eastern Europe. As the new tsars, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists madly insist on the conquests of the old tsars and try to grab more territory from China. Their adventures have met powerful rebuffs from their intended victim. The bankrupt "peaceful" revisionism of Khrushchov has become the more bankrupt violent revisionism of Brezhnev; all along modern revisionism has not meant peace but imperialist violence against the people.

Japanese monopoly capital has found it profitable to stand in support of U.S. imperialism, as in the Korean War and the current war in Indo-China. But its rapid re-militarization and its boasts of carrying out anew its policy of "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere" under the Nixon Doctrine of "making Asians fight Asians" will doom it to worse defeat. The artificial strength of Japan dependent on U.S. loans and raw materials from abroad cannot long stand the blows of the Asian people. Within Japan and abroad, especially in Asia, Japanese militarism is incessantly detested by the people. By becoming a tool of U.S. imperialism, it is bound to suffer a more disastrous defeat than in World War II in the present period when a great socialist giant and powerful national liberation movements are growing in the East.

Within all the imperialist countries, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is developing in depth. Within

the United States, the black and white proletariat are joining up rapidly with the student youth in fighting monopoly exploitation, arms expansion and wars of aggression. Within the Soviet Union, the proletariat is thoroughly disgusted with the betrayal of Leninism and is developing underground organizations to overthrow the revisionist rulers. Within Japan, revolutionary mass actions are becoming bigger and bigger both against U.S. imperialist domination and the resurgent Japanese militarism.

Though they are engaged in all-round counter-revolutionary alliance against China, communism and the people, U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism are at the same time contending with each other for world hegemony. Among all imperialist powers, there is ceaseless strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, strategic points and spheres of influence. Objectively, they are eating up each other's strength.

The firm proletarian dictatorship in the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania guarantees a socialist future for the entire world. The imperialist countries cannot make light of the strength of these socialist countries.

Their revolutionary victories in class struggle have directly promoted production and scientific experiment. The People's Republic of China has nuclear power and has struck into outer space. These technological achievements signify a powerful modern industry in the service of the world proletarian revolution.

In all major contradictions of the world today, it is imperialism and social-imperialism that are at the losing end. The oppressed people and nations are striking at every tentacle of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Within the capitalist and revisionist countries, the proletariat is waging unprecedented struggles against the bourgeoisie. Among the imperialist powers themselves, they cannot help but act according to their imperialist nature despite their anti-communist alliances. In an international situation where all exploiters of the world led by U.S. imperialism are going downhill, the socialist countries increase their strength, lend support to the revolutionary people and lead the entire world to socialism.

Arising from the major contradictions in the world today is an ever expanding international united front led by the revolutionary proletariat. U.S. imperialism and its running dogs are becoming rapidly more isolated while the socialist countries and the revolutionary people who are fighting for national liberation and democracy are growing stronger.

At anytime, U.S. imperialism may try to provoke a global war along the wide arc from the Korean peninsula to Indo-China. We are now witness to a powerful united front that will destroy imperialist aggression along the same arc. U.S. imperialism may try to provoke a global war anywhere else. It will still meet a more expanded and more powerful international united front than the present one that now girdles the entire world.

Imbued with the revolutionary spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is leading the Philippine revolution arduously and self-reliantly not only so that the Filipino people shall be liberated in their own land but also so that the entire mankind shall be liberated from U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. The Communist Party of the Philippines is ever grateful to the people of the entire world for their resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

To heed Chairman Mao's call in his May 20th solemn statement for the people of the world to unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs is to move closer to communism.

III. The True State of the Nation

1. The Political Situation

To make up for its losses elsewhere in the world, U.S. imperialism sucks more blood from the broad masses of the people. Its political puppets headed by the fascist chieftain Marcos resort to every foul trick to prolong and intensify the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. The puppetry of the Philippine reactionary government to U.S. imperialism has caused the broad masses of the Filipino people to rise up more vigorously than ever before. They can no longer stand the oppression and exploitation imposed by U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs.

The Philippine reactionary government is increasingly characterized by fascism. It has become daily fare for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to issue secret orders for the arrest and murder of democratic elements who dare to expose the scheme to prolong and intensify the subjugation of the people. In both city and countryside, martial law is in fact already in operation against specific targets of the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Not satisfied with so many assassinations, kidnappings and massacres already perpetrated by his minions, Marcos threatens almost daily to formally declare martial law and ban democratic mass organizations all over the country to forestall the mounting revolutionary mass movement.

But the people dauntlessly chant in demonstrations, strikes and other protest mass actions that people's war is the answer to martial law. They are not afraid even to express their support for the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. The demand for armed revolution has become stronger and stronger since the storm of the first quarter of this year. Despite the ruthless killing of several demonstrators by the fascist brutes, the people have remained fearless in launching powerful mass actions against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines firmly maintains leadership over the New People's Army which is courageously carrying forward the banner of armed struggle. Workers, peasants and the national minorities are enthusiastically raising arms against the reactionaries at various points in the country. The determination of the people to wage armed struggle against their enemies grows daily. The targets of their hatred are U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs; namely, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has completely proven the bankruptcy of the present political system by employing fraud and terrorism on an unprecedented scale in the last elections. The broad masses of the people have become fully convinced of the necessity of taking direct democratic action because of the over-exposed futility of the "normal" channels of the reactionary state. A chain of killings and other criminal abuses continue to intensify the internal contradictions of the ruling classes. This only serves to step up the people's repudiation of the present political system.

As usual in moments of crisis for a despotic regime, the despots are worried to death both by the surging revolutionary mass movements and the threat of a coup d'etat from the direction of a rival faction. The Marcos fascist puppet clique is trying every ruthless measure to give its armed minions the upper-hand.

In a desperate attempt to keep his limited ground, Marcos makes use of counter-revolutionary dual tactics. He proclaims himself as neither Left nor Right and accuses both Left and Right of unwittingly helping each other to topple him down. He calls himself an adherent of "liberal democracy". Despite all the sham professions he makes, his criminal fascist actions against the people have become too conspicuous and callous.

Resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics will not help the Marcos fascist puppet clique the least. The revolutionary masses are now singly determined to strike against its rightist regime. They firmly shout to the face of Marcos that he deserves a beating because he is already vicious enough against the people. When he himself becomes more vicious or some other more vicious clique should replace his clique, then they would only intensify their revolutionary struggle and destroy anyone who stands to oppose them.

The counter-revolutionary revisionist renegades and clerico-fascists attack the revolutionary masses and single out the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army for the most vicious attacks. They vehemently denounce the masses whom they describe as "pressing Marcos to the wall" and making the "insignificant Marcos" the "sole culprit". They echo the threats of Marcos to attack the people even more viciously in a futile attempt to discourage the revolutionary mass movement.

The counter-revolutionary revisionists and clerico-fascists are colluding with the Marcos fascist puppet clique. All of them say that they are for "peaceful revolution" in a vicious campaign to mislead the people. The Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascists have for quite a long time been toadying up to the Marcos fascist puppet clique through the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and the Christian Social Movement, respectively. In the rotten 1969 elections, the leaders of these organizations scandalously deodorized Marcos as a "nationalist". Marcos has frequently found their endorsements handy for covering up his fascist character.

The Marcos type of nationalists, the Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascists continue to conspire in peddling the malicious line of letting the Filipino people "Filipinize" the economy by "buying out the U.S. monopolies" or letting the landless tenants become owner-cultivators or even landlords by "buying out the landlords". All of these counter-revolutionary reformists ceaselessly sing hymns of praise for the Investment Incentives Law and the Agricultural Land Reform Code. They harp on such counter-revolutionary requirements as "constitutional due process" and "just compensation". They misrepresent the so-called Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom as a progressive resolution, despite its thinly veiled endorsement of domination by U.S. imperialism and feudalism through "joint ventures" and "foreign loans".

All the counter-revolutionaries are rallying round the farce of constitutional convention. They wish to hoodwink the people into believing that a mere re-writing of a colonial document by the delegates of the reactionary classes can write off the basic problems of the Filipino people. The dirtiest politicians of the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party, the Christian Social Movement and various other organizations parade themselves as "independent individuals" worthy of being delegates to a counter-revolutionary convention.

The constitutional convention is nothing but a device to sanction the prolongation and intensification of the oppression and exploitation of the people by U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The U.S. imperialists and their international allies will be allowed to enjoy undiminished property and investment rights. The landlords will continue to ride roughshod over the poor peasants and to taunt them with impossible offers of land sale. Clerico-fascist organizations will still make high profits, be exempted from taxes and enjoy more feudal privileges. The bureaucrat capitalists will still be around to serve their imperialist and feudal masters.

The most reactionary forces in Philippine society today are performing all kinds of antics, including the imitation of genuine protest actions, in order to drive in the lie that they are progressive and that the present reactionary government deserves the support that it does not. The clerico-fascists manipulated by the C.I.A. and the American Jesuits render a special service to the Marcos fascist puppet clique by trying to head off the revolutionary mass movement.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has the illusion that by repealing the Anti-Subversion Law and opening trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet social-imperialism it can pass itself off as pursuing a "left" and "independent" policy. The Lava revisionist renegades are gleeful that the Philippines is being included in the global counter-revolutionary alliance of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They also help the pro-Japanese clique of Laurel in pushing ahead the interests of the Japanese militarists in the Philippines.

The other pack of renegades, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, has utterly disintegrated with the surrender of "Commander" Sumulong. This is the culmination of the efforts of the chieftains of the clique to spread the poison that the Marcos fascist puppet clique is capable of solving the problems of Central Luzon. Upon his surrender, the common criminal Sumulong volubly praised the reactionary government and blatantly exposed himself as the enemy's special agent assigned to misrepresent and attack the revolutionary mass movement.

The special services of the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique to the class enemy have become too blatant and in fact violent. They have gone to the extent of carrying out the fascist policy of the Marcos puppet clique. Adopting the swindler outfit called "Armeng Bayan" as their goon squad and becoming enmeshed in the activities of the "Monkees", the Lava revisionist renegades have merely imitated the Soviet revisionist example of discarding the "peaceful" mask of Khrushchov in favor of the out-and-out policy of aggression of the Brezhnev gang. The Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and the Lava revisionist renegades are no different from each other in employing tactics of bloody intrigue in Central Luzon and elsewhere.

By resolutely waging armed struggle and winning more and more friends under the national united front, the revolutionary standing of the Communist Party of the Philippines has never been higher. The Party is looked up to by the Filipino people as the vanguard of the new democratic revolution.

2. The Economic and Social Situation

The most incontrovertible sign of the economic and social crisis of the Philippines today is the rapidly rising prices of basic commodities and all other commodities. The value of the peso has sunk so low and is still sinking fast to the detriment of the oppressed masses of workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie who have low and limited income. The national bourgeoisie is also suffering from the devaluation of the peso.

The material basis for the unrest now sweeping the whole country is the intensification of U.S. imperialist oppression and exploitation of the people. There has never been a better instance than now in explaining to the people the full range of causes for their suffering.

U.S. imperialism has caused the Philippine reactionary government to incur an enormous amount of internal and external debt. There are two outstanding reasons for the consistent pressures of U.S. imperialism to weigh down its puppet government with exceedingly heavy financial obligations. First, it seeks to make up for its losses elsewhere in the world by taking advantage of its stranglehold on the economy. Second, it seeks to perpetuate its monopoly of privileges in the country in the face of the people's clamor for the abrogation of unequal treaties and agreements by pursuing the tactic of bogging down the puppet government into enormous debts.

At the beginning of this year, the internal debt of the Philippine reactionary government reached P4.7 billion and the external debt, \$1.5 billion. After only six months, these debts again leaped to close to P6.0 billion and \$1.9 billion, respectively. These debts have been used mainly to benefit the imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Through

excessive spending for non-productive purposes, the reactionary government has contributed heavily to the inflation.

The excess supply of the peso has been used only to buttress and fatten up further the local exploiting classes and encourage the production of raw materials for export, such as sugar, coconut, copper and logs, and the internal distribution of imported finished manufactures from the imperialist countries led by the United States and Japan.

The dollar loans taken by the reactionary government from the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, consortiums of U.S. private banks and other foreign banks have been used to cover the increasingly large deficits incurred in the unequal exchange of raw material exports and finished manufacture imports; the local borrowing, remittance of profits and foreign payments of U.S. firms; the servicing of accumulated loans; and payments for construction equipment and engineering services provided by foreign equipment and construction firms. In his state-of-the-nation address last January 26, Marcos repeatedly dished out the lie that the equipment imported at great overprice for his infrastructure program (roads, bridges, ports and irrigation facilities) will result in the expansion of local manufacturing.

An integral element in the depletion of financial resources in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society is the bureaucratic corruption and the profligate luxury spending by the local exploiting classes. U.S. imperialism would not persist in controlling the Philippines were it not for the bribes that it gives to its puppets.

The wanton depletion of the financial resources of the puppet government is subsequently taken as a cause for U.S. imperialism to step in and hypocritically call for fiscal restraint and imperiously demand the devaluation of the peso. The puppet government cannot beg for additional loans to pay off old loans and import essential commodities unless it accepts the impositions of U.S. imperialism. Thus, the reactionary government is dictated upon to issue a hypocritical call for "austerity" and "self-discipline". It uses these catchphrases to lay off government employees and reduce public services, increase taxes ostensibly on those who receive higher income but which are actually passed on to the toiling masses in the form of higher prices, give more incentives to raw material exporters and subsidize finished products imports, increase costs of basic public services like transportation, light and water; and subject the peso to rapid devaluation.

The devaluation of the peso currency is a vicious clever trick of U.S. imperialism to practise international usury. With the peso equivalent of the dollar reaching up to more than P6.3 from a previous level of P3.9, the external debt of the reactionary government increases in value and becomes more difficult to pay back. The value of local U.S. assets becomes automatically inflated far beyond the wishful thinking of nationalist reformists who expect to buy out the U.S. monopolies in the stock market. The U.S. dollar can now grab more raw materials at a lower dollar cost, take over dollar-starved local enterprises that depend on imported capital goods, spare parts, fuel and raw materials and make more profits from the importation of finished manufactures. The result is the aggravation of the economic crisis and the continued enslavement of the Philippines.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants suffer the main brunt of rising prices. Essential commodities are imported at a greater peso cost. There is not a single commodity in the Philippine economy, whether partially or wholly processed in the Philippines, that does not entail the use of certain imported commodities. Oil is one commodity monopolized by U.S. imperialism which affects every commodity or service marketed in the Philippines. Appropriately, U.S. monopoly control of oil has been the target of repeated general strikes by the workers. The Rockefeller monopoly group controlling oil also controls fertilizers and pesticides the increased price of which has also hit the peasants severely.

Unemployment has become aggravated. Government offices and private enterprises have already laid off 10 per cent to 65 per cent of their employees. Those who are retained in their work have to submit themselves to depressed wages. The reactionary government has fixed the new minimum wage at P8.0 for industrial workers and P4.75 for farm workers. But this is inadequate and still subject to circumvention by the exploiting classes. The peso has been devalued by at least 61.5 per cent and yet the minimum industrial wage has been increased by only 33 per cent and the minimum farm wage, by only 30.28 per cent. Hardly had the wage-earners coped up with the effects of the 1962 devaluation, they are subjected to a second devaluation further depressing their wages in 1970. Now a third devaluation looms before they can cope up with their present hardship.

The land reform program of the reactionary government becomes more exposed as a sham. It becomes starkly clear that the reactionary government is in no position to make even a token land reform. From 1963 to 1970, the actual amount appropriated for the Land Bank was a measly P13.0 million, an amount manipulated by the landlords and bureaucrats. The amount appropriated for the counter-revolutionary armed forces to suppress the people ran into billions for the same period. The amount appropriated for the Philcag alone is already several times more than that appropriated for the sham land reform program. Not a single tenant has been able to afford to buy a hectare of land at the high redistribution price set by the reactionary government and the landlord class. That is why the reactionary government is now talking of setting up state farms and "cooperatives" under the management of the big landlords. The biggest comprador firm in the country, the Ayala, Soriano y Cia; the Christian Social Movement; such counter-revolutionary organizations as the Federation of Free Farmers, Masaka (Lava) and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement and such landlord personages as Montelibano and Bishop Fortich are busy deceiving poor peasants and farm workers.

The landless peasants who have settled in forest regions are today being squeezed by the economic crisis and the intensified landgrabbing operations of landlords, bureaucrats, mining speculators, timber concessionaires and all kinds of exploiters. Together with the national minorities who inhabit the hinterlands of the country, they have no alternative but to fight against the counter-revolutionary armed forces and the private armed gangs of the reactionaries.

At a time that the people are subjected to an on-going inflation and repeated devaluation, the reactionaries taking the guise of "progressives" talk of "profit-sharing". It is vicious to compel the workers to buy shares of stocks in corporations with a part of their starvation wages or their future wages. Obviously, the call for "profit sharing" is merely a trick to cover up the raids being made by the reactionaries on the entire financial system. It is also a trick for U.S. companies in the Philippines to create the illusion that they are reducing their equity by "going public". Even the petty bourgeoisie, with its limited fixed income, is increasingly threatened with bankruptcy. Many of those who belong to the upper section of the petty bourgeoisie have been swindled of their savings in the stock market on fake mining issues.

Under the pretext of campaigning for tourism, the puppet government and the reactionaries are preparing public opinion throughout the country for the perpetuation of U.S. imperialist privileges. Patriotic mass actions are being slandered as "inhospitality" to foreign guests. Every town or barrio is expected to put up a facade as a "tourist spot" and yet because of the sinking value of the peso the few foreign tourists that come into the country exchange their dollars in Hongkong or Los Angeles at rates higher than what the Central Bank offers.

The Laurel-Langley Agreement will be allowed to lapse. But even before the termination of the treaty, there is already the Investment Incentives Law and Export Incentives Law which allows 100 per cent foreign ownership and control of local enterprises. The constitutional convention of 1971 will be held to put out new phrases sanctioning these iniquitous laws. The U.S.-R.P. treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation is under preparation to sum up and elaborate on the laws that U.S.

imperialism is already getting piece by piece in its favor. More economic enclaves of U.S. imperialism are being put up by U.S. imperialism in the form of plantations enjoying "grower agreements"; "industrial estates"; mining camps and free trade zones like the Mariveles free trade zone.

In an attempt to obscure the fact that it is the main exploiter of the Filipino people, U.S. imperialism is further encouraging its Japanese monopoly wards to participate in the exploitation of the Filipino people. Resurgent Japanese militarism has turned the Philippines into its raw material base and has assumed the status of being the biggest foreign investor next only to the United States. The Marcos fascist puppet clique has long put the unequal Japan-R.P. Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation into effect through executive permits even before its ratification.

Marcos does all sorts of errands for the biggest U.S. running dog in Asia, thus becoming the dog of a dog. He insists that the unequal Japan-R.P. Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation be ratified. Under his regime, Japanese monopoly firms have expanded their business operations in the Philippines. Japan has been relied upon for public construction and for the establishment of new sugar mills and mines. It is now engaged in the construction of the strategic "Japanese Friendship Highway" and is also helping in the establishment of a local munitions plant.

Japanese imperialism has gone deep into the Philippine economy through an extended period of time by using its programme of reparations and "regional arrangements" like the Asian Development Bank, Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and others which are masterminded by U.S. imperialism.

The revisionist countries headed by Soviet social-imperialism are also being manipulated by U.S. imperialism to dangle false hopes to the reactionary government, crop exporters and the national bourgeoisie for relief from the present economic crisis. Soviet social-imperialism wishes to draw super-profits from the Philippines like U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

3. Cultural Situation

The most striking development in the cultural situation of the country today is the rapid growth of mass actions among the student youth and the increasing number of those politically advanced among them who go to the factories and the countryside to arouse the workers and peasants to rise in widespread and concerted mass actions against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

A cultural revolution has broken out. At the beginning of this year and of this decade, an unprecedented storm of demonstrations, people's marches and people's congresses unfolded in Manila with the repeated participation of hundreds of thousands of students, intellectuals workers and peasants in opposition to U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This cultural revolution is essentially a propaganda movement for people's war to achieve national liberation and people's democracy.

The patriotic mass actions surged to an unprecedented high during the entire first quarter of the year. The people, especially the student and out-of-school youth, repeatedly rose up in mass protest despite the concentration of major combat contingents of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to intimidate them and actually to murder some of them. Even as the reactionaries exacted seven deaths from the demonstrations, the people were not cowed but inspired by the martyrdom of their fallen comrades. The Manila demonstrations shock the entire nation and were reflected by demonstrations in other parts of the country. The reactionary state bared fully its nature as a violent instrument of the exploiters and compelled the broad masses of the people to fight back.

Learning a lesson from their experience in city demonstrations that they needed an even greater mass support, the student youth spread out during the summer vacation to factory centers and various parts of the country in a massive movement to arouse the people to revolution. They

had been preceded there by quite a number of their fellow students who had quit school to devote themselves to revolutionary work. Even as the student youth spread out to arouse the masses, the fascist brutes tried vainly to track down their movement and harass those they could come across. The reactionary government hurried to create terror squads like the Barrio Self-Defense Units and the "provincial strike forces".

The entire nation, especially the youth, has been angered by the fascist arrest of the national chairman of Kabataang Makabayan who was conducting rural investigation and mass work in a barrio in Southern Luzon. His arrest, imprisonment and trial on the basis of a fascist law, the Anti-Subversion Law, has been used not only to abuse his democratic rights but also to attack the Kabataang Makabayan and the entire national democratic movement. This event has only served to underscore the numerous abuses inflicted by the fascist state on young militants, which abuses include massacre, selective murder, frame-up, illegal detention and searches, torture, trailing, eavesdropping and the like.

Coming back to school for academic year 1970-71, the students have continued to arouse and mobilize their own ranks. They have found common cause in demanding the freedom of the KM national chairman and the end to persecution of the national democratic movement. They have also intensified their struggle against the reactionary orientation of educational institutions and academic authorities. An upsurge of militant student mass actions is to be expected during the last quarter of the year.

Since last year, the student youth have conducted nationwide campus revolts on issues ranging from the economic to the political. In a moment of crisis as the present, the struggle against higher tuition fees is necessarily joined with the struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. State violence has only served to teach more and more students and people to fight back in great mass.

The predominant influence of U.S. imperialism, under the guise of "liberalism" in the state university has been vigorously repudiated by the students. The exposure of the Americanization of the University of the Philippines has served to arouse students all over the country to question the reactionary orientation of their respective schools. In all state schools, the students condemn the Marcos fascist puppet clique for having funds only for projects that suit U.S. imperialism and the exploiting classes.

Cleric-run schools have been subjected to attacks by their own students as purveyors of medieval obscurantism and reactionary bourgeois ideas. In an attempt to deceive the people, church authorities are busily engaging in "social action" and "ecumenism". Yet they fail to mislead their own students. Clerico-fascist propaganda masterminded both by the Catholic hierarchy and the American Jesuits is mainly directed towards spreading anti-communist hysteria and upholding the present system of oppression and exploitation.

The clamor for a national, scientific and mass culture has stirred the student youth and teachers to their very souls and has involved the entire people. The cultural revolution now raging reflects the struggle for national liberation and people's democracy against the political oppression and economic exploitation inflicted by U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

To draw powerful and correct inspiration, the student youth have turned to the assiduous study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They strive to remould their thinking for fiercer revolutionary struggles. There is now an upsurge in the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought among the student youth, workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. Publications and teach-ins widely disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Quotations from Chairman Mao are courageously written on placards raised in demonstrations and on wall posters. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is guiding the cultural revolution.

Dramatic presentations depicting the heroic struggle of workers, peasants and revolutionary fighters are being made in schools, city plazas and streets and in barrios by the revolutionary youth. They are bringing to the fore the revolutionary struggle of the people in a conscious effort to supplant the reactionary content of the mendacious and vulgar culture peddled by the people's enemies in the radio, movies, TV, comics, magazines and other vehicles of propaganda. The revolutionaries are now trying to infuse revolutionary content in various forms of art and literature.

The fascist puppet chieftain Marcos has not stopped having nightmares since the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrations. Repeatedly he expresses fright at the powerful influence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought among the youth and at the fact that not only the youth but also the oppressed masses have begun to grasp this great fighting and liberating ideology.

Diehard reactionary elements in the schools, press and government who take pride in their reactionary education and opinions are getting fast isolated. The entire cultural system is increasingly regarded as a brainwashing machine designed to produce intellectual robots to support the system of oppression and exploitation.

The propaganda agencies of U.S. imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet clique are further aggravating the counter-revolutionary character of the cultural system. Turning black into white, they picture the exploiting classes and their political representatives as "peace-loving" and "freedom-loving". They obscure the atrocities committed by these monsters against the people.

Reacting to the new wave of revolutionary culture, the reactionaries outrightly dish out anti-communism, revisionism and what is pompously called the New Left. Those who stand on the revolutionary principles of Mao Tsetung Thought are also being misrepresented as anarchists while the reactionaries misrepresent themselves as "men of peace" and as "conciliators" in the class struggle.

All these tactics only serve to isolate the reactionaries further. Their lies are exposed by their own deeds. The cultural revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is exposing their rottenness and hastening their defeat.

4. Military Situation

The fascistisation of Philippine society continues unabated. The present reactionary government is preoccupied with its U.S.-dictated policy of counter-insurgency. It blatantly admits that it is afraid of the broad masses of the people. Bogged down in political and economic crisis, it has to rely on armed force to suppress the growing protests of the people. It tries to make use of anti-communism as its last refuge.

Whereas the Marcos fascist puppet clique repeatedly admits that it has no more funds for its many pompously-labelled projects, it does not hesitate to ask for a P1.4 billion appropriation for "national security" and calls it a small amount. From year to year, appropriation for the reactionary armed forces has risen. The appropriation in 1968-69 was P513 million; and in 1969-70, P670 million. For the fiscal year 1970-71, the appropriation is P740 million. Over and above these open appropriations are funds re-channelled to the armed forces from other items in the budget.

U.S. imperialism is goading the reactionary armed forces to attack the people. During the first half of this year, it supplied \$60 million worth of helicopters, jeeps, armalites, patrol boats and other military goods through the JUSMAG under the U.S.-R.P. Military Assistance Treaty. The A.I.D. Public Safety Division through the Police Commission has stepped up the training of local police forces in "anti-riot" techniques and the installation of communication facilities.

"It is U.S. imperialism which pushes the puppet armed forces to unleash a brutal war against the people. Increasingly, U.S. military advisers are seen in the field on the ground or aboard observation planes.

From the time that the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the formation of the New People's Army came to light, the reactionary armed forces have incessantly waged campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" or search and destroy operations. Underestimating the strength of the people's army, the fascist brutes probed the field with platoon-sized patrols before June 1969. As the New People's Army fought back effectively, the enemy would deploy a battalion and then a whole regiment in conducting raids with the support of helicopter troops. By the end of May 1970, the enemy started to deploy an entire division to swoop down on an unprecedentedly large area at every raid. Task Force Lawin is now often joined by the Tabak Division which is a strategic reserve force.

As the enemy intensifies military operations, more massacres, assassinations, mass arrests, kidnappings and lootings are inflicted on the peasant masses. Peasants are being rounded up to be tortured and then misrepresented in the press as surrenderers from the New People's Army. Under the cover of large military campaigns, the reactionary troops and their gangster agents called the "Monkees" and BSDU's go on a rampage. The Marcos fascist puppet clique imagines that the brutality of its minions will terrify the people. The truth is that it is only hastening the advance of the revolutionary masses.

In Central Luzon, the activities of the "Monkees" have been expanded and intensified despite the mendacious press releases of Marcos and his running dogs "dissolving" these murder outfits several times over. The Home Defense Forces (another name for the infamous U.S.-inspired "special forces") take charge of banding together local ruffians into the so-called Barrio Self-Defense Units. Five to ten military troops supervise the predatory activities of about ten ruffians in every barrio. These outfits are avowedly for protecting the exploiting classes and suppressing Communists and the peasant masses. In the course of their anti-people activities, they engage in murder, extortion, robbery and other evil activities.

To create the false illusion that the BSDU's are publicly demanded, barrio councils are compelled by the Philippine Constabulary and by local tyrant officials to sign resolutions "requesting" the creation of local BSDU's. If a local barrio council so much hesitates to sign the resolution, it is subjected to the worst atrocities such as the Tarlac massacre. The signal for the creation of the BSDU's was the kidnapping and murder of the chairman of the association of barrio captains in Tarlac who led a demonstration of 50,000 peasants in Concepcion, Tarlac against the abuses of the Philippine Constabulary.

The people hate the BSDU's; they have had enough of the civilian guards in the 1945-55 period. Even the factions of the ruling classes that are not yet in power recognize in this monster an instrument of factions incumbently in power for monopolizing seats in the government. The creation of the BSDU's has been used to favor local tyrants subservient to the Marcos fascist puppet clique.

As of July 1970, there were already 304 barrios ruled by BSDU's with a total force of 3,040 members. They are concentrated in Tarlac where there are 164 units. Pampanga has 87 units; Bataan, 29 units; Nueva Ecija, 12 units; Pangasinan, 7 units; and Zambales, 2 units. The enemy makes it a point to cover the whole of the second district of Tarlac and important points at the boundaries of provinces adjacent to Tarlac.

The enemy has been able to pass arms to the BSDU's because of the new supply of weapons from the Jumas to regular troops. Thus, U.S. imperialism is manipulating the landlords and the local gangsters to ride roughshod over the people. In some towns of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, the Masaka (Lava), Armeng Bayan and the "Monkees" collaborate with each other so that there are yet no BSDU's there. These collaborate with each other in attacking the people, the Party and the New People's Army.

All over the country, the Marcos fascist puppet clique enjoins the local tyrants to organize "provincial strike forces". The rise of the revolutionary mass movement is anticipated everywhere. Brute military force is the answer of the enemy to the nationwide campaign of the Party and the New People's Army to arouse the broad masses of the people. But instead of being able to suppress Communists who closely link themselves to the masses, the "provincial strike forces" only hasten the people's understanding of the need for rising up in arms. These murder gangs are used indiscriminately by local tyrants to settle scores even with their non-communist enemies. The pillage of Bantay is a handiwork of Crisologo's "provincial strike forces" in Ilocos Sur. The deadly struggle between the Sulu provincial governor and the mayor of Jolo or between the Ifugao provincial governor and the mayor of Banawe is a struggle of "strike forces". There is actually nothing new in the "strike forces", only another label for the goon squads of local politicians.

The infamous Philcag has been brought home as a result of public indignation and also as a result of its failure as a mercenary force to assist the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. Until now, the Philcag remains an object of public derision for its puppet and corrupt activities in the Vietnam war and also for the private manipulation of funds given by the United States to pay for its equipment, maintenance and services. It has been relabelled as the ACAG (Army Civic Action Group). It has been brought home only to be deployed against the people particularly in Central Luzon. It continues to engage pretentiously in propaganda activities mislabelled as "civic action". Actually it engages mainly in intelligence work and is described in complete scorn by the people as the "eyes and ears" of murderers.

The criminal depredations perpetrated by the reactionary state is not limited to the countryside. Demonstrations and workers' strikes in cities and provincial capitals have been brutally suppressed by the reactionary military troops and police. Unarmed demonstrators and strikers have been attacked with full force in Manila and other urban areas. So many of them have already been murdered and maimed with gunfire and truncheon blows in the course of demonstrations and strikes. Thousands have been wounded and arbitrarily arrested. Patriotic mass organizations and their democratic leaders have been subjected to assassinations, arrests and various forms of harassment.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique shamelessly boasts that it will use all the forces at its command to suppress the democratic rights of the people. It can only fan the flames of revolutionary war in the country. Everyday it finds itself bogged down deeper in its puppetry and is terrified by the advancing waves of the revolutionary mass movement. It finds it necessary to intimidate the people and make frantic preparations for more vicious campaigns of suppression.

U.S. imperialist agents are frenziedly hastening the fascisation of the country. Special warfare training is being intensified under the close supervision of the Jusmag. The C.I.A.-controlled Polcom and the A.I.D. Public Safety Division are tightening their grip on local police forces. The National Defense College and the Philippine Military Academy are being used to teach military officers how to tighten their hold over the reactionary government gradually or through a coup d'etat.

Military officers in the ROTC and PMT are now trying to stop up anti-communist hysteria among the students. Even elementary school children are subjected to a heavier dose of anti-communism from the U.S.I.A., the Peace Corps and the Department of National Defense. Nevertheless, because of the consistent rise of student demonstrations and the fascist suppression of these demonstrations, the officer reserve trained under the ROTC by the reactionary military is now seriously undermined by the fascist brutes themselves. A movement to have the ROTC and PMT abolished is fast growing among students.

More and more out-of-school youth are being called for military training in so-called Home Defense centers. Nevertheless, these trainees only develop contempt for the corrupt and hazing practices perpetrated

by the fascist brutes. An increasing number of the youth being called for training duty now simply refuse to report or they escape from their training camps. Those who cannot escape the draft call think of using their military training in the service of the revolution.

The reactionary state is already politically and economically bankrupt and yet it has a mere 50,000 troops to preserve itself militarily. It cannot give decent wages to its mercenaries. Supplies in camps are big rackets for officials. Even the pension funds for the rank and file are manipulated and pocketed by the officers. The reactionary troops are demoralized and are maltreated and cursed like the filthiest dogs by their own superiors. Troop demoralization on the side of the enemy has reached such a point that top-ranking officers are forced to take to the field themselves in order to direct company operations.

The reactionary state tries to lessen its expenses by organizing the BSDU's. But these units have started to demand compensation and other things given to the regular troops. These units insist on being paid because they are even the ones who are ordered to be out front fighting the battles for the regular troops and who are taking more risks in their barrios. In the absence of any compensation for them, they make use of their arms to rob and extort from the people and thus only incense the people.

Just as the increase of regular military troops is not limitless, that of the BSDU's is likewise not so. Momentarily the organization of BSDU's has been stopped pending the arrival of more arms from the United States. The PC provincial command of Isabela keeps on clamoring for more troop reinforcements and BSDU's but cannot be given enough of such. Every where in the archipelago, the reactionary armed forces are kept occupied by concerted armed uprisings of peasants and national minorities, by strikes and demonstrations and by the increasingly bloodier factional struggles of ruling politicians.

With U.S. imperialism bogged down in so many wars throughout the world, the exploiting classes in the Philippines cannot expect their state power to be limitless in the face of the people and the Communist Party of the Philippines which is assiduously applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

5. Foreign Relations

Caught in insoluble contradictions at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism through its chieftain Nixon has issued the Nixon Doctrine of "making Asians fight Asians". This is clearly a maneuver to pass on to Asian puppets the increasing military burden and cover up the increasing U.S. defeats all over Asia. Nixon has even hypocritically called for "self-reliance" among puppet states like the Philippines. It means to say that there is no more point in talking about "altruism" as U.S. imperialism sucks more and more blood from colonies and semi-colonies.

While the Nixon Doctrine implies that U.S. imperialism is facing total defeat in the Asian mainland, Nixon minces no words in insisting that by all means U.S. imperialism will fight to remain a Pacific power. In this regard, U.S. imperialism will never withdraw from the Philippines unless forced to by the Filipino people through revolutionary struggle. The Philippines is a strategic base for U.S. control of the Pacific and is a forward staging area for U.S. aggression in the whole of Asia. Talks of U.S. withdrawal from Asia are being deliberately spread by the reactionaries to throw cold water on the flaming anti-imperialist struggle.

The Nixon Doctrine is nothing but a formal declaration of the regional collaboration of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism in oppressing and exploiting the Asian people. Japanese militarism has been revived and is being ordered by U.S. imperialism to participate actively in the counter-revolutionary plot against the people, communism and China. In exchange for its services as the fugleman of U.S. imperialism, Japanese

militarism is being accommodated in areas like the Philippines which are under U.S. imperialist domination. Being extremely isolated, U.S. imperialism goes to the extent of foisting the much-hated Japanese militarism on the Asian people.

U.S. imperialism entertains the vain illusion that it can make use of Asian manpower as cannon fodder. It brazenly states that it will only supply weapons and war material to local puppets who will do the fighting. Thus, there are such lies as "Asianization" and "Vietnamization" repeatedly spouted by Nixon. But Nixon never hesitated to deploy U.S. aggressor troops in Cambodia when he saw that the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup merely caused an avalanche of people's war. The U.S. imperialist chieftain describes the mere rotation of troops in Indo-China as "withdrawal" and shamelessly boasts in gangster fashion that he shall not preside over any military defeat of U.S. imperialism.

The Philippine reactionary government is in complete agreement with the U.S. policy of making Japan its fugleman in Asia. The Marcos fascist puppet clique abjectly kowtows to Japan as the "regional leader" in Asia. In no uncertain terms, Marcos has declared that only Japan should fill the "vacuum" that will result from U.S. "withdrawal" from Asia. Japanese militarism boasts of preparing for an all-out war against the Asian people over Taiwan, Korea and what it calls its "entire lifeline" in Asia. The resurgence of Japanese militarism has been due to war profits made possible by the U.S. war of aggression in Korea and lately in Indo-China. Because it has to depend on a raw material base and market abroad which are controlled by U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism has no alternative but to join its imperialist master in launching war for the retention of these.

The U.S.-Japan imperialist combine is being used to keep the Philippines in tow. Their joint control of the Asian Development Bank is a clear manifestation of the "co-prosperity" arrangement between these two imperialist powers. Through Japanese militarism, U.S. imperialism maintains firm control over such "regional alliances" as the Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In turn, U.S. imperialism keeps Japanese militarism in tow through such puppet governments as the Philippines.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is being reinforced by the ASPAC and the ASEAN and is now in the process of reorganization to get rid of such dissatisfied member-nations as France and Pakistan and pave the way for the more aggressive activity of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

When the Marcos fascist puppet clique talks about hewing an "independent" foreign policy, it is merely to help U.S. imperialism tighten its control over its puppets. Marcos proposed the Asian Forum for the purpose, as he himself has admitted, of building up the ASPAC, ASEAN, SEATO and other puppet alliances. Soon after his call for an Asian Forum, the reactionary government ironed out its kinks with "Malaysia", prated more about strengthening puppet alliances in the region and made more bellicose statements against the People's Republic of China.

As soon as the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique made the coup d'etat in Cambodia at the bidding of the C.I.A., the Philippine reactionary government met with other Asian puppets of U.S. imperialism in what they called the "Asian Pacific Conference on Cambodia" which was hosted in Jakarta by the Suharto military fascist clique at the bidding of U.S. imperialism. In this puppet forum, the coup d'etat against the legitimate government of Cambodia was wildly endorsed and the Asian puppet governments talked bellicosely of preserving the "peace, neutrality and independence" of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet clique. They boasted about U.S., Japanese and Soviet support for the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and about their own puppet conspiracy. Marcos calls this gangster meeting a realization of his Asian Forum.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has aggravated its mercenary role in Indo-China. Despite the so-called withdrawal of the Philcag from south Vietnam, Filipino mercenaries still abound not only in one Indo-Chinese country but in the whole of Indo-China under the Philcon, Operations Brotherhood and other aggressive outfits in the pay of U.S. imperialism.

In line with the U.S. imperialist policy of employing Soviet social-imperialism against China, communism, revolution and the people, the Philippine reactionary government is steadily establishing relations with the revisionist countries headed by the Soviet social-imperialists. Several economic and cultural missions from the revisionist countries have already paved the way for diplomatic and trade relations with Soviet social-imperialism.

The amount of Philippine-Soviet contacts so far made has been turned into an occasion for reactionaries to whitewash the Marcos fascist puppet clique as "left-leaning" and "independent". The Soviet monopoly bureaucrat capitalists find the local puppet bureaucrat capitalists convenient tools for the plunder of Philippine natural resources and raw materials as they have found the bureaucrat capitalists in India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries.

On all international issues within and without the U.S.-controlled United Nations, the Philippine reactionary government has obdurately taken the counter-revolutionary line set by U.S. imperialism. The reactionaries either raucously attack the People's Republic of China or endorse a two-China policy. They cling tightly to U.S. imperialism in every eventuality in Southeast Asia. They play up every nuance of imperialist and Zionist propaganda against the Palestinian and Arab people. To know the policies of the U.S. State Department is to know the foreign policy of the Philippine reactionary government. What is utterly wrong in this regard is the betrayal of national interests and of genuine internationalism in favor of U.S. imperialism.

IV. The Rapid Growth of the Party

1. Ideological

The Communist Party of the Philippines has been re-established under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It continues to be built in accordance with this correct proletarian ideology. It recognizes the principle that party building is first of all ideological building. Party cadres and members in mass organizations as well as in the New People's Army are deeply aware that the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought is of primary importance. Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.

The living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought has been enthusiastically carried out by Party cadres and members and a rapidly increasing number of people outside the Party. The Party Central Committee has indefatigably led the Revolutionary School of Mao Tsetung Thought as the higher Party school, Ang Bayan (The People) as the central publication of the Party and the education department of the Party secretariat in the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The rectification movement continues without let-up against the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas emanating from such anti-Party and anti-communist traitors as the black bourgeois gang of the Lava's and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique as well as those emanating from abroad, principally from the Soviet social-imperialist scoundrels.

Being circulated extensively as the basic documents of the Party and the people's army are Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung and Five Golden Rays ("Serve the People", "In Memory of Norman Bethune", "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains", "Combat Liberalism" and "Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party"). Translation work is being vigorously undertaken in order to make available to the toiling masses of workers and peasants more writings of Chairman Mao.

Embodying the efforts of the Party in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the concrete conditions of the Philippines is the Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines which is a compilation of "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party", "Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution", "Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines", "Statement of the New People's Army" and the "Rules of the New People's Army".

Philippine Society and Revolution is another document which strives from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to present the history, basic problems, character, motive forces, targets, strategy and tactics and perspective of the Philippine revolution. This is a basic textbook for mass political education as well as for basic ideological training within the Party.

The firm unity now obtaining in Party ranks is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Close links are maintained with the broad masses of the people on this basis. Criticism and self-criticism to improve work and style of work is conducted regularly and as often as necessary. The entire Party always analyzes and sums up its experiences under the clear illumination of Mao Tsetung Thought.

A high tide in the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been kept up since the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. As a matter of fact, this is at the core of the upsurge of the national democratic cultural revolution that is sweeping the whole country and fanning the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

Cadres and members of the Party are being tempered in the furnace of the revolutionary mass movement. Their grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been made more firm through revolutionary practice. Their theoretical knowledge has been enriched by the process of turning revolutionary ideas into a material force against the enemy.

2. Political

Since the re-establishment of the Communist Party, unprecedentedly great mass struggles have broken out in both city and countryside. These prove the correctness and effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the supreme guide of the Party in making revolution. In so short a time, the Party has been able to hold firmly the leadership in the revolutionary mass movement.

The Party has succeeded in bringing the broad masses of the people around itself. The broad masses of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia all look up to the Party for revolutionary leadership, whether it be in city demonstrations and strikes or in the armed struggle in the countryside.

The road of armed revolution has been opened. More and more people are joining the united front against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The upsurge of cultural revolution all over the country has cleared the way for the intensification of the armed struggle. The spark of the armed struggle is turning into a prairie fire.

We are indefatigably building the organs of political power in the countryside, the barrio organizing committees and the revolutionary barrio committees. We are also organizing underground committees of revolutionary workers, students and intellectuals and residents in cities and town centers. Our mass organizations and armed propaganda teams are all over the country to arouse the people.

As this decade started, the people's cry for armed revolution drowned out the empty slogan of "peaceful revolution" raised by the reactionaries. Resort to deception and armed force by the reactionaries has only enraged the people into fiercer revolutionary action. The political and economic bankruptcy of the reactionary state has become too obvious.

The enemy is frenziedly hunting for Communists. The Marcos fascist puppet clique raves mad about the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We can only be complimented by the attacks made by the enemy. But no matter how savagely he tries to hunt us down, he cannot get us. That is because we are so closely linked with the broad masses of the people.

The enemy is so completely at a loss that it even tries to dangle the bait of legalizing the Party and offering amnesty while at the same launching every form of suppressive and intimidatory action against the Party and the people.

The ideological difference between real Communists and sham communists has become more conspicuous in the course of massive political struggles. Both the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique have not only excluded themselves from the great mass struggles but have also sought to attack them out of desperation. Everytime that they open their mouths against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the truly patriotic mass organizations, they only succeed in displaying their treachery and isolation from the broad masses of the people. These traitors to the revolutionary cause have become as isolated as the Marcos fascist puppet clique which they always try hard to please.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is courageously and firmly wielding the two weapons of armed struggle and national united front under the powerful inspiration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

3. Armed Struggle

In so short a time following its re-establishment, the Party has succeeded in forming the New People's Army by repudiating the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and by uniting all Red fighters and commanders who have persisted in revolutionary armed struggle.

The revolutionary armed struggle led by the Party is daily gaining strength and expanding its area of operations. The New People's Army has won brilliant victories in the battlefield over the reactionary armed forces and has steadily wiped out local spies and tyrants despite the continuous enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" or "search and destroy" operations.

Within the period of March 29, 1969 to March 29, 1970, the level of revolutionary armed struggle was raised with more than 200 enemy troops, spies and local tyrants wiped out in at least 80 operations fully supported by the masses. In addition, 17 U.S. military personnel were punished, with 11 of them killed and 6 seriously wounded. Starting from a capability of annihilating isolated enemy troops, spies and local tyrants one by one, the New People's Army progressed to annihilating half squads. Now it can annihilate whole squads and scores of encamped enemy troops and BSDU's which are in platoon size.

Since the beginning of this year, our attacks against the enemy have become fiercer and more frequent. The rate at which we are launching operations and at which we are annihilating the enemy is at least double the rate of last year.

The organization of the BSDU's has only served to spread the strength of the enemy thinly. There are now more isolated outposts to attack than before and diehard counter-revolutionary elements of the barrios have become more exposed. While enemy troops in division size have been frequently concentrated against us, their movement have been an occasion for our circling round and attacking enemy weak points not only in Central Luzon but also elsewhere.

The fiercer the enemy becomes the more he incurs the ire of the people whom he arbitrarily attacks. The application of counter-insurgency

The enemy is frenziedly hunting for Communists. The Marcos fascist puppet clique raves mad about the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We can only be complimented by the attacks made by the enemy. But no matter how savagely he tries to hunt us down, he cannot get us. That is because we are so closely linked with the broad masses of the people.

The enemy is so completely at a loss that it even tries to dangle the bait of legalizing the Party and offering amnesty while at the same launching every form of suppressive and intimidatory action against the Party and the people.

The ideological difference between real Communists and sham communists has become more conspicuous in the course of massive political struggles. Both the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique have not only excluded themselves from the great mass struggles but have also sought to attack them out of desperation. Everytime that they open their mouths against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the truly patriotic mass organizations they only succeed in displaying their treachery and isolation from the broad masses of the people. These traitors to the revolutionary cause have become as isolated as the Marcos fascist puppet clique which they always try hard to please.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is courageously and firmly wielding the two weapons of armed struggle and national united front under the powerful inspiration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

3. Armed Struggle

In so short a time following its re-establishment, the Party has succeeded in forming the New People's Army by repudiating the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and by uniting all Red fighters and commanders who have persisted in revolutionary armed struggle.

The revolutionary armed struggle led by the Party is daily gaining strength and expanding its area of operations. The New People's Army has won brilliant victories in the battlefield over the reactionary armed forces and has steadily wiped out local spies and tyrants despite the continuous enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" or "search and destroy" operations.

Within the period of March 29, 1969 to March 29, 1970, the level of revolutionary armed struggle was raised with more than 200 enemy troops, spies and local tyrants wiped out in at least 80 operations fully supported by the masses. In addition, 17 U.S. military personnel were punished, with 11 of them killed and 6 seriously wounded. Starting from a capability of annihilating isolated enemy troops, spies and local tyrants one by one, the New People's Army progressed to annihilating half squads. Now it can annihilate whole squads and scores of encamped enemy troops and BSDU's which are in platoon size.

Since the beginning of this year, our attacks against the enemy have become fiercer and more frequent. The rate at which we are launching operations and at which we are annihilating the enemy is at least double the rate of last year.

The organization of the BSDU's has only served to spread the strength of the enemy thinly. There are now more isolated outposts to attack than before and diehard counter-revolutionary elements of the barrios have become more exposed. While enemy troops in division size have been frequently concentrated against us, their movement have been an occasion for our circling round and attacking enemy weak points not only in Central Luzon but also elsewhere.

The fiercer the enemy becomes the more he incurs the ire of the people whom he arbitrarily attacks. The application of counter-insurgency

tactics not only in Central Luzon but in other parts of the country has only served to aggravate the internal contradiction among politicians of the ruling classes and to teach the masses to defend themselves and assert their own power through armed struggle. The enemy is stupidly importing tactics that have failed in south Vietnam.

The successful ambushes, raids and arrests being made by the New People's Army in the plains of Tarlac and Pampanga and some other provinces is possible only because of its close links with the broad masses of the people, especially with the peasants, and because of its utter devotion to their national democratic interests. The people have become thoroughly hateful of the abuses perpetrated by the fascist brutes of the reactionary state. The New People's Army has always put politics in command of military activities. No military operation has ever been launched without a thorough consideration of its service to the people.

The number of Red fighters and commanders have increased several-fold. There are more armed propaganda teams and guerrilla squads and platoons that the enemy has to reckon with. There are now widespread militia units to give auxiliary support to the regular units of the New People's Army. The regular and irregular units of the New People's Army are no longer confined to one or two provinces or a few towns. Guerrilla zones in Northern and Central Luzon are increasing and expanding rapidly.

The Party and the people's army are exerting every effort to develop guerrilla warfare at several points in the archipelago. The expansion and consolidation of guerrilla zones are being conducted with the view of creating one or more stable base areas. ~~Certain areas have already been identified as the most promising.~~

The New People's Army has inspired the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in urban areas. In turn the gigantic demonstrations have inspired the New People's Army to greater effort. The Party is firmly upholding the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in both city and countryside.

4. Organizational

Democratic centralism is faithfully followed in the Communist Party of the Philippines and in the New People's Army. The essence of this organizational principle is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. ~~There is conscious discipline in the ranks of Party members and the Red fighters.~~ This accounts for the organizational strength of the Party.

Party branches and groups have been set up in the mass organizations and in the New People's Army. Cadres within the people's army and in mass organizations have arduously worked together to create people's organizing committees in barrios, factories, schools and other areas to serve as the organs of political power or as the embryonic organs of political power.

The Party has taken roots in the six regional areas defined by the First Plenum of the Central Committee. These are Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Greater Manila, Southern Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The distribution of the Party strength is uneven as in the nature of all things in development. In four regions, the Party has struck deep roots in the countryside. In all regions, ideological work is being carried out to prepare for further organizational and political advance by the Party.

From the current upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement, the most advanced elements are being sifted to be developed as cadres and members of the Party. The new Party cadres and members will in turn ~~create greater mass struggles which again will create more Party cadres and members.~~

Though the actual number of Party cadres and members is still relatively small, their capabilities have been well tested by the current upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in the city and countryside. They have been able to prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and of the political leadership of the Party. In the

next few years, the Party is certain to grow big and strong on the basis of revolutionary struggle.

Since the First Plenum of the Central Committee, the number of revolutionary cadres abandoning the old Communist Party and joining the ranks of genuine Communists has been mounting. The bankruptcy of the Lava revisionist renegades has become all too clear. We have also welcomed into our ranks a number of comrades who at first were hoodwinked by the revisionist scoundrels and who attacked us but did not commit serious offense. We welcome them because they have proven their sincerity.

We have a fighting, hard-working and persevering Central Committee which uses every second of an hour for the revolutionary cause. That the Party Central Committee shares the risks and sacrifices of the rank and file of the Party and the people's army is well-proven by the martyrdom of a number of our comrades in the Central Committee. To them we pay the highest and most heartfelt tribute for laying down their lives in the service of the people.

To all Party members and Red fighters who have suffered martyrdom and torture in the hands of the enemy we pay tribute equal to that which we pay to our fallen comrades in the Central Committee. They have not died or suffered in vain. Their sacrifices have greatly contributed to the advance of the Philippine revolution. We will continue to avenge their death. We will always turn our grief over the passing of our comrades into revolutionary strength.

5. Production and Finance

The Party and the New People's Army have production units. These are completely integrated with the revolutionary struggle. In certain cases, these can take care of a great portion of the needs of particular fighting and organizing units of the Party.

The greater portion of the over-all income of the Party and the New People's Army, accounting for about 90 per cent, is in the form of voluntary cash and grain contributions from friends of the revolution, mainly from the peasant masses. We have always followed the policy of receiving contributions from the oppressed masses with the closest consideration of how much we have actually done to serve them or increase their own income. We have been willing to receive only a very small fraction of any increase of income among them resulting from rent reduction or effective seizure of landlord property.

In the case of contributing allies, we have always made it a point to maintain our independence and initiative even while accepting their aid. In return, we protect their legitimate interests and we avoid putting them in difficult situation.

Direct and exclusive income for the Party and the New People's Army from the confiscation of enemy property has been marginal. Confiscation of cash from the enemy is practically nil. From annihilated military personnel, we have only taken away their arms and ammunitions.

The income of the Party and the New People's Army is limited and irregular in quantity. But it can adequately sustain a certain regular level of activity which we have maintained. The Party manages to support Party cadres and units of the New People's Army in expansion work.

The Party has endlessly emphasized the need for self-reliance. An austere style of living is demanded of all Party cadres and members and Red commanders and fighters. Every centavo is accounted for. Allowances for personal needs are now collectively decided by every unit of the Party or people's army to which the individual belongs.

There are some comrades who expect heavy material support from fraternal parties. The best support that our comrades abroad can extend and have extended to us takes the form of political support. We are already enormously supported by their resolute revolutionary struggle against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

V. Tasks of the Party

A. Build the Party!

In building a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat, the most important and fundamental task is to raise the ideological consciousness of the entire Party membership through the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. There must be a definite educational plan and curricula ranging from the basic to the advanced. To deepen, realize and heighten the ideological consciousness of the entire Party, sustained political campaigns must be waged in order to arouse and mobilize the masses. There must be clear policies emanating from the leading organs. To sustain the revolutionary struggle and lead the ever surging waves of the masses, the Party must constantly be enlarged and must draw the most advanced elements from the masses. There must be an organizational plan to build the membership of the Party in the ranks of the proletariat, peasantry, students and intelligentsia.

1. Educational Plan

In all study courses as well as during practical work, the Five Golden Rays and the Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung should be used extensively and often referred to in the ideological remoulding of entire units and individual members of the Party.

All study courses should fall under the direction of the Revolutionary School of Mao Tsetung Thought. However, it is the responsibility of ~~the education department to handle instruction in primary and intermediate~~ courses from the branch to the regional level. Studies should be conducted locally. At this stage, however, the central office of the education department should often take a direct hand in instruction in order to develop cadres for the people's army and local Party organizations.

The primary course should cover Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people, the people's democratic revolution, Party history, Party programme, Party constitution, history of the people's army, rules of the New People's Army, organs of political power and the current political report of the Central Committee. The basic texts of the primary curriculum should include Philippine Society and Revolution, Guide for Party Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, On People's War, Organs of Political Power and the current political report of the Central Committee.

The intermediate course should cover materialist philosophy, class analysis and social investigation, party building, armed struggle, united front, economic work and land reform, and culture. Complete texts of the writings of Chairman Mao should be studied. These are contained in the list entitled "Schedule of Reading, Translation, Reproduction and Distribution of Chairman Mao's Works". Those attending school are expected to have read these in advance and to express their understanding of Chairman Mao's works and bring up theoretical and practical problems for exhaustive discussion. At the present stage, cadres assigned to work of district scope should undergo the intermediate course.

Upon the recommendation of the education department, those who have finished the intermediate course shall take the advanced course under the central teaching staff of the higher Party school, the Revolutionary School of Mao Tsetung Thought. The advanced course should cover dialectical materialism, political economy, history of the international communist movement, strategy and tactics, and the Party. The texts for study should include the works of the great Communist thinkers: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung.

The Central Committee should lead in ideological study. It should hold theoretical conferences as often as once in four months or in combination with timely working conferences. It should cause to be published in Ang Bayan articles and directives that concern problems that arise from time to time so that the Party rank and file can be guided properly and

participate in the tackling of problems. Wherever they are, members of the Central Committee should lead in ideological study on a daily basis.

Publications of the Party Central Committee, Ang Bayan and special pamphlets, should be diligently distributed to all Party members. All Party members should be made aware of important developments throughout the country and the world. Local publications, newspapers or leaflets, should be put out by local cadres subject to control by leading Party organs.

The Party should ceaselessly conduct mass education not only to raise the consciousness of the masses in general but also to develop Party members from their ranks. Mass schooling should be undertaken by Party members, branches, groups or teams. Philippine Society and Revolution, Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung and the three constantly read articles ("Serve the People", "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" and "In Memory of Norman Bethune") are the basic texts for mass schooling. The basic principles of revolution should be related to the concrete local situation. The cadres can impart revolutionary principles to the masses in a simple and effective way only after learning the local situation through close investigation.

Educational mobilization of the masses should be effected for revolutionary struggle. Party cadres should frequently conduct struggle meetings in order to strengthen their revolutionary outlook and denounce the exploiting classes in a concrete way. In this manner, the masses also educate themselves and assume responsibility for their own struggle. ~~By letting the masses speak up, the Party can choose those who are most~~ articulate, boldest and most reliable in opposing the enemy. The Party can also draw from the masses the sharpest slogans to cast against the enemy in this manner.

Cultural activities should be conducted among the people in order to advance the revolutionary propaganda of the proletariat. Stage performances, especially drama, song festivals and speeches, should be utilized to the fullest extent to arouse the people for a new democratic revolution.

The unity and discipline of the Party can be maintained and strengthened only by doing our ideological work well. Our link with the masses can withstand the worst attacks of the enemy only if we have done well in our propaganda work.

2. Political Mobilization

All Party members should recognize the importance of policy. The Party Central Committee exists to decide on policy. Without a policy on a situation, there would be confusion even if the most diligent efforts were exerted by everyone. There must always be a guide in doing things.

The Party Central Committee and all leading organs should take the matter of policy seriously. Correct policies should be drawn from revolutionary practice. It is extremely important for leading bodies to meet regularly and as often as necessary in order to receive reports and to analyze and sum up the situation so that policies can be correctly laid down in a collective way.

It is our constant policy to arouse and mobilize the masses for revolution. Any deviation from this single policy is counter-revolutionary.

The Party should maintain and intensify its leadership over the great mass struggles that have erupted in both city and countryside. It should consistently engage in mass work in the ranks of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia so as to be able to lead and launch bigger revolutionary mass actions against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It should build mass organizations of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia and place itself at their core. Through the

gigantic and militant actions of these mass organizations, the Party can advance the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution. The ultimate object of all mass actions is to spread and heighten the consciousness of the need for people's war to counteract the rise of fascism and the intensified political and economic oppression of the people.

The Party should make use of the mass struggles initiated by the students and the intelligentsia to effect a nationwide new awakening to the need for armed revolution in the face of increased oppression and exploitation. Immediately in the city, the Party should bring together the most advanced activists from the ranks of the students and the intelligentsia with the bigger masses of workers. They should also be encouraged to go to their respective provinces of origin to promote the people's democratic revolution among the oppressed masses in their own hometowns and barrios.

The Party should take steps to arouse and mobilize the workers into political and economic struggles. These will certainly entail attacking the oppression of the people by the reactionary government, exploitative employers and yellow labor leaders. Workers' caucuses must be used to start campaigns of exposing the rottenness of the entire system and educating the workers on the necessity of staging general strikes and the inevitability of armed revolution. These should lead to the organization of workers' organizing committees and then genuine unions with a Party branch at the core.

In the countryside, the peasant masses should be aroused and mobilized in order to weaken and destroy the pillars of feudalism. Among the rural masses, ~~barrio organizing committees and then revolutionary barrio~~ committees with a Party branch at the core should be organized. The peasant masses must be made to recognize the need for armed force to achieve their ends. Stable base areas and guerrilla zones must be created among them in order to advance the entire people's democratic revolution. Farm workers, the national minorities, fishermen, and transportation, logging and mining workers must be given close attention in areas where they are to be found with the peasant masses.

The Party can be strong only if it succeeds in transforming the masses into a vast sea of flames where the enemies of the people's democratic revolution are consumed. The mass line must be firmly grasped by the Party so that it enjoys at every step the all-powerful support of the masses.

3. Organizational Plan

With the present number of Party members as a clear base, it must be clear as to how the general membership can be increased. It is good enough that though the present number of members is relatively small, they are already capable of carrying out great mass struggles and waging armed struggle. But as the ruling system becomes more rotten and the people become more eager to strike blows at the enemy, the Party must have more cadres and members to be able to perform its revolutionary leadership adequately.

There must be an organizational plan to build the Party within the New People's Army and in mass organizations. In our present guerrilla zones, the New People's Army can be expected to make a bigger harvest of victories only if the Party within it is strong and also if at the same time the Party in local areas is strong. Having a Party that is organizationally strong and that is soundly based on the masses is a guarantee for the growth and success of the New People's Army and the consolidation of people's democratic power.

All-out efforts should be made within the next whole year to accomplish the organization of the six regional committees of Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Greater Manila, Southern Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Where there are already regional committees of a provisional and appointive character, all-out efforts should be made to have regional committees

elected by provincial and district Party representatives. We must exert all efforts to have at least provisional regional committees in those regions where we have only a few Party members. These shall be organized and strengthened under the supervision of the Central Committee with the assistance of the organization department.

In establishing Party regional committees, the Central Committee should see to it that the committee members are of the highest ideological and political quality and are resourceful in conducting organizational work. They should be able to draft a regional programme of action based on their local investigation and actual mass work.

Party branches should be set up where they can be set up. But the Central Committee and all other leading organs should see to it that there are areas of priority to which Party cadres can be assigned to conduct mass work, Party building and army building. These areas of priority should be determined by the Central Committee in order to achieve the wisest disposition of reliable Party cadres available for expansion work.

The correct form of organization and organizing method based on the mass line should be grasped by all Party cadres and members. People's organizing committees, such as barrio committees in the rural areas and workers' committees and student committees, should be formed to prepare for mass struggles and Party building.

Democratic centralism should be the main guiding principle in the organizational life of the Party. The leading organs should meet as often as necessary to strengthen ideological and political unity. They should receive reports both regularly and on a timely basis from lower organs and units. At the same time, frequent consultations with lower Party organizations within the New People's Army and in local areas should be made so that the leading organs will always have intimate, correct and sufficient knowledge of the situation and will be able to direct the revolutionary struggle.

B. Build the New People's Army!

To build the New People's Army, the Party must accelerate political-military training and raise the level of armed struggle, carry out firmly the revolutionary agrarian policy and move towards the establishment of base areas. The Party must respond to the people's call for armed revolution now reverberating in both city and countryside.

1. Military Training and Armed Struggle

There must be a political-military training programme. It should be intended mainly to develop cadres who can serve as commanders and political commissars in the New People's Army. This training is not only intended to develop combat skills. It is conducted in a way as to put the New People's Army under the command of politics, under the leadership of the Party. It is thereby to build a people's army that is good in political and ideological work, good in working style, good in military training and good in arranging everyday life.

After finishing their political-military training, Party cadres should be immediately dispatched to lead or join armed propaganda teams or guerrilla units. The cumulative increase of cadres for the people's army will certainly lead to the emergence of larger fighting forces and more fighting fronts, and will also heighten the quality of the present fighting units of the New People's Army. The level of armed struggle should be raised on the basis of ample political preparations.

In the near future, the New People's Army should be able to annihilate repeatedly a platoon or a company of the enemy at an average per operation. While making an ambush or attacking an isolated outpost, reinforcements should also be attacked and their paths mined. This is a dialectical development of the present capacity of the New People's Army to easily annihilate a squad of the enemy.

Our guerrilla squads and platoons should in due time develop into guerrilla companies. These should in turn develop into regular mobile forces in the future. In preparation for further growth, our fighting units which are dispersed to arouse and to organize the masses should be repeatedly concentrated to launch larger operations which are not possible when these are dispersed. At all times, we should maintain our guerrilla units and militia units both in areas where we have regular mobile forces and where we do not yet have them. The armed city partisans should specialize in sabotage work and in limited punitive actions.

2. Revolutionary Agrarian Policy

The Party should see to it that the New People's Army carries out what is mainly a peasant war. A revolutionary agrarian policy should be implemented in the countryside so as to get the massive support of the peasantry for the people's democratic revolution.

Our guerrilla zones cannot be expanded and consolidated without fulfilling certain reforms that a genuine people's army should conduct. Rent and interest rates should be greatly reduced and local landlord despots, local bullies, fascist marauders and bad elements like bandits and cattle-rustlers should be punished and done away with. There should be a great difference between our presence and absence in a particular area. When we are around, the peasant masses should enjoy so many benefits that they inevitably lose should the enemy take full control of the area.

The peasant masses should be made to realize that should the New People's Army wipe out the counter-revolutionary armed forces, feudal and bureaucrat tyrants and bad elements in a given area, it shall be in a position to distribute land to those who have none or those who do not have enough, wipe out usury completely, heighten productive cooperation among the peasants and strengthen the people's organs of political power.

In carrying out the agrarian policy of the Party, the New People's Army should arouse and mobilize the masses to attack their own exploiters and assert their democratic power. We should never flinch from our policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants, winning over the middle peasants and neutralizing the rich peasants to isolate the enemy.

Without losing sight of the main direction of their work and of their attacks against the enemy, the Party and the people's army should employ guerrilla zones to open the way for the development of one or more stable base areas and to be able to strike at the enemy at several points.

3. Stable Base Areas

Three basic conditions must be gradually fulfilled for a stable base area to emerge: the people's armed forces are well built up; the enemy has repeatedly suffered defeats; and the people are aroused.

At this early stage, we should seriously consider creating an armed independent regime. Conditions for survival and growth of a stable base area should be properly attended to. These are: 1) a sound mass base; 2) a sound Party organization; 3) a fairly strong Red army; 4) terrain favorable to military operations; and 5) economic resources sufficient for sustenance.

To be able to win the revolution we must be able to destroy the enemy in ever increasing numbers. This will entail and result in the liberation of large areas by the New People's Army.

The Party and the New People's Army should have a good grasp of the strategy and tactics of people's war. There should be a clear view now as to how to create stable base areas. These shall be the centers of gravity for widespread guerrilla actions.

C. Build the United Front!

The Party must build a united front for armed struggle. In this regard, the revisionist renegades and other saboteurs of the Philippine revolution have no place in the united front envisioned by the Party. The Party must use the weapon of united front as its shield and the weapon of armed struggle as its spear in making its resolute revolutionary advance. Wielding one weapon without the other will be damaging to the Party and the people.

Now that the Party has the New People's Army, it should have the National Democratic Front in due time in order to combine all patriotic and progressive forces against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The committee entrusted with the task of preparing for the establishment of the front should perform the task of coordinating patriotic classes, organizations, groups and personages under the principle of a national united front.

The programme of the National Democratic Front must affirm the general line of national democratic revolution and must be in basic agreement with our Party's Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution. All patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups and personages participating in the front must be allowed initiative and independence and must maintain the broadest unity and cooperation against the enemies of national liberation and democracy.

The Party must strive to build the national united front on the following ten points:

1. Fight for national democracy against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism;
2. Create people's organizing committees to arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people for armed revolution;
3. Campaign for the establishment of a united front government of all democratic classes, parties, groups and individuals;
4. Adopt a truly democratic system of representation based on free and popular elections undominated by the reactionary parties;
5. Give material and moral support to the people's armed forces;
6. Solve the land problem by liberating the peasants from landlord oppression and fostering agricultural cooperation;
7. Build a national economy free from foreign monopolies and protect the people's livelihood;
8. Promote a national, scientific and popular culture;
9. Unite with all national minorities with genuine respect for their rights to local autonomy; and
10. Support the international united front against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Japanese militarism and all reaction, and maintain an active and independent foreign policy based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Draft Approved by the
POLITICAL BUREAU
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
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