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# HAIL THE 30<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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**W**ith boundless joy, we hail and celebrate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, as the advanced detachment of the working class, under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, on December 26, 1968.

Since then, the Filipino people under the leadership of the Party have won brilliant victories in the new-democratic revolution against the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class, which are in the service of US imperialism.

Our victories have been won through revolutionary struggle, hard work and sacrifices. For these we salute and honor our revolutionary martyrs, the Party cadres and members, the Red commanders and fighters, the personnel of the organs of political power, the militants in the mass organizations, all allies in the united front and the broad masses of the people.

Thirty years ago, the Party was reestablished with only a few scores of full and candidate-members concentrated in two regions of the country. Now, it has some tens of thousands of Party members who are deeply rooted among the workers and peasants on a nationwide scale. It is present in more than 60

## INTRODUCTION

provinces, hundreds of towns and cities and thousands of villages. It has grown in strength and advanced through fierce revolutionary struggle.

There were only a few hundreds of advanced mass activists in trade unions, in peasant associations and in the youth movement in 1968. Now, they run into several tens of thousands and they support the Party cadres and members in leading a wide array of aboveground and underground mass organizations whose total membership run into hundreds of thousands.

When the Party established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, this had only some 60 Red fighters, armed with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior weapons. The rural mass base consisted of some 80,000 peasants in one district of one province.

Now, the NPA has thousands of Red fighters equivalent to several regiments. It operates in some 60 guerrilla fronts covering substantial portions of 15 regions of the country. It is armed with firearms seized from the enemy. It is augmented by tens of thousands of men and women in the militia and self-defense units. Its mass base runs into several millions of people, mainly in the rural areas.

The domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the world capitalist system are now in the throes of an unprecedented crisis. Because of the rectification movement, the Party is in a strong position to take advantage of this crisis. It is working hard to further arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the revolutionary cause, for their own national and social liberation from oppression and exploitation.

In the last 30 years, the Party has been able to demonstrate to the entire world that it is possible and necessary to wage protracted people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country that is an important foothold of US imperialism in Asia. We are confident that people's war can arise in more countries in the face of the grave economic and social crisis that has impoverished and oppressed most countries of the world.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is ever

determined to uphold, defend and advance Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and wage the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war as a matter of proletarian internationalist duty. We are ever hopeful that by carrying out armed revolution in the Philippines, we can help bring about the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement. We are certain that the world proletariat and oppressed peoples will intensify all forms of revolutionary struggle.

## **I. Unprecedented Global Crisis and Disorder**

Not so long ago, when the Soviet Union and the revisionist regimes disintegrated and gave way to undisguised capitalism, the imperialists, the local reactionaries and renegades were beside themselves with glee in proclaiming the permanence of the world capitalist system, the futility of armed revolution and socialism and the availability of civil society through reformism under the imperialist and client states.

The imperialists have recycled the antiquated language of laissez-faire capitalism to fan the rapacity of monopoly-capitalism. Now, the world capitalist system is in a crisis unprecedented since the Great Depression. Modern imperialism again proves itself as the highest and final stage of the development of capitalism: parasitic, destructive and moribund.

At the root of the crisis of monopoly capitalism is the acceleration of profit-taking from the proletariat and the people, the rapid concentration and centralization of productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly capitalists, the pushing down of wage and living conditions to counter the falling rate of profit and the shrinkage of the world market, and the crisis of overproduction.

The rising social character of production through the adoption of higher technology, concentrated in the imperialist countries, is in greater contradiction with the monopoly capitalist mode of appropriating the values created by the working people. And yet the monopoly-bourgeoisie uses the rationale and

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slogans of laissez-faire capitalism and “free market” globalization to tighten the outmoded capitalist relations of production.

Abandoning the social pretenses of Keynesian economic policy and adopting “neoliberal” economic policy since the beginning of the ’80s, the monopoly bourgeoisie has regarded its capital as the creative factor in expanding production and has blamed as the cause of stagnation and inflation the supposedly rising wage levels and governmental social spending.

Thus, all over the world, the monopoly bourgeoisie has used the imperialist and client states and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO (previously GATT) to push down wage and living conditions and cut back on social spending and to accelerate the enlargement of private monopoly capital through privatization, deregulation and trade and investment liberalization.

The imperialists, their bureaucratic agents and propagandists decry social welfare but acclaim the delivery of tax cuts and public assets and funds to the private monopoly firms. They decry social spending but acclaim huge military spending. They decry state intervention in the economy if an anti-imperialist or socialist state musters public resources for industrial development but acclaim the delivery of subsidies, contracts and bailouts to the private monopoly capitalists by the state.

In conjunction with the accelerated concentration of productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, there are such conspicuous phenomena as the following: the unprecedented overvaluation or inflation of private assets through the workings of finance capital, the rising level of chronic mass unemployment, the plunging of incomes and the barbaric suppression of the rights of the working people and the chronic overproduction of all types of goods relative to the shrinking market.

“Globalization” is a term used by the imperialists to obscure the precise scientific

term, imperialism, as defined by Lenin. It is a complete misnomer, a revival of Kautsky’s ultra-imperialism, when it is used to suggest that the monopoly bourgeoisie is spreading productive capital on a widening scale to promote economic development, employment and the growth of the industrial proletariat in underdeveloped countries.

Prior to the massive flight of capital from the so-called emerging markets, more than 80 percent of the global flow of direct investments were concentrated on the US, Western Europe and Japan. More than one-third of the less than 20 percent, flowing to some ten “emerging markets”, went to China, particularly to the eastern coast enclaves. The three global centers of capitalism and China accounted for more than 90 percent of the global flow of direct investments.

The United States is the strongest global center of capitalism and attracts investments from Japan and the European Union because of relatively higher rates of profit and interest. The US has used its lead in high technology and its financial power as well as its political power to undertake an export drive and tighten control over oil and other strategic resources.

But fundamental weaknesses of the US economy persist and worsen, such as its accumulated trade deficits and ever-rising federal debt and the drastic reduction of regular tenured employment in favor of temporary and part-time jobs, especially in the service sector. To the extent that the US has succeeded in its export drive, it has been at the expense of its allies among the imperialist and client countries.

However, the economic and financial collapses in the “emerging markets” adversely affect the US economy. The spread of the crisis from East Asia to Russia and further on to Latin America, especially Brazil, is cutting down US exports, increasing cheap imports to the US, bringing down profit rates, causing bad loans and bankruptcies, and intensifying competition with its imperialist allies.

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Japan has been hardest hit by the capitalist crisis of overproduction and by the megacompetition with its imperialist allies. Its domestic economy has been in a state of stagnation since the bursting of the bubble in the early ‘90s. Its growth rate has gone negative since three years ago. Its crisis has been so severe that Keynesian pump-priming through public works since the early ‘90s has proven futile.

Its problems of unemployment and reduced domestic consumption are growing. The contradiction between its own domestic economy and its overseas plants in the US and East Asia continue to grow. Domestically, Japan has not recovered from its problem of bad loans. This is aggravated by bad loans to the “emerging markets” in East Asia. It is compelled to hold on to a huge amount of US bonds in order to keep down the value of the yen and promote its exports in a shrinking global market.

The European Union is also hard hit by the capitalist crisis of overproduction and by megacompetition with its imperialist allies. It has a chronically high rate of unemployment fluctuating between 11 and 12 percent. The EU countries have caused the contraction of their domestic markets by cutting back on social spending dictated by the dominant “neoliberal” policy and the determination to stay within the limit on public deficit-spending in preparation for the launch of the Euro.

The exports of the European Union meet stiffer competition from those of the US and Japan in East Asia and elsewhere. The European Union has naturally the closest access to Russia and Eastern Europe as a market. But these new areas of unbridled capitalism are a shrinking kind of market and a sinkhole of bad loans because of the ceaseless breakdown of industry and agriculture and the unrestrained thievery of the criminal new bourgeoisie.

Under the “neoliberal” policy regime, the national rates of growth and profits have fallen in all OECD countries. In fact, there is now a global depression. The adoption of higher technology for profit-taking by the monopoly firms has led to massive downsizing and chronic mass unemployment, shrinkage of the market and the crisis of overproduction, falling rates of profit and bankruptcies. Corporate mergers have become more frequent for the purpose of massacring jobs, claiming costs for restructuring, research and development and increasing profits.

The crisis in the real economy is so severe that the entire monopoly bourgeoisie can no longer claim rising production through the overvaluation of assets and

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services and through credit expansion. Finance capitalism itself is conspicuously the problem weighing down on the real economy. In the last two years, there have been several waves of steep declines in the stockmarket and collapses of financial institutions in

imperialist countries in the wake of currency and stockmarket meltdowns in the “emerging markets”. State intervention and public funds have been used to bail out banks and hedge funds.

In view of the rising rate of exploitation and work stress among the employed, the chronic mass unemployment, wage reductions and cutback on social benefits and social services, such manifestations of the class struggle as strikes in key industries, general strikes and popular protests in the imperialist countries are increasing. But the general level of resistance by the proletariat and the people is still contained in the imperialist countries in the absence of strong Marxist-Leninist parties.

In the United States, there is increasing disaffection with the political system as proven by strikes and protests by mass layoffs and against state bailout for monopoly firms, by low voter turnout during elections and by outbursts of anarchy. But the duopoly of the Democrats and the Republicans and the influence of the labor aristocracy over the long-reduced ranks of the trade union movement still prevail.

In the European Union, the proletariat and people have put up a definitely higher level of resistance than their counterparts in the United States. There have been huge strikes, general strikes and popular protests. But the conservative, social-democratic, revisionist and bourgeois-environmentalist parties compete and coalesce to carry out “neoliberal” reforms. The labor aristocracy nurtured by the old breed of conservatives and social-democrats is still well-entrenched. However, more and more workers are conducting strikes, bypassing the labor aristocracy. At the same time, fascist and racist formations are rearing their ugly head.

In Japan, the proletariat and the people are on the verge of bursting out in unprecedented workers’ strikes and popular protests. Job losses and income reduction are forcing them to dig deep into their much-vaunted personal savings. The increase of homelessness is

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visible on the streets. The Liberal Democratic Party and other bourgeois parties and the big reactionary labor federations run by the labor aristocrats are increasingly losing the confidence of the workers.

The hype about “globalization” has obfuscated the gross fact that the overwhelming majority of the countries in the world have been subjected to further underdevelopment, impoverishment and crushing debt burdens. The imperialists have been able to band together against the oppressed peoples and impose their policies on client states in order to exploit cheap labor, press down the prices of raw materials and extract superprofits from the export of surplus goods and surplus capital. But objectively, they also reduce the global market eventually.

First, the majority of countries that have suffered the overproduction of raw materials since the late ‘70s have never recovered from their crisis and depression. Second, countries that previously acquired some basic industries due to socialism (Russia, Eastern Europe and China) or due to bourgeois nationalism (India, Brazil, Egypt and the like) have been increasingly subjected to compradorization and de-industrialization. And, third, the few “emerging markets” (with such varying export specialties as semimanufactures of China and Southeast Asia, higher value-added manufactures of South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil and the oil and gas of Russia) are plunged into a state of economic and financial collapse.

The widescale devastation of national economies allows the imperialists to take over national resources and lines of businesses and negate the national sovereignty of so many countries. But the imperialists select for takeover only the most profitable assets and have no intention whatsoever of lifting the underdeveloped or less developed countries to a level of balanced development. The

imperialists themselves say that it will take a long while before the “emerging markets” cease to sink.

The main contradiction today is between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples. The imperialists are shifting the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples, are engaged in a drive to extract bigger superprofits and are ceaselessly engaged in acts of intervention, instigating regional and local wars and launching wars of aggression.

Counterrevolutionary violence is rampant today. The imperialists headed by the United States supply weapons to reactionary states and push them to oppress the people. They also instigate wars among reactionary factions in many countries and intervene in the name of peace, humanitarianism or weapons inspection in order to gain positions of strength and make arrangements in their favor.

By launching another war of aggression against Iraq, applying economic sanctions and ceaselessly bullying it, US imperialism has tightened control over the Middle East and its oil resources. By instigating local wars in Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia, as in Kosovo now, it has secured the most advantageous positions in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. It blockades and pressures Cuba and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. It provides military cover to the Taiwan reactionaries and instigates tensions in Southeast Asia over the Spratly islands.

War is inherent to imperialism. The US and other Western imperialists lay the ground for global war by provocatively enlarging the NATO and expanding it to the borders of Russia. The US has also pressed upon Japan to become an active partner in acts of intimidation and aggression against the people of Asia and to assume heavier military burdens under the new US-Japan security guidelines in order to foil Taiwan’s return to China and the reunification of Korea.

In so many countries of the world today, there is political turmoil as a result of the dire social and economic conditions under the world capitalist system. In the countries long depressed by the crisis of overproduction in raw materials, there are revolutionary wars of the people against despotism and against national oppression and there are many more internecine conflicts between reactionary factions that

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use the slogans of ethnocentrism and religion to incite massacres of huge proportions, especially in Africa.

Most important of all are the new-democratic revolutions through protracted people's wars against the imperialists and the local reactionaries. These include the armed revolutions led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties in India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Turkey. These answer the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power as a precondition to social revolution.

The destruction of productive forces in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet bloc countries wrought by the imperialists and their local stooges has resulted in widespread political turmoil and a new world disorder. If the revolutionary forces and the people in semicolonial and semifeudal countries fight self-reliantly for their national and social liberation, the imperialists and the local reactionaries will ultimately face a widescale conflagration that they cannot stop and that can engulf them.

Right now, the contradictions among the imperialists are intensifying but the US-led alliance is still holding insofar as this can shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed nations and peoples. At any rate, in the event that economic competition among the imperialists lead to a bellicose redivision of the world, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples must wage revolutionary war to stop the imperialist war or, if the latter cannot be stopped, to turn it into a revolutionary war.

The Communist Party of the Philippines views the grave crisis of the world capitalist system as providing favorable conditions for waging the new-democratic revolution. It is resolutely leading the revolution in the interest of the Filipino people as well as in support of other peoples abroad in order to advance the world proletarian socialist revolution.

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In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Party has developed close bilateral and multilateral relations with communist and workers' parties in order to raise common understanding, cooperation and mutual benefit. It has taken initiatives and participated in bilateral meetings, conferences and seminars in order to exchange ideas and experiences and clarify and invigorate the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, revisionism and

reaction and for socialism and the ultimate goal of communism.

## **II. Worsening of the Chronic Crisis of the Ruling System**

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system has worsened from one level to another since the US grant of nominal independence to the puppet republic of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class of 1946. Thus, the objective conditions for waging protracted people's war to achieve national liberation and democracy have increasingly become favorable.

The correctness of this line is proven beyond doubt by the fact that in the last 30 years the Communist Party of the Philippines and other revolutionary forces have not only preserved themselves but have gained in strength and advanced through revolutionary struggle. Without a people's war, the Party would have been destroyed totally by the Marcos fascist dictatorship. By waging people's war, the Party grew in strength and prepared the ground for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

The Philippine economy has remained predominantly agrarian and semi-feudal. The imperialists and the local reactionaries have prevented the establishment of basic industries and the carrying out of any genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. Thus, the cities have remained under the sway of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the countryside under that of the landlord class.

From time to time, there are embellishments on the persistent colonial exchange of raw materials and finished products from abroad. But nothing fundamental has changed in the colonial pattern of domestic production and foreign trade. The inflow of foreign funds for public works, some type of floating industry and high consumption of the exploiting classes have always ended in a financial crisis, more serious than the previous one. This has always resulted in the aggravation and further deepening of the chronic economic crisis.

From 1946 onwards, there was loud talk of the puppet regime about building "new and

necessary” industries but there was nothing more than the revival of raw-material production and some amount of agriculture-based manufacturing using imported equipment. The result was the financial crisis of 1949 to 1951 as a result of huge annual trade deficits and the depletion of US war damage payments.

Import and foreign exchange controls were adopted and were supposed to favor what would be described as import-substitution industries in the ‘50s and ‘60s. These were mere repackaging and re-assembly enterprises for the domestic consumer market and were dependent on imported components. The result was the financial crisis of 1959 to 1961. This gave way to the foreign exchange decontrol policy upon the dictation of US imperialism. The IMF and World Bank came in on top of the US bilateral approach to impose economic and social policies under the guise of multilateralism.

The economic and financial crisis became worse from year to year in the ‘60s. But this was laid over by the foreign credit for infrastructure-building and setting up of more mills for coconut, sugar and copper ore. Despite increasing raw-material exports, the trade deficits mounted due to the faster increase of manufactured imports. The financial crisis of 1969 to 1971 ensued. By then, the land frontier, previously available for resettlement of surplus population, became exhausted.

The reestablishment of the Party and the people’s army was timely. The ruling system was increasingly unable to rule in the old way. The economic and social crisis limited the opportunities of the reactionaries to divide among themselves the spoils of power. The political competition among them grew increasingly violent.

The Marcos ruling clique took advantage of the worsening crisis by imposing fascist dictatorship on the people and his political opponents. From 1972 to 1986, the fascist regime increased foreign borrowing from the level of US\$2 billion to US\$26 billion to engage in infrastructure-building, put up the big-comprador crony firms, enlarge the armed forces and finance the high consumption of the exploiting classes. The result was the financial

crisis of 1979 onwards, occurring in connection with the global crisis of raw material overproduction and the global debt crisis.

The economic and financial crisis shook the ground on which the fascist regime stood, sharpened the contradictions among the reactionaries and further stimulated the growth of the armed revolutionary movement. It ultimately resulted in the political crisis that caused the downfall of the fascist regime in 1986. The US-Aquino regime increased the foreign debt level to some US\$29 billion and resorted to heavy domestic public borrowing, which increased from the 1986 level of some 200 billion pesos to 550 billion pesos in 1992. The economic and financial crisis of the big comprador-

landlord regime reached a new bottom in the 1990-1992 period.

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The Ramos regime vigorously pursued its predecessors’ policy of following the dictates of the imperialists and multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO), in opposing national industrialization and land reform and in carrying out trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets and deregulation against the working people and against public interest. Philippines 2000 was never a plan to make a “newly-industrializing” country but to make the Philippines an “emerging market.”

The regime promoted in an unprecedentedly big way the labor-intensive, import-dependent, low value-added so-called export-oriented manufacturing (garments, semiconductors, shoes, toys and the like), a highly speculative real estate boom, expansion of telecommunications and the export of cheap labor. It attracted highly speculative portfolio investments and encouraged private credit transactions within the multinational firms and between these and the big comprador firms. To cover the mounting trade deficits and foreign debt service, the regime went into further foreign borrowing at superspeed up to the level of USD 50 billion (more than 24 billion in six years) and local public borrowing up to the level of 788 billion pesos.

The export-oriented manufacturing fetches a low net export income of 10 percent relative to the 90 percent cost of imported components and, worse, has been squeezed by global overproduction. Office and residential towers and golf courses have been built to milk the banks. Taking advantage of the free flow of foreign capital, the highly speculative foreign

investments have been the first to take flight upon sight of the rapidly dwindling foreign exchange holdings of the country and the incapacity to service the foreign debt on time. Like the rest of Southeast Asia, the Philippine semifeudal economy has gone into an unprecedented financial and economic crisis.

The most optimistic predictions of the imperialist and puppet prognosticators are that the current economic and financial crisis in the Philippines and Southeast Asia will run on for the next two or three years. But the crisis of overproduction in export-oriented manufacturing can become as permanent as the crisis of overproduction in raw materials since the '70s. China, Southeast Asia and copycats in export-oriented manufacturing in other parts of the world will tend to perpetuate the crisis of overproduction in this type of production.

In the meantime, the crisis becomes worse and is a part of the downward spiral in the crisis of the world capitalist system. It generates the conditions for Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to arise and strengthen themselves and to wage protracted people's war along the general line of new-democratic revolution in Southeast Asia and in so many other semicolonial and semifeudal countries of the world.

As a consequence of the current economic and financial crisis, it becomes easier for the imperialists to take over the entire economy, all the natural resources and every kind of business activity in the Philippines. But even as there is a bargain sale of assets in so many financially bankrupt countries, the current global crisis of overproduction in all types of goods dissuades and prevents the imperialists from bringing

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in productive capital for the comprehensive and balanced development of the underdeveloped countries.

The newly-installed Estrada regime has publicly admitted that the entire economy and the reactionary government are bankrupt. But it is foolhardy in further pursuing the policies of investment and trade liberalization, deregulation and privatization and keeping the economy at being an exporter

of raw materials, low value-added semimanufactures and contract workers, importer of finished products and ceaseless beggar of foreign loans.

The Estrada regime is trampling upon the national

sovereignty of the Philippines and selling out national patrimony. It is removing all national restrictions on foreign investments and giving to the multinational corporations 100 percent ownership of land and natural resources, banks, telecommunications, mass media and retail trade. But the multinational corporations come in only to take over the most profitable assets and to prevent the comprehensive and balanced development of a self-reliant economy.

The foreign monopoly capitalists are assured of "national treatment" and unlimited ownership of assets, tax reductions and exemptions, currency convertibility, unrestricted movement of capital and superprofit remittances, foreign debt repayment, wage reduction and anti-union laws, exploitation of women and children and the plunder and pollution of the environment.

The privatization of remaining public assets is being accelerated. The multinational enterprises and the big compradors are taking over at give-away prices profitable state assets in major financial, trading and productive enterprises, in public utilities and in social services. As during the Ramos regime, the nonrecurrent revenues from privatization are dissipated in budgetary spending.

The tax burden imposed on the toiling masses and the middle social strata is being increased, especially in the form of personal income and indirect taxes. At the same time, the imperialists and local exploiting classes practice all forms of evading payment of taxes. The comprador-bourgeois regime extends tax amnesty to the biggest tax evader, as in the notorious case of Estrada's big crony Lucio Tan. Tax collection will certainly fall far below the corrupt and unproductive spending of the reactionary government. The regime is set to cover the budgetary deficit by increasing the local public debt.

The foreign trade deficit will continue to grow. However, it can be lessened by the decrease of imports for export-oriented manufacturing due to the global crisis of

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overproduction. The mass layoffs in the sweatshops have aggravated general unemployment. The chain reaction runs up to the reduction in the number of those who could previously afford to buy cars and apartments on installment. The whole economy is reduced to its semifeudal fundamentals, dependence on raw-material production for export and export of cheap labor.

Mass unemployment is already grave due to the bankruptcies and production cutbacks. Those who remain employed are required to accept wage freeze at even lower nominal wages and longer working hours. Under the policy of labor flexibility, job security and hard-won benefits are thrown out of the window. Temporary and part-time workers are replacing regular workers. Unions are thereby being busted and being prevented from arising.

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The incomes of the toiling masses and the middle social-strata are drastically reduced by the peso devaluation and by the soaring prices of basic commodities and social services. The inflation in the prices of food products is due to the fall of agricultural production and scarcity. The inflation in the prices of basic imported goods is due to higher costs of importation and higher interest rates. There is economic depression but the

deflationary trend applies only on high-grade consumer products for the exploiting classes.

Social unrest is widespread in both urban and rural areas because of the drastic fall in production, peso devaluation, inflation and the rapidly increasing mass unemployment and loss of income. There is a systematic campaign to emasculate, terrorize and destroy the trade unions and other mass organizations. But the workers conduct strikes and other forms of concerted actions, the peasants participate in both the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic movement and the broad masses of the people engage in mass protests and other forms of resistance.

The Estrada regime dreams of cutting down interest rates to stimulate mass production. But

there is a big difference between the imperialists and semicolonial countries with regard to cutting down the interest rates. To cut these down would only stimulate the big multinational firms and banks and the big compradors and high bureaucrats to exchange their devalued pesos and to bring foreign exchange out of the country.

Like previous regimes, the Estrada regime hopes to survive and maintain operations by begging for foreign funds. It has pleaded for more bailout funds from the IMF and World Bank and for a portion of the public works stimulus package for Southeast Asia from Japan. It has sought to float bonds in foreign financial markets. But it is under pressure from the imperialists to give priority to selling off public assets.

In a period of unprecedented economic and social crisis since World War II, the Estrada regime brings back to power and privilege the most hated reactionaries in Philippine society, the Marcos family and the worst of the Marcos cronies, like Eduardo Cojuangco and Lucio Tan. The president acts as the coordinator of these big crooks against the interests of the Filipino people and he expects to get his own cut from the ill-gotten assets that are now being recovered by them from sequestration.

Because of the current crisis, there is a constriction of the ground for amicable accommodation among the reactionaries. There is once more a relative diminution of the spoils for division among them. There is now the glaring tendency of the ruling clique to monopolize the loot. Thus, most of the reactionaries out of power are either publicly wishing the death of the president from his ill-health or floating the possibility of a coup d'etat or assassination.

Within the Estrada ruling clique, there is also a growing conflict between the Marcos family and the biggest Marcos cronies. Estrada has strived to please the Marcoses by fixing the prosecution in their favor and getting them acquitted of criminal charges by the courts. But at the same time, he allows the Marcos cronies to claim and liquidate as their own assets the ill-gotten wealth assigned to them as dummies by the late fascist dictator.

The Marcoses are now freely bringing out into the open their secret deeds of trust and certificates of stock ownership in about 200 contested blue chip corporations, which include big crony corporations and multinational enterprises. This open conflict of the Marcoses and the Marcos cronies is exposing a significant part of the plunder perpetrated by the Marcoses and their cronies under the fascist regime.

At the same time, it completely exposes the demagoguery of Estrada's claim that he is pro-poor.

Once more the semi-colonial system is in grave political crisis. It arises from the rottenness of the joint class dictatorship of the big compradors and landlords. There is now a revulsion at the ruling clique from the reactionaries out of power. And right within the ruling clique there is now a scandalous struggle over the spoils of power.

The Estrada regime's hold over the fractious reactionary armed forces and the police is tenuous. Dissatisfaction is growing over favoritism in promotions and fund allocations, over distribution of contracts for foreign and local supplies and over the disposition of the savings and pension funds of military personnel and over the fact that someone like General Panfilo Lacson, who is widely denounced as a criminal in uniform, is the actual superhead of the national police and grabs a large amount of intelligence funds for self-enrichment in collusion with no less than the president.

The military and police forces continue to be riven by factions, reflecting the reactionary political factions and masterminding different and often violently conflicting criminal syndicates which run all sorts of criminal operations, like smuggling through customs, drugs, prostitution, gambling, kidnap-for-ransom and robbery.

The Estrada regime tries to rally the military and the police forces by calling on them to fight the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people and those of the Moro people (in particular the Moro Islamic Liberation Front) as well as the criminal syndicates, actually masterminded by military and police officers. But contempt for the Estrada regime is widespread among military officers who resent helicopter promotions for his favorites among police officers who also resent the flagrant expansion of the criminal empires of General Panfilo Lacson and Charlie "Atong" Ang, another notorious crony of Estrada.

The regime tries to ingratiate itself further with the US imperialists by pushing for the ratification of the Visiting Forces Agreement. This agreement reinforces a previous secret executive agreement made in 1992 on "access and cross-servicing" and seeks to allow the US military forces in any size

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to use any part of the Philippines and any Philippine source of supply and facility at any time and for any duration, with full immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of Philippine courts. At the same time, the US has built runways in South Cotabato for its military planes and is preparing to build a naval base in Sarangani Bay, a location convenient for US intervention in the whole of Southeast Asia.

The scheme of the US and the Estrada regime to turn the entire Philippines into a US military base has outraged the broad masses of the people and even the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines. Thus, there is now a broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces against the scheme. This united front is increasingly directed at the entire system of US military control over the Philippines, which includes the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact (allowing US military intervention at any time) and the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement (enabling the US to control the reactionary armed forces).

The Estrada regime is pushing for a new constitutional convention in order to replace the 1987 constitution with a worse kind of constitution. It wishes to obtain something far worse than the extension of the presidential tenure that Ramos had sought but failed to obtain in 1997. It is most interested in removing from the 1987 constitution what little national restrictions there are on foreign investments, the prohibition of foreign military bases and nuclear weapons and certain limitations on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, on the proclamation of martial law and on arrests, searches and seizures.

Under the pretext of putting the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on "indefinite recess", the Estrada regime has in effect terminated these. It has told the NDFP that these can continue only if the NDFP accept the absurd precondition that the revolutionary forces capitulate and criminalize themselves by submitting to the GRP constitutional, legal and judicial system.

The NDFP upholds its revolutionary integrity and principles. It has

forthrightly told the GRP that its precondition violates The Hague Joint Declaration and all previous bilateral agreements and that the GRP is looking for a way to get out of its obligations under the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and to avoid the discussion of the basic economic and social problems of the people.

The GRP Negotiating Panel has gone to the extent of declaring that Estrada has made a mistake in approving the aforesaid agreement and making the absurd demand that the NDFP correct the mistake by signing a document of capitulation and self-incrimination. The real intention of the GRP in its absurdity is to terminate the peace negotiations.

The Philippine reactionary government has utterly failed the test of the peace negotiations. It would rather end these than comply with its immediate obligations, such as the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime, the release of political prisoners, the repeal of repressive laws, the end of policies and practices that result in mass eviction and forced mass evacuations and the appointment of its representatives and nomination of observers to the joint monitoring committee.

The Estrada regime is hellbent on escalating counterrevolutionary violence against the revolutionary forces and the people while it hires and uses renegades for psychological warfare. Campaigns of suppression by military, police and paramilitary forces are being intensified. Violations of human rights and international humanitarian laws are on the rise nationwide. The people and the revolutionary forces have no choice but to intensify their revolutionary resistance.

The objective conditions are growing ever more favorable for people's war. The grave socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen. Having strengthened themselves through the rectification movement and having consolidated and expanded their mass base, the Party and other subjective forces of the revolution are in a position to take advantage

of the situation and raise the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level.

### III. Revitalized Forces of the Revolution

The Second Great Rectification Movement has won resounding victories in ideology, politics and organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines is thereby revitalized and further strengthened as the advanced detachment of the proletariat leading the Philippine revolution forward. It has raised its revolutionary consciousness, organized strength and militancy to a new and higher level.

As a consequence, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the organs of democratic political power and the mass organizations under the leadership of the Party have likewise raised the level of revolutionary unity, fighting will and capabilities for carrying out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The Second Great Rectification Movement is mainly and essentially a movement of education within the Party in order to reaffirm the basic principles of the revolutionary proletariat, to sum up experience and take stock of the situation, identify and rectify major errors and shortcomings, promote criticism and self-criticism in current work and set forth the constructive and fighting tasks for advancing the revolution.

The Party Central Committee had to launch the rectification movement in 1992 to defend the very life of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement because fundamental and major errors of subjectivism and opportunism, which had accumulated and had run since the late '70s, gave rise to revisionism, liquidationism and outright treason and criminality of a few well-placed and long-running incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists who tried to wreck the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Through the rectification movement, the Party has frustrated and defeated the handful of renegades and

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incorrigibles. Their own open degeneration and the blatant use of them by the enemy for psychological warfare have verified the correctness and accuracy of the rectification movement in targeting them for criticism, repudiation and condemnation. The all-round struggle against them has turned them into teachers by negative example and has educated the entire party on what is correct and what is wrong on a comprehensive range of issues in the sharp two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois renegades.

The rectification movement has upheld Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideological line of the Party and has repudiated such forms of bourgeois subjectivism as revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism. The basic principles of the revolutionary proletariat, which are reaffirmed, are drawn from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Party cadres and members have become more conscious of the three stages of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism in the development of the revolutionary theory and practice of the international proletariat.

The Party propagates the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist stand, viewpoint and method among its cadres and members and trains them in these in comprehending the current circumstances of the world and the Philippines and in taking the course of action that needs to be taken in the context of the world proletarian revolution, the two-stage Philippine revolution and the specific fields of work.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the specific guide to the revolutionary practice of the Party in striving to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to make revolution. The Party integrates Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Thus, the Party established through class analysis the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and has set the general political line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

Through the rectification movement, the Party has thoroughly defeated with facts and arguments the subjectivist line that the Philippines is no longer semifeudal but is far more industrial and urbanized than pre-revolutionary Russia and China and that in effect the big comprador-landlord Marcos regime has developed the country economically.

The Party has criticized and repudiated the "Left" opportunism and the Right opportunism which in common used this subjectivist line in order to attack

the strategic line of protracted people's war. The "Left" opportunists sought to make the NPA a purely military force and urban insurrection as the lead factor for a quick military victory. The Right opportunists sought to make the urban-based legal struggle the main or sole factor in political struggle and the united front as a framework for liquidating the vanguard role of the Party and the proletariat.

The Party has once more uprooted modern revisionism. This directly penetrated the Party when the "Left" opportunists started to push for the reconsideration of the Soviet Union as socialist and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as Marxist-Leninist since the early '80s in the vain hope of securing Soviet military and financial assistance. Even as they were impulsive, the "Left" opportunists threw away the principle of self-reliance by spreading the notion that the absence of Soviet and military assistance would cause the revolution to stagnate or regress.

On the other hand, the Right opportunists developed their base and influence in foreign-funded "NGOs" to spread the notion of regressing to the old democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie, attracting more people by kowtowing to the bourgeoisie and carrying the sedan chair for it and achieving democracy by overthrowing the despotic regime through the antifascist movement and thereafter pursuing reformism in the post-Marcos period.

By the time that the rectification movement was launched in 1992, the Right opportunists had absorbed the "Left" opportunists who had swung to the Right. They were claiming the disastrous errors and crimes of the "Left" opportunists as those of Marxism-Leninism and were echoing slogans from the imperialist ideological offensive and such related anticommunist currents as those of Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, populism, liberalism and social democracy.

The rectification movement has roundly

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defeated the cabal of incorrigible subjectivists and opportunists, who launched a cacophony of pro-imperialist and anticommunist calumnies but who uniformly called themselves anti-Stalin as they attacked the Party. They lumped together our antirevisionist Party and the anti-Stalin revisionist regimes as equally “Stalinist” to harp on the line that Marxism-Leninism, the vanguard party of the proletariat and socialism do not stand a chance against imperialism. They exposed themselves as renegades and agents of enemy psychological warfare, coordinated, financed and given full play in the bourgeois mass media by the psy-war and intelligence operatives of the US and Philippine reactionary government in the “low-intensity conflict” scheme.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has completely thwarted the attempt of the enemy to destroy the Party and revolutionary movement from within.

This vicious but futile attempt to sow ideological and political confusion has served to immunize and reinvigorate the Party. Through the rectification movement the Party has reasserted its stand for socialism against modern revisionism and has actively fought against

**THE NEW BASIC  
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MEMBERS AS PART  
OF THEIR  
CANDIDATURE.**

the imperialist ideological and political offensive which presents the fall of the revisionist regimes as proof of the futility of socialism and which boasts of the irresistibility of “free market” globalization.

The Party has produced a rich accumulation of documents on basic and major issues involving the ideological, political and organizational line in order to defeat the erroneous ideas of the renegades and traitors as well as those of their superiors—the imperialists and local reactionaries, and in order to raise the knowledge and practice of the Party cadres and members.

The rectification documents issued by the Central Committee, the articles written by responsible cadres and the summings-up made

by territorial and staff organs and units are a rich store of historical and current knowledge that serve as a basis for defining the tasks and moving forward in the revolutionary struggle. All these documents constitute living knowledge inasmuch as they reflect the concrete conditions of the revolutionary struggle and the revolutionary position and direction taken by the Party.

The rectification movement has been conclusively won against the biggest degenerates and renegades since the reestablishment of the Party. But we must remain vigilant and militant against all remnants of their mode of thinking and practice as well as against backsliding. For instance, recently a handful of renegades, previously pretending to support the rectification movement but surreptitiously opposing it, have exposed themselves as the latest tools of enemy propaganda. We are confident without being complacent that the Party is capable of staying healthy and strong and of repelling any kind of attack that arises.

The petty-bourgeoisie is the social base of subjectivism and opportunism. There is always a certain amount of these arising spontaneously or deliberately within the Party because many Party members are of petty-bourgeois origin and bring in with them their petty-bourgeois tails. There is also the continuous impact of petty-bourgeois influence from the outside as well as from deliberate efforts of the imperialists and local reactionaries to use petty-bourgeois lines of enticement against the line of the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The Party is carrying the rectification movement through to the end and is resolutely carrying out ideological work, involving the study of the rectification documents and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist classics, concrete social investigation, evaluation and summing up of work and comradely criticism and self-criticism. Ideological and political education in theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most important factor in the remoulding of Party members in preventing degeneration and in using the two-line struggle or the struggle of ideas for attaining a higher level of unity.

To propagate the basic founding principles of the Party and the teachings of the great communists and to reinforce the rectification movement, formal Party study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels are being carried out. The rectification movement is promoting these courses in view of the fact that the lack or dearth of Marxist-Leninist courses in the past gave way to the growth of eclecticism, revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism.

The new basic Party course has been taken by all Party organs and units and is given to all Party candidate-members as part of their candidature. The regional Party committees have taken initiative in running the intermediate Party course. Central and regional leading and staff organs are taking the initiative to study the advanced Party course. All Party units and members are encouraged to read and study materials in advance of taking the formal courses.

Instructors are being trained and are gaining experience in giving the courses at various levels. Instructors in pilot classes are also developing study guides for further developing the courses. Simplified versions of the Party study courses and study materials

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OFFENSIVES  
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PEOPLE'S ARMY IS  
PUTTING UNITS ON  
POLITICAL-  
MILITARY TRAINING  
AND BUILDING UP  
INTELLIGENCE FOR  
THE PURPOSE.**

have been issued for the benefit of Party candidate-members and full members who come from the toiling masses and who have a low level of literacy. They learn far more from simple and concrete discussions related to their life experience and to the current struggle and from comrades who use simple language to explain basic concepts from the books.

Study materials are being reproduced and distributed on a wider scale than before. Outlines for concrete social investigation at all levels are being improved, refined and propagated. Marxist-Leninist classics and documents are being translated in as many as five major Philippine languages. Master copies are provided by the central and regional publishing houses and are copied at lower levels.

To carry out the new-democratic revolution, the Party leads the New People's Army as the principal instrument for overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords, for making possible the formation of the revolutionary organs of political power and for the eventual establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines on a nationwide scale. The NPA is the main organization for carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle as the principal form of struggle, for forging the worker-peasant alliance and realizing land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution.

Revolutionary politics is in command of the NPA. This army is under the absolute leadership of the Party.

The Party organization is also within every command and unit of the NPA. The people's army combines armed struggle with land reform and mass-base building. The Red commanders and fighters rely on and trust the masses. They arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle and for immediate social benefit.

Their links with the masses are intimate. The best sons and daughters of the masses are in the people's army. The masses cherish the people's army because it is their own army, fighting for their rights and interests. Thus, they are full of enthusiasm as the inexhaustible source of strength of the people's army.

Within the context of the new-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party and the people's army follow the revolutionary class line of relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened gentry and despotic gentry and destroying the power of the latter.

In the course of the rectification movement, the people's army has been reoriented and retrained. It is highly conscious of and deeply committed to serving the people. It has criticized and repudiated the purely military viewpoint and the various currents of "Left" opportunism, especially the premature and militarist line of "strategic counteroffensive" and "Red Area-White Area" line of militarism cum urban insurrectionism.

The strategic line of the NPA is protracted people's war, the line of encircling the cities from the countryside. The NPA accumulates strength in the countryside until it gains sufficient strength to seize the cities in a strategic offensive that develops from the prior stages of strategic defensive and strategic stalemate.

At this given time, the NPA is still in the stage of the strategic defensive. But it can launch tactical offensives that it is capable of winning in order to change the balance of forces step by step. The current specific line is to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

Were it not for the grievous “Left” opportunist errors, which sought to prematurely “enlarge” and “regularize” units of the people’s army and thus separated them from the masses, the people’s war would have become far more developed on a sound basis than now, at least within the strategic defensive.

As part of the process of rectification, the NPA has been reorganized and redeployed. The typical guerrilla front continues to have a platoon-size center of gravity and several squads dispersed and divisible into armed propaganda teams for mass work on a relatively wide scale, as conditions permit. In certain tactical offensives and certain enforcement operations, the NPA can muster a platoon, an oversized platoon or a company.

The way to ensure a wide area of maneuver for shifting, concentrating or dispersing guerrilla-style, for launching offensives against the enemy and for countering and frustrating enemy offensives, is to consolidate and expand the mass base. Thus, for a number of years in the course of the rectification movement, the NPA has concentrated on mass work. It has had to arrest and reverse the big contraction of the mass base and to recover the areas lost due to “Left” opportunist errors. The mass base has been consolidated and expanded to a significant extent in the guerrilla fronts.

The current level of strength and the nationwide scale of 60 guerrilla fronts at strategic points allow the NPA to launch frequent successful tactical offensives for seizing arms and other resources from the enemy and making him ceaselessly bleed in many parts of his body. Tactical offensives have increased significantly from year to year. But the number of offensives is still much below actual capabilities. We still need to stir ourselves from some amount of inertia and conservatism arising from the focus on mass work for several years. In response to the call of the Party Central Committee for the launching of tactical offensives within capabilities, the people’s army is putting units on political-military training and building up intelligence for the purpose. Ordnance, medical and communications personnel are also being trained.

Our mass work involves social investigation, propaganda and agitation, organizing the organs of political power (at first provisional appointive ones and then regular elective ones) and the mass organizations of peasants, workers (if any), fishermen, women and youth, cultural activists and children mobilizing them in campaigns for their own benefit. These campaigns include land reform, production, public education, local self-defense, health, settlement of local disputes, and culture.

The land reform campaign is the key one because it responds to the main problem of the peasant masses and is the main content of the democratic revolution. At the moment, what is realizable in most areas is the minimum land reform program.

The tasks are to reduce land rent and interest rates, raise wages of farm workers hired by landlords and rich peasants, require merchants to pay fair prices at the farm gate and raise production in agriculture and sideline occupations.

In other areas, the masses have been aroused, organized and mobilized to fight the foreign companies, bureaucrat capitalists and landlords and prevent them from grabbing the land from the peasant masses. Fierce struggles are currently being waged against foreign companies engaged in mining, logging, plantation, ranching and real estate “development”. The peasants, including ethnic minorities and settlers, are either keeping or taking back their land.

Our successful mass work has enabled the NPA to increase its tactical offensives. The NPA has seized a significant number of firearms from the enemy and captured some military and police officers. In certain dramatic cases, it has compelled the enemy to plead for the release of prisoners of war under the auspices of peace negotiations between the NDFP and the reactionary government.

The Party and the people’s army have adhered to the long-running policy of lenient treatment accorded to prisoners of war and the principle of due process in the investigation, prosecution and trial of accused war criminals. The NPA has complied with international humanitarian law in accordance with the NDFP

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Unilateral Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol 1 and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, recently approved by both the NDFP and the reactionary government. The revolutionary movement is gaining international recognition for its status of belligerency under international law.

The revolutionary armed struggle is self-reliant in terms of acquiring weapons and providing for the needs of the NPA. The peasant masses are the main source of support to provide the basic needs of the Red fighters. The NPA and the mass organizations also engage in a significant amount of production for the NPA and families of Red fighters.

The people's democratic government, explicitly or implicitly using the people's army as its enforcement agency, can collect taxes (especially to raise cash) from the enlightened gentry and business enterprises. The element of class coercion surfaces when entities of the exploiting classes refuse to follow the law of the people's government and refuse to pay their tax obligations. However, persuasive rather than coercive measures are applied on the middle-bourgeois entities in accordance with united front policy.

Tax collection is a function of the people's government. It raises the resources to serve the collective needs of the people and the people's army. The reactionary government and some "NGOs" that survive on crumbs-begging from foreign funding agencies are engaged in cheap psy-war when they heap calumny on revolutionary taxation, calling it a form of extortion or sellout to the exploiters.

The Party wields the united front as a weapon complementary to the armed struggle. This united front is principally for armed struggle. It seeks to unite the broadest range of forces and mobilize the people in their millions against the enemy at every given time.

In building the united front, the Party adheres to the revolutionary class line. The united front must be led by the proletariat, founded on the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, supported by the urban petty-bourgeoisie, further supported by the middle-bourgeoisie and must take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the enemy.

**AN OUTSTANDING  
RECENT CASE OF  
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FORMAL ALLIANCE  
IS THAT BETWEEN  
THE NDFP AND THE  
MORO ISLAMIC  
LIBERATION  
FRONT.**

The Party constantly builds an echelon of alliances: the basic worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of progressive forces which includes the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the alliance of all patriotic forces which includes the middle-bourgeoisie, and whatever alliance is possible with sections of the reactionaries that are against the enemy on general or specific issues.

The worker-peasant alliance is realized, with the Party leading and building the New People's Army and coordinating and strengthening the workers' and peasants' movements. Under the leadership of the Party, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines has remained an underground united front of the basic progressive forces. At the same time, it is always ready to make further alliances with other forces.

The alliance with the middle-bourgeoisie has continued to be informal up to this day. But it does exist and is effective insofar as the representatives and groups of the middle-bourgeoisie take an anti-imperialist position and middle-bourgeois enterprises fulfill their obligations to the people's government because they prefer to avoid prohibition or losses in areas where the people's army is capable of enforcing the law of the people's government.

Alliances with some reactionaries are also informal and are the most unstable because of their class character. They arise at both national and local levels and take the form of secret political cooperation against worse reactionaries. Some reactionaries have also proven cooperation by complying with certain commitments to the people's government. They are often encouraged to oppose the enemy and deliver what is needed to further the armed struggle.

So far, the largest and most outstanding informal alliance with the reactionaries came about in the common struggle to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Every time bourgeois elections are held, reactionaries at the national and local levels compete to have temporary alliance with the Party. They are required to respect and comply with the laws and policies of the people's government.

The Party has always supported the Moro people's struggle for self-determination against



national oppression. An outstanding recent case of developing a formal alliance is that between the NDFP and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Informal, friendly and cooperative relations in previous times are now developing into a formal NDFP-MILF alliance by written

**THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS PURSUING THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC LINE ARE CONSPICUOUSLY A MAJOR POLITICAL FORCE.**

agreement and with liaison offices. Each party in the alliance maintains its own independence and initiative. Both parties are committed to cooperating for their mutual benefit and for coordinating their forces against the common enemy.

The Party, the armed struggle and the united front are all instruments of the people and perform distinctive and interrelated functions. The new-democratic revolution fails if any one of these instruments is neglected or given up. The Right opportunists were utterly wrong when they pushed the notion that the united front is for cutting down or doing away with the vanguard role of the party of the proletariat or that it is a framework for subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres who reestablished the Party developed the legal anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement during the entire '60s and up to the First Quarter Storm and mass upsurge in the entire 1970-72 period. Since its reestablishment, the progressive mass organizations have always rallied to the revolutionary leadership of the Party even under the worst conditions of suppression by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the post-Marcos regimes.

The Party always encourages the development of the urban-based legal democratic movement by developing underground Party groups within the mass organizations. Upon the development of people's war, urban-based mass activists are also confident that they can go to the guerrilla fronts in the countryside whenever they can no longer work in the cities. Because the economic crisis is rapidly worsening, workers being laid off or being persecuted for exercising their right to strike, are encouraged to join the people's army. An increasing number of

workers as well as educated youth are volunteering for social investigation and mass work in the countryside.

The legal democratic mass movement is rapidly growing in strength and surging forward vigorously. This is the political result of the rectification movement and the daily worsening crisis of the ruling system. The trade unions and the legal organizations of peasants, urban poor, women, youth in general, students, teachers, government employees, lawyers, health workers, scientists and technologists, writers and artists, economists, other professionals and progressive religious are working hard to consolidate and expand their ranks.

They continue to build sectoral and multisectoral alliances. They express their views and undertake protest actions along the national-democratic line on long-running basic issues and on burning issues of the day against the imperialists and the local reactionaries, now chiefly represented by the US-Estrada ruling clique.

The mass organizations and movements pursuing the national-democratic line are conspicuously a major political force. To say the least, their total direct mass following runs into hundreds of thousands nationwide. Their influence reaches millions of people. They also enjoy high international prestige and make outstanding contributions in international conferences and other forms of anti-imperialist solidarity work.

The Party coordinates all forms of political struggle. It is in a position to do so because it is an underground organization with intimate links with the masses in both urban and rural areas. It has also succeeded in developing underground groups in reactionary institutions and organizations. Political work principally and technical means secondarily have enabled the Party to coordinate the legal democratic movement and the armed movement of the people.

The Party upholds the principle of democratic centralism as its organizational line. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and in turn democracy under the guidance of central leadership. The essence of centralism is adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the determination to carry out the new-democratic revolution and consequently to fulfill the historic mission of the

**THERE IS A GROWING NEED FOR PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS FROM THE RANKS OF THE TOILING MASSES AS WELL AS THE EDUCATED YOUTH.**

working class to build socialism until the ultimate goal of communism is reached. In other words, democratic centralism is not simply a process that is devoid of a definite content and purpose.

As a process of decision-making, democratic centralism involves the subordination of the minority to the majority, the lower organ to the higher organ, the individual to the entire Party organization and the entire Party membership to the Central Committee. Through inner-Party democracy, the facts and opinions of Party cadres and members are presented and concentrated through a continuous process of dialectical interaction between lower and higher levels of the Party organization.

Bureaucratism and ultrademocracy or liberalism are anathema to democratic centralism. The incorrigible opportunists and renegades practised bureaucratism and commandism where they were in authority and ultrademocracy where they contended with

higher organs. They violated not only the organizational process of decision-making but, worst of all, they whipped up counterrevolutionary lines against Marxism-Leninism and the Party and tried to wreck the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Once a decision has been taken on any issue in accordance with democratic centralism, there is unity of will and action. Anyone can reserve his or her opinion but must follow the decision. Without the necessary discipline after the process of democratic decision-making, the Party cannot engage in a life-and-death revolutionary struggle against the enemy.

The Party has nationwide scope and is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. It is imbued with the spirit of service to the people and always promotes the style of simple living, hard work and self-sacrifice.

The Party cadres and members conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to correct errors and shortcomings and to improve the

work and produce better results. Criticism and self-criticism is done on a timely and regular basis within the Party and, whenever necessary, before the masses, in order to redress any offense or harm done to them.

Party candidate members are drawn from the ranks of the most conscious and most militant mass activists in the rural and urban areas. Thus, intimate links between the Party and the masses are always maintained and strengthened.

As a proletarian revolutionary party, our Party is determined to recruit a high proportion of members from the working class. In accordance with the progress of people's war, it also follows that a significant number of Party members are of peasant origin who are transformed into proletarian revolutionaries in the course of the revolutionary struggle and education under the leadership of the Party and the peasant movement and in the people's army.

The proportion of our Party members of petty-bourgeois origin is still high. To reduce this proportion, we do not discourage applicants for membership from among the urban petty-bourgeoisie but accelerate Party recruitment from the ranks of the toiling masses.

There is a growing need for Party cadres and members from the ranks of the toiling masses as well as the educated youth. We need hundreds of thousands of Party cadres and members to win the revolution and gain political power. Our ever-ready source of Party members is the far greater number of advanced mass activists. They are close to our Party and most of them are willing to join it.

Our Party Constitution lays down the basic requirements and the duration of trial work for Party candidate-members. But for various reasons, including conceit and neglect on the part of Party organs and full members, delays occur in the recruitment of Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists and the subsequent advancement of the Party candidate-members to full members.

On the basis of the existing number of Party members and advanced mass activists, an organizational plan for expanding our Party membership can be drawn up at every level. To arrive at the national organizational plan, the lower leading organs must submit their organizational plans to the Party Central Committee. Subsequently, reports have to be made on the realization of the plan.

The specific line for enlarging our Party is to boldly expand it, without letting in a single undesirable. In carrying out this line, our leading organs and units must take the responsibility and burden of cross-checking

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and verifying the personal record, class consciousness and personal circumstances of every applicant for membership, applying the requirements and rules concerning candidature and checking up the fulfillment of these.

Organizational building of the Party is of crucial importance. The proletarian vanguard and core of the revolutionary mass movement must grow fast enough in order to be able to measure up to and fulfill the gargantuan tasks of the new-democratic revolution and ensure its socialist direction.

#### **IV. Long-term Fighting Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines**

On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines, it is necessary and appropriate to reiterate and reaffirm its long-term fighting tasks. These are the ten points of the general Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, defined and promulgated at the very foundation of the Party.

All Filipino communists must work and struggle to realize this long-term program and must be ready to sacrifice their lives if necessary in the struggle to bring about a new Philippines that is completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous.

We have won great victories through our revolutionary struggle. But we have a long way to go to complete the new-democratic revolution. We must resolve to fight for another 30 years or for as long as it takes to reach complete victory.

Within the same period that we celebrate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of the Party and the NPA, we also celebrate the centennial of the Filipino people's revolutionary armed resistance against the US war of aggression, which started on February 4, 1899. In this connection, we declare our readiness to wage people's war for another hundred years until US imperialist domination is ended, in the same spirit that the people in our archipelago waged armed resistance for more than three centuries until Spanish colonial rule was ended.

##### ***1. Overthrow the ruling system of big compradors and landlords!***

The overriding interest of the Filipino people now is to fight for national and social liberation. This can be achieved only by overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords, which are in the service of the US and other

imperialists. The Filipino people must struggle against every reactionary regime that arises and thereby gain revolutionary strength until they can completely smash the bureaucratic and military machinery of the reactionary state.

Armed revolution must be waged to defeat the armed counterrevolution and the united front must bring together all positive forces and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the enemy at every given time. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces must eliminate the power and influence of the US imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

The Party must persevere in the strategic line of protracted people's war. It must continue to build the people's army and accumulate strength in the countryside before it can seize the cities. Simultaneously, it can fight, discredit, isolate and breach the monopoly of political power by the reactionaries in the cities. In this regard, the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement complement and help each other in disintegrating and destroying the power of the enemy.

##### ***2. Establish the people's democratic state based on the worker-peasant alliance!***

The ultimate goal of the people's democratic revolution is the establishment of the people's democratic state. This is under the leadership of the working class, founded on the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry and includes such other democratic classes as the urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The Party as the ruling party, in representation of the working class, shall form the coalition government of all democratic classes and forces. In the course of protracted people's war, the working class and peasantry under the proletarian revolutionary leadership and with the assistance of the New People's Army, establish organs of political power to form the armed independent regime or people's revolutionary government. The people thereby learn to govern themselves, defend and advance national independence and democratic rights. The people's revolutionary government is the preparatory government of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

The National Democratic Front, as the most important formal united front organization, serves to promote the united front for armed struggle,

encourages the combination of all patriotic and progressive forces in order to isolate and destroy the enemy and paves the way for the establishment of organs of political power, the people's consultative assembly and the democratic coalition government of the broadest possible character.

### ***3. Forge national unity and fight for democratic rights!***

The Party commits itself to forging the firmest and broadest possible national unity. This is based on national sovereignty and independence from US imperialism and its stooges, the liberation of the working class and peasantry and the promotion of the democratic rights and interests of all working people.

All patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals shall enjoy civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Consequent to the national liberation of the entire people from imperialism and the toiling masses from class oppression and exploitation, individual freedom and public participation shall be promoted to the utmost, with guarantees of such democratic rights as freedom of person, domicile, thought, religious belief, speech and assembly and other rights in a democratic bill of rights in the constitution of the people's democratic state.

There shall be no national, sexual, ethnic, racial or religious discrimination. The state, cooperative and private sectors shall be harmonized in an economic plan to provide every citizen a decent livelihood. Individual initiative and enterprise on the part of fishermen, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie shall be respected, encouraged and assisted. Overseas Filipinos, especially migrant workers shall be encouraged to contribute their talents, experience and skills to the all-round development of their motherland.

### ***4. Uphold the principle of democratic centralism!***

The Party shall uphold the principle of democratic centralism under the new state. The national government shall have central authority over the lower levels of government, and shall base its policies and decisions on the needs, demands and aspirations of the broad masses of the people and the lower levels of government. There shall be democratic deliberations and decision-making at

every level of government; and there shall be consultations between higher and lower levels of government and between every level of government and the people. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized authority.

At every level of the government (barrio, municipality, city, district, provincial and regional), there shall be elected representative bodies where decisions are taken democratically in response to the needs and demands of the people in their respective jurisdictions. A lower representative body shall be subordinate to the people's revolutionary congress which represents nationally the sovereign Filipino people. In the election of officials or in voting on any question, the rule of the majority shall be followed.

The people shall have the right and the means to express to the Party and the government their varied interests and views at any time. They shall supervise the Party, the government and its officials, criticize their errors and shortcomings and have the power of recall over government officials and effect the removal of Party officials who violate the rights and interests of the nation and the people.

### ***5. Build and cherish the New People's Army!***

There can be no people's democratic state without a people's army whose main and most essential function is to defend and secure it. In the first place, the people's democratic state cannot be established without the people's army defeating and destroying the reactionary state. The people's army composed mainly of fighters from the peasantry, must be under the leadership of the working class through the Party. Thus, at the core of the people's democratic power is the power of the proletariat, which is necessary for the subsequent socialist revolution.

The most pressing task of the people's army now is to defeat and destroy the US-created and US-supported reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines and all

other kinds of armed power in the hands of the exploiting classes and the reactionary state at all levels. The forces of the people's army are augmented by the militia, self-defense units and armed city partisans. The echelon of forces is developed in the course of people's war.

The people's army is a fighting, propaganda and productive force closely linked with the toiling masses of the people. Under the leadership of the Party, this army constantly strengthens itself through mass work, politico-military training and the armed struggle. The Party and the people must cherish the New People's Army and see to it that the people's fighters are well-provisioned and the needs and welfare of their immediate families are well attended to.

#### ***6. Solve the land problem!***

The main content of the people's democratic revolution is the struggle of the peasant masses to solve the land problem. The revolution must satisfy the basic demand of the poor peasants and farm workers for land. The agrarian revolution is the necessary requirement for the vigorous and successful conduct of the armed struggle and the creation and consolidation of revolutionary base areas.

The current minimum program of land reform is merely a preparation for the maximum program, which is the complete solution of the land problem. Land shall be distributed free to the landless tillers. Land rent, exploitation of hired labor, usury, price manipulation and other feudal and semifeudal evils shall be wiped out. Mutual aid teams and labor exchange systems shall be promoted as the preliminary step towards higher forms of agricultural cooperation. Through agricultural cooperation in stages of development, the socialist direction shall be taken and production shall be raised and well-planned, the sale of produce shall be assured at the best price possible and welfare services shall be guaranteed.

The Party shall ensure that the people's democratic government extend all possible and necessary support to raise agricultural

production through capital construction, mechanization, technical assistance, financial assistance and so on. The expanded and higher purchasing power of the peasantry shall stimulate and increase industrial production. The basis of the national economy shall be agriculture because it fulfills the food and raw material requirements of expanding industrialization. In turn, the peasantry shall immediately become the main market for the products of industry.

As the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture shall proceed, the machine and tractor stations shall serve as the command posts of the proletariat. Plantations and estates already efficiently operated on a mechanized basis before the revolution shall be converted into state farms where the workers shall establish proletarian power. Portions of export cropland in excess of the efficient level shall be subject to land reform and planted to other crops needed for domestic production and consumption.

#### ***7. Carry out national industrialization!***

The private ownership of the means of production and distribution by the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes shall be abolished. Basic industries shall be established and developed to produce basic metals, basic chemicals and capital goods. High technology shall be adopted and developed to serve the needs of the people.

National industrialization shall be the leading factor of the economy. While heavy industries shall be established, light industries shall be immediately undertaken to bridge heavy industry and agriculture. In the transition period, when socialist and bourgeois-democratic economic measures overlap, there shall be three sectors in the national economy: the state sector, the cooperative sector and the private sector.

All major financial institutions, major sources of raw materials and energy, all heavy and basic industries, major lines of domestic and foreign trade and all nationalized enterprises shall be run by the state sector. The peasants, fishermen, handicraftsmen and other petty producers shall be encouraged and provided with incentives to organize themselves into cooperatives to increase their productivity and assure themselves of a ready market. For a certain period and to a certain extent, the private sector including patriotic entrepreneurs and merchants, shall be encouraged to contribute

positively to economic construction.

The state and cooperative sectors of the economy shall be built up as factors of socialism. The private sector in industry shall be regulated so that it does not monopolize or harm the people's livelihood or subvert the socialist sector of the economy. Public ownership of the means of production shall become dominant and state economic planning will ensure the development of a comprehensive and well-balanced socialist economy.

#### ***8. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture!***

The working class through the Party assumes leadership in the field of culture and education in line with its leading revolutionary role. A people's democratic cultural revolution is necessary to rid the nation of the stultifying dominance of imperialist and feudal culture and education, including fascist mentality, bourgeois decadent behavior and superstition. The cultural revolution must advance and promote a national, scientific and mass culture.

In the course of the protracted people's war, the Party wages mass campaigns to transform the backward villages into cultural bastions of the Philippine revolution. Cultural cadres and cultural battalions arise in the countryside. Illiteracy and superstition are steadily wiped out through education. The program of people's democratic revolution is propagated.

The Party, the people's democratic government and all democratic forces shall see to it that the educational system and the mass media serve the national, scientific and democratic interests of the people. Education at all levels shall be free to everyone, depending on ability and without any discrimination due to lower economic class origin, ethnicity, race, religion, creed, or gender. The courses of study and study materials in the social sciences, philosophy, law, arts and letters and so forth shall be cleansed of pro-imperialist, feudalist, fascist and other pernicious biases and misinformation.

#### ***9. Respect the right to self-determination of the national minorities!***

All national minorities in the Philippines are entitled to the right of national self-determination, including regional autonomy and the right to secede. They have the right to decide their own destiny; free themselves from national oppression,

exploitation, chauvinism, racism and discrimination; achieve democracy; and pursue social progress in an all-round way. The Party and the people's democratic government shall always uphold the national and democratic rights of the national minorities. The national minorities shall be encouraged to take their rightful role and place in the people's democratic state and shall receive special considerations because of the extreme oppression and exploitation that they have suffered for so long in the hands of Spanish colonialism, US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

The Party leads the struggle against national oppression. The revolutionary forces must grow in strength among the national minorities and foster unity, cooperation and coordination. A new type of leadership, a revolutionary one, must be encouraged to rise from the national minorities so as to supplant the traditional leadership that has not only failed to fight for their rights but has also participated in their exploitation. Cadres of the Party and the revolution must be developed from among the national minorities.

#### ***10. Adopt an active, independent and peace-loving foreign policy!***

The Party through the various revolutionary and progressive formations strives to develop the broadest possible international relations of anti-imperialist solidarity, mutual support and cooperation with all forces – be they parties, movements, institutions or governments – abroad. The largest and widest possible moral and material support from abroad is greatly needed for winning total victory in the people's democratic revolution against the imperialists and local reactionaries.

Upon its establishment, the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines under the leadership of the Party shall abrogate all unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with US and Japanese and other imperialists and shall proclaim an active, independent and peace-loving foreign policy based on the national sovereignty of

the Filipino people and consonant with the principle of peaceful coexistence with all countries irrespective of ideology and social system. The People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines shall maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations with other countries.

The overriding principle of Philippine foreign relations shall be proletarian internationalism. The PDRP shall be an instrument for building socialism, shall have the closest relations with other socialist countries and shall support in every appropriate and possible way the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of the world.

To realize the foregoing ten points of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution,

the Party needs to set forth from time to time the specific demands and specific tasks in accordance with the concrete conditions in carrying out the revolution, it must always take stock of the available forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change and arrive at ways by which the level of the revolutionary struggle can be raised and advanced.

The general line of new-democratic revolution is clear. So is the socialist perspective. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism enables the CPP to foresee that building socialism shall take a whole historical epoch. The Party is confident that Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship shall guide it in consolidating socialism, combating revisionism and preventing capitalist restoration until the people of the whole world shall have defeated imperialism and made possible the realization of the ultimate goal of communism. **AB**

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES!**

**ONWARD WITH THE NEW-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION THROUGH  
PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR!**

**LONG LIVE THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY!  
VICTORY TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE!**

**LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN-SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!**