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Illegal Consultation
and Deceptive Position

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To Party Units under the National United Front Commission
27 September 1993

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ILLEGAL CONSULTATION AND DECEPTIVE POSITION

Memorandum of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee To Party Units under the National United Front Commission (NUFC)¹ On the NUFC Illegal Consultation and Deceptive Position

27 September 1993

The so-called "NUFC cadre consultation" held last August 4-5 was a move to deceive cadres and units of the NUFC and to circumvent the processes and policies of the Party in order to surreptitiously push a compromise with revisionism, opportunism, splittism and liquidationism, through a proposed "unity congress" and "unity summing-up".

The deceptive new "NUFC position" which was made as the basis and guide for discussions at the "consultation" is akin to the position pushed in the last quarter of 1992 by the "Group of 13" NUFC cadres which the NUFC cadres' conference in March 1993 criticized and rectified. While the "Group of 13" position had been the result primarily of their having been carried away by the avalanche of disinformation unleashed by the anti-Party elements, the present attempt to push a "centrist" position is an underhanded scheme by some leading NUFC cadres themselves to deceive and mislead NUFC cadres and units.

The situation in the Party has changed drastically since the last quarter of 1992. The bankruptcy of the factionalist and anti-Party elements, their refusal to accept responsibility for and rectify major deviations and errors in the past, and their rejection of the basic principles of the Party have all been exposed. Furthermore, the rectification movement is vigorously advancing in the whole country. The overwhelming majority of Party members resolutely stand by the proletarian revolutionary principles of the Party and are repudiating the deviations and errors of the past. In fact, even the first NUFC cadres' conference upheld the rectification movement.

Now, the promoters of the illegal "consultation" wish to stop the process of the Party's ideological, political and

¹ This document was originally restricted. However, the proponents of the so-called "NUFC" position have defied the Party central leadership and violated Party structures and processes campaigning for their line. This document is therefore being declassified and made available to all cadres and members of the Party. Certain tactical data, especially those about the ongoing reorganization of Party organs and units, have been edited out for reasons of security.

organizational consolidation, and the total defeat and repudiation of the elements who have degenerated, turned traitors and are now sabotaging and attacking the Party. In the name of unity, they wish the Party to disregard its principles, turn a blind eye, and agree to the unrelenting abuse of the Party's ideological, political and organizational integrity.

And behind the call for unity, they strive to undermine Party unity. They foment distrust, dissatisfaction and discontent against the central leadership of the Party. They cover up for, justify and defend the splittists and anti-Party elements while they heap blame and intrigues on the central leadership of the Party. They malign the proletarian revolutionary unity of the overwhelming majority who have remained loyal to the Party and have resolutely stood up to defend it against the all-out anti-Party campaign.

There is only one correct and principled response to the fraud and deceit of the promoters of the so-called "NUFC cadres' consultation": exposure, denunciation, and resolute counteraction.

In this memorandum, we shall discuss the issues raised regarding a "unity congress" and a "unity summing-up" as well as the status of the NUFC. There is a separate document on the questions related to the NDF.

A. Illegal "Consultation"

To smuggle through the deceptive new "NUFC position", two NUFC leading cadres, with the help of another one, treacherously acted and conspired to hold last August 4-5 the so-called "NUFC cadres' consultation" in violation of the processes not only of the Party but also of its National United Front Commission.

The "consultation" was called, not by any legitimate organ of the Party, but by some members of the NUFC Executive Committee (EC-NUFC) after they had deceived and maneuvered two other members of the committee away from the scene. Prior to the "consultation", an EC-NUFC meeting decided that the group would go into a guerrilla zone for the long-delayed consultations with the EC-CC, called by the latter. Two comrades took the trip ahead with the understanding that the three others would follow shortly. However, instead of joining the two comrades, the three schemed to hold the illegal "consultation".

The new "NUFC position" which was presented and made as the basis and guide for discussions at the "consultation", is also a fraud. The new "position" overturned the decisions of the first NUFC cadres' conference in March 1993. This was done not with the approval of the EC-NUFC nor any legitimate organ of the NUFC but through the machination of a few. The new "position" was neither processed nor approved by the appropriate organ of the Party or of the NUFC. The illegal "consultation" had been set for the purpose of smuggling through a fraudulent "position" and stamping it as a "decision" of, or with an "endorsement" by, deceived NUFC cadres.

The "consultation" is a gross violation of the correct relationship between the EC-CC and the NUFC. The latter is a staff organ with no authority to make policies, which is a matter within the scope of the central leading organ, and much less the authority to make its own policy against the central policy. This matter has previously been repeatedly explained and clarified to the NUFC, and the EC-NUFC had also been repeatedly criticized for violations in this connection. The "consultation" is also in violation of the long-standing and repeated EC-CC calls for consultations with the EC-NUFC. In a July 3, 1993 letter to the EC-CC, the acting NUFC head said they were attending to preparations for the consultation with the EC-CC and that they would not take any steps in violation of the Party policy.

The selection of cadres to include and exclude in the illegal "consultation" was arbitrary. Some cadres who attended the first conference were not invited for unknown reasons. Some units had no or had inadequate representation, while some other units were fully mobilized to attend the "consultation". Some who should have attended were not invited while some who should not have were made to attend.

The illegal "consultation" is misrepresented as following Party structures and processes. But there, the ideas of the anti-Party elements were given free rein; the conduct of the EC-NUFC members themselves did not differ at all from that of the spokespersons of anti-Party elements. While the Party central leadership, from whom the "consultation" was deliberately concealed, was made the target of attacks and intrigues, deprived of any opportunity to explain or defend itself. At the "consultation", bourgeois-liberal views ran rampant while the proletarian revolutionary line and principles were distorted and abused.

To this very day, as we finalize this memorandum, the

"consultation" and the matters taken up there continue to be concealed from EC-CC by the promoters. No report, no letter nor word has been sent by the acting NUFC chairperson, even as the communication line has been uninterrupted and closely monitored since July (for their coming) and, especially since August (for the report on the "consultation"). And neither has this person replied to letters sent by the EC-NUFC members already in the guerrilla zone. All that we know about the "consultation" came from other Party organs and from the initiative of individual cadres within the NUFC.

The acting NUFC chairperson reportedly said that the new "NUFC position" was still to be presented to the appropriate organ before it was to be discussed by units of the NUFC. But while it has not been sent to the EC-CC, the campaign to convince the units under NUFC to take the new "NUFC position" has been going on full blast. As early as August 5, 1993, a leading cadre of the Teachers' Bureau went around announcing to people outside the NUFC the supposed shift of the NUFC position to "rejection".

The promoters of the illegal "consultation" posture themselves as being "supersensitive" with regard to processes and due process. In their obsession with the question of process, they disregard and even trample on the major questions of line and principles. Despite their posturings, they do not hesitate to trifle with the processes and the principles of the Party nor with common standards of justice, reason and honesty.

**B. "Unity Summing-Up"
and Cessation of the Rectification Movement**

At the first conference in March 1993, after a thorough, protracted and intense discussion, the NUFC leading cadres united on the summing-up of the Central Committee and on upholding the rectification movement and democratic centralism of the Party. This unity has suddenly been reversed by the new "NUFC position" without adequate and clear bases being presented and, as earlier mentioned, without having gone through the proper processes of the Party and its NUFC.

At the outset, the new "NUFC position" claims the CC summing-up and its conclusions, although merely initial, are already firm. However, towards the end, after assailing what it conjured as a case of "wielding [these] as absolute", and after floating certain baseless questions and speculations on the CC's comprehension of the practice of the Party in the past, there is a sudden shift to the opposite: the conclusions of the summing-up can only be "sewn together and firmed up" (i.e., as of now, these are still initial, provisional and disparate) in a coming

congress. Therefore, the promoters of the "consultation" wish the Party to go back to zero, defer the rectification movement, return to a state of having no firm conclusions, of not perceiving any major deviation, shortcoming and damage, and, of course, revive the old program and policies of mixing right and wrong.

Through allegations and speculations utterly unsupported by facts, the new "NUFC position" charges that the CC's comprehension of the Party's past practice is questionable. But it does not point out, nor can it point out, any major analysis or conclusion that is wrong and without adequate basis in the CC summing-up. Nor can it show, even only a glimpse, its vaunted more comprehensive and more profound analysis of past practice. The acting NUFC chairperson simply casts some "might have been that" and "might have been this" and, presto, the facts and conclusions of the CC summing-up, which just last March the NUFC cadres' conference had so celebrated that for joy a poet among them rendered an ode, have become questionable.

To be able to insert a minute "but" which, at wink of an eye, is transformed into a giant swallowing up the entirety of the previous unity on the CC summing-up, the acting NUFC chairperson invented the accusation of "wielding as absolute" the CC summing-up and its conclusions. This, despite repeated clarifications by the CC and the EC-CC, that the dialectical-materialist process of deepening our knowledge and comprehension of our past experience does not end with "Reaffirm ..." nor is there any intention to end it here. In fact, we are already preparing the summing-up documents of the regions for distribution so that the entire Party can grasp even more the lessons drawn from our experience. The center has been following and assisting in the summings-up being conducted at various scopes and levels. And to edify all, these summings-up do not merely confirm the conclusions of the CC summing-up. The actual gravity and extent of the deviations and errors, including the extent of damage caused, have been shown to exceed what were analyzed and assessed at the 10th Plenum. This means: an even greater wealth of data proves that indeed we should not "wield as absolute" the analyses and conclusions of the CC summing-up, but this also further proves that the need for a thoroughgoing rectification movement is indeed very urgent.

The acting NUFC chairperson cited the case of a company lodged in the forest when not fighting. This case was cited in the draft of the summing-up document and edited out in the final version because it could not be immediately confirmed, but not long afterwards, it was confirmed to be correct. The NUFC

comrade knows the true and entire story. Basically, the change on the draft did not affect any of principal conclusions of the summing-up. And if the incident proved anything at all, it is the rigor exercised by the central leadership in ascertaining the data used in the summing-up. But there is a peculiar twitch in the acting NUFC chairperson's logic and viewpoint: the incident is used as added proof for the contention that the conclusions of the CC summing-up are not absolute and, therefore, cannot yet be considered firm.

The acting NUFC chairperson has also been echoing and broadcasting one of the biggest lies against "Reaffirm...": that this was finalized and distributed by the EC-CC, contrary to the decision of the 10th Plenum itself. And this supposedly is the reason why the former head of the Visayas Commission "ran amok", attacking and sabotaging the Party. Through its mouth, the fish is caught. How could this have happened when the EC-CC released the final summing-up document only in the second week of October while as early as September, the "SGVC" conspirators had already written to the regional committees in the Visayas soliciting support for their stand against the 10th Plenum decisions on the summing-up and the rectification movement, the former SGVC head had already gone around the National Capital Region (NCR) to spread lies against the 10th Plenum, and they had already deceived the armed unit of the former General Command [of the NPA] and caused its break-up??

Among those who attended the 10th CC plenum, only one expressed a slightly similar, but not as extensive, question on the accuracy of the final summing-up document in reflecting the plenum's decisions. He raised questions on the final document regarding the declaration on the major deviations from the line, aside from some formulations. But this was quickly resolved when he was asked to read the resolution on the rectification movement, as collectively discussed and approved by the plenum without any objection.

The acting NUFC chairperson also twisted the question regarding the company formations and used it to undermine the stand of NUFC cadres on the CC summing-up. This person made it appear that what the CC criticized was the building itself of company formations, and supposedly because the comrades in the regions, especially cadres in the army, could not be convinced, the EC-CC has been forced to make various compromises if only to gather support, even artificial and grudging, for the CC summing-up and rectification movement.

First, this distortion of the question already came up as

early as 1989 and the EC-CC has already straightened this up, but people who cannot raise serious arguments against it refuse to let go. The issue is not the setting up of companies per se but the excessive and rapid setting up of companies leading to gross imbalances and vulnerability and also to growing neglect of and losses in the mass base. To persist in making such misrepresentation is a mark of gross irresponsibility, dishonesty in the study and debate, and refusal to acknowledge one's errors.

Second, the 10th Plenum did not make any decision to dissolve all the companies, and the EC-CC has also clarified this time and again. What the Plenum decided was the entire shift in priority from verticalization and big formations previously to horizontal forces and extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, closely correlated with building of the mass base. Thus anybody who spreads the lie that the mere maintenance of a company in a region immediately indicates objection to the rectification movement is not only distorting the issue but is also trying to undermine unity in the Party.

Third, the acting NUFC chairperson, or whoever is the source of disinformation, is sowing intrigue by peddling the lie that the EC-CC haggled and compromised with comrades in Mindanao regarding the maintenance of the companies. Right at the 10th Plenum, the regions and guerrilla fronts that could maintain company-size main forces but dispersed when not in training or on military offensives were specified.

And fourth, the supposed conflict between the Samar Regional Party Committee and the battalion command over the dismantling of the companies is a mere figment of the imagination of the acting NUFC head or whoever is his/her informant.

The main reason being stressed why a Party congress is necessary before sewing and firming up the conclusions of the summing-up is to cure what is claimed as its fatal defect: the supposed refusal to consider the stand of the "opposition". Thus, without presenting any new facts or serious arguments, the promoters of the illegal "consultation" have revived the issue regarding the capability and authority of the Central Committee to make the summing-up without consulting comrades under enemy detention. They have revived the baseless accusation that there was deliberate intention to not consult these comrades. They also make it appear that without the genius of those in the "opposition", the knowledge and capability of the CC to grasp and analyze the experiences of the past would be critically inadequate. Moreover, they make it appear that in the CC's discussions of our past experiences, and despite more than a year

of struggle and debate, the stand of "opposition" has not yet been presented and has not yet been considered.

By the way the proponents present their new "NUFC position", it is not only their turning a deaf ear to the explanations of the CC and EC-CC that is clear; it seems that they also wish to put the vaunted stand of the "opposition" among the greatest mysteries of the world. There is no sincerity in their presentation. If it is indeed the correctness of the summing-up that they are after, why do they refuse to focus on the issues and, from the pile of the "opposition's" papers and statements, point out the data and analysis which prove in a credible way, at the level of principles and of practice, that the analyses and conclusions of the CC summing-up are wrong or doubtful? Why is it that after more than a year of study and struggle, their demeanor is still that of a cat sniffing around a bowl of hot soup? Why the continuing avoidance of concrete questions of principle and line? Why can they not go one step beyond simply turning over and over the issue of "correct process and correct method of summing-up"?

Because they close their eyes to the substance and seriousness of the struggle, and allow themselves to get carried away excessively by emotion, the proponents of the new "NUFC position" easily convinced themselves that the proposed "unity summing-up" is correct and reasonable for all. And because they start from a bourgeois-liberal, not from the proletarian revolutionary standpoint, they think that to sacrifice principles for unity and harmony is an honorable practice. And further, because they do not comprehend the magnitude of the damage caused by deviations and errors, and the extreme urgency of the rectification movement, they think it is not disaster but all advantage that awaits if their proposal is followed. Thus, even only in

anticipation the EC-CC's likely objection, their chests are already tightening in anguish over what they misconstrue as sheer arrogance or narrow-mindedness.

The proposed "unity summing-up" is, first of all, not possible. It is impossible to make a summing-up acceptable both to the Party and to the anti-Party elements, especially now that the latter have totally exposed their rejection of Marxism-Leninism, the line of the people's democratic revolution, the theory and line of the people's war, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Leninist concept of a vanguard party. To be able to correctly sum up our experience, we cannot and must not obscure the differences between the contending views and lines,

on the contrary, we must make a sharp distinction between the correct and the wrong lines and take a firm stand on the correct line against the wrong line.

The proposed "unity summing-up" does not only obscure the distinction between the correct and wrong lines but also denigrate the significance of revolutionary principles. Supposedly for the sake of unity, the proposal is pushing for the direct participation of elements openly advocating the rejection of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary line of the Party. How can we make a correct summing-up of our revolutionary practice from a revisionist, opportunist and the anti-Party point of view or even from a point of view that does not recognize nor take a stand against revisionist, opportunist and anti-Party lines?

Second, the proposal proves that the new "NUFC position" has not grasped the truth that the rectification movement is a matter of life-and-death for the Party and the revolution. The proponents cannot comprehend nor imagine, on the one hand, the grave harm caused by past deviations, errors and shortcomings, and the great disorientation created by these among the ranks of the Party, the army and the mass movement; and, on the other hand, the beacon, direction and new confidence that have been brought about by the CC's summing-up and the rectification movement among the membership of the Party and the revolutionary forces, especially among those who are in the midst of recovery, of regaining their strength and vigor while under constant attack by the fascist troops of reaction.

Our summing-up and rectification movement have been long overdue. Nevertheless, these have stopped the slide of the Party and movement towards irreparable weakening and disintegration. Our forces have been rallied; our Party cadres and members have regained revolutionary resolve and have been given clear revolutionary leadership and direction. We still have many problems and much to do in resolutely struggling to recover and restrengthen the Party organization, the mass movement and mass base, the people's army, and the various lines of work. But the Party now comprehends the errors and shortcomings that should be corrected, as well as the tasks to attend to in order to put the Party and the revolution again on the correct path of steady and all-sided advance.

The proponents of the new "NUFC position" apparently has the notion that their proposal means a simple return to studying, discussing and reviewing the conclusions of the CC summing-up. They are absolutely wrong. In the face of the unprecedented

damage brought about by our own errors as well as under conditions that the forces of local and international reaction, revisionism and opportunism hold sway, only our unshakable stand for the revolutionary principles and our unwavering identification and rectification of past deviations, errors and shortcomings, has firmed up and can firm up the determination and unity of the cadres and members of the Party to persevere on the revolutionary road. In this situation, for the Party to be misled by or to waver in combating revisionism and opportunism, as well as for it to lack honesty and seriousness in pursuing the rectification of gross deviations and errors, would surely be self-destructive, for it would mean allowing the unity and determination of the proletarian core of the revolution to be finally destroyed. (Considering their magnitude and gravity, it would be gross, not just ordinary, dishonesty, to cover up or to still deny these deviations and errors.)

For us to follow the proposed "unity summing-up", means not only that we would have to set aside the rectification movement but also that we would have to allow full initiative to the revisionists and opportunists in propagating their anti-Party and counterrevolutionary line. It also means that the Party would have to abandon the overwhelming majority of cadres and members who have resolutely and firmly stood by it and to destroy the unity which they have forged in a period of intense trial. After this, any effort to organize anew a fairly strong vanguard party basing itself on the proletarian revolutionary line would certainly be so many times more difficult and may even become impossible for some time.

Third, the view taken by proposed "unity summing-up" that the Party's most important obligation today is to accommodate openly anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-Party viewpoints, would revert the Party to a state of having no definite judgment and comprehension of its practice in the past decade. It would also revert the Party to a state of doubt and uncertainty about its basic principles, its ideological, political and organizational line. It would mean nothing else but discarding our basic principles and declaring an open season for questioning, doubting, repudiating and denouncing these within the Party itself. It is not solely the rectification movement that would be derailed by the proposal; the entire Party and the entire revolution would be dismantled and disorganized by it.

The proposed "unity summing-up" does not only go against revolutionary principle but it is also impractical and extremely damaging. Whatever may be the sentiments and intentions behind it, the proposal can only wreak havoc on the Party and the

revolution.

C. Unity Congress: Uniting with Revisionism, Opportunism, Splittism and Liquidationism

After over one year of intense struggle, the Party has reached the stage of closing the internal struggle against those involved in all-out campaign to attack, sabotage and destroy the Party. After this, we can devote full attention to the comprehensive consolidation and restrengthening of the Party, the mass movement, the people's army and the united front. The all-out anti-Party campaign not only was a hindrance to the launching of the long-needed rectification movement and consolidation, it aggravated the losses and difficulties borne by the revolutionary movement.

In this struggle, the devotion and determination of the overwhelming majority of Party cadres and members [at the start of the rectification movement] to the proletarian revolutionary line have been proven. The principal promoters of gross deviations and errors in the past who refuse to remold themselves and refuse to rectify have also proven to be out-and-out new-type anticommunists, in a chorus with the international and local bourgeoisie in attacking Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship and concept of the vanguard party; in repudiating the line of the democratic people's revolution and protracted people's war; in propagating capitulationism, parliamentarism and reformism; and in unrelentingly sabotaging the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Defending the proletarian revolutionary principles of the Party is an obligation of every Party cadre and member. We must resolutely and thoroughly advance this struggle if we intend to safeguard the core of the revolutionary forces that has suffered unprecedented damage because of previous deviations and errors and that is now struggling to rectify and put the revolution anew on the correct road of steady and allround advance. Without this core, without its firm grasp of the correct revolutionary line and without its full determination to persevere in revolutionary struggle, the revolution cannot strengthen itself again nor resume its advance.

In the current alignment of the forces of revolution and counterrevolution, on one side are the Party and the revolutionary movement, rectifying gross deviations and errors; persevering in the revolutionary road and exerting all efforts to restrengthen and reinvigorate itself by integrating more deeply with the broad masses and taking deeper root among them. On the

other is the U.S.-Ramos regime with its objective of finally destroying the revolutionary movement, especially the Party and its armed strength, through relentless military offensives aiming for decisive battles in a purely military situation, as well as through an all-out psywar offensive aimed at dividing, confusing and drawing the revolutionary forces to capitulationism, parliamentarism and reformism. The reactionary enemy has the illusion that if the revolutionary movement cannot be crushed in a single blow, it can continue to disintegrate and collapse from uncontrolled demoralization, disorientation and fragmentation. Given this alignment of antagonistic forces, the elements who deliberately undermine the revolutionary forces' confidence on the Party and on the revolutionary line, who sabotage the revolutionary efforts to rectify and overcome the damage wrought by past deviations and errors, and who propagate revisionism, capitulationism, parliamentarism and liquidationism are, without doubt, catering to the counterrevolutionary designs and interests of the U.S.-Ramos reactionary regime.

However, there are elements such as the proponents of the new "NUFC position" who avow acceptance of the Party's basic principles and of the rectification movement, but who are not prepared to defend these from the "opposition's" distortions and attacks and, furthermore, cannot repudiate the "opposition" for these. And as they have proven with their illegal "consultation", they would rather sacrifice principles and cause damage to the Party than break up with entities whom to them are more than holy and, thus, they dignify with the label "opposition". Driven by personal reasons and sentiments, and obsessed by liberal illusions of harmony and unity at whatever cost, they are convinced and are trying to convince others that the anti-Party elements constitute such a "significant block" that the Party cannot afford to lose or to rid itself of. The illegal "consultation" and the discussions there prove that for the sake of uniting with the "opposition", the proponents of the new "NUFC position" would happily sacrifice the principles and rules of the Party, the rectification movement, and, even more, the Party central leadership. They are attempting to recycle -- adding their own filth -- into a new package labeled "unity" the anti-Party garbage being strewn about by the splittists and liquidationists, the new-type anticommunists, which has been rejected and is being swept away by the vast majority who have remained as Party cadres and members.

The new "NUFC position", misrepresents the Party as being gripped by a grave unity crisis, which it claims, has finally led to the factionalization of the Party all because of the sins of the central leadership whom they accuse of factionalism. The

Party central leadership is slandered as a faction frenziedly maneuvering and persecuting others to preserve their powers. "Erratic, neurotic and schizophrenic", concluded someone after hearing the "new data" dished out by the acting NUFC chairperson; and also according to the acting NUFC chairperson, immature, at another instance, "paranoid". Meanwhile the "opposition" are misrepresented as innocent victims of abuse and repression by the central organ, "pushed" to "run amok" and "forced" to declare "autonomy" (adamantly denied as splittism and separation by the acting NUFC chairperson). But after presenting such a grossly distorted and falsified picture of the Party, the promoters of the illegal "consultation" now offer a quick cure: rise above this pitiable situation, hold a "unity congress" attended by all (including the traitors so that they can be crushed there!?) and led by the current central leadership, which though claimed as factionalist and de facto (not legitimate) leaves us no other choice. After such a "unity congress", like a miracle, everything would be transformed -- the center, from illegitimacy to legitimacy; the current anti-Party elements to loyal Party elements; those who would persist in acting outside Party structure, from innocent victims to real traitors; and the Party, from disunity to a bastion of unity! This, the new "NUFC position" proposes, is the "only honorable position" under the present circumstances for achieving unity.

Totally against reality and logic, the new "NUFC position" is not unlike the sales pitch of a sidewalk quack peddling panacea: no real diagnosis of illness, full of amazing stories, sowing fear and apprehension, but offering a quick cure. All Party units and members who are aware of the real situation and events within the Party, especially with regard to the rectification movement, can certainly see easily the distortion and confusion running through every part and the entirety of the so-called new "NUFC position". But because this is being misrepresented as the position of one Party organ, and there are NCR-based Party units which, it seems, are being confused, if not misled by it, we are obliged to make the following clarifications:

1. The real character of the so-called "opposition"

The new "NUFC position" takes a one-sided, superficial and bourgeois-liberal view of the current struggle and of what it mitigates by calling the "opposition". It misrepresents the root and all of the struggle as disagreements over the issue of "process", and thus can be resolved also through "the correct process". As presented by new "NUFC position", this is what happened: the central leadership conducted a summing-up and a

plenum which displeased and was objected to by the "opposition"; there was an exchange of letters and position papers between the center and the "opposition"; but the center, instead of vanquishing the "opposition" in debate, used organizational measures; thus, the struggle worsened; some "ran amok" (the Pol gang or former SGVC [Standing Group of the Visayas Commission]) and some were forced to declare "autonomy" (the Popoy gang).

In such a presentation, what have the proponents of the new "NUFC position" omitted or covered up?

They omit and cover up the big deviations and errors which culminated in unprecedented damage; the gross responsibility of the individuals and groups aligned in the "opposition" for these, and their refusal to criticize themselves or rectify these gross deviations and errors. In summing up various areas and levels of work, we continue to discover even more serious manifestations or degrees of deviations and errors, as well as even more corrupt activities and millions of pesos (29 million in one case), missing, spent or misappropriated by some of these so-called oppositionist, without any report and proper accounting. We have also discovered even graver violations of the Party's democratic centralism prior to the open factionalist and anti-Party campaign: making decisions beyond authority or jurisdiction, withholding important analyses and decisions of the central leading organs from lower organs, and keeping secret from the central leadership important decisions and plans being implemented at lower levels. In the main, the most aggressive in the "opposition" and the most adamant in obstructing the rectification movement are those who are covering up their responsibility for the grossest deviations, errors and damage in the past.

The proponents of the new "NUFC position" omit and cover up the fact that in the last quarter of 1992, the alignment which they have baptized as the "opposition" came into being not merely to present their opposition and to challenge decisions of the 10th CC plenum. They dreamed and aimed for an "upsurge within the Party", a campaign of slander and vilification against the central leadership and the rectification movement, a campaign of inciting Party members and units to reject, rise up, and collude with them in besieging the central leadership. The conspirators took advantage of the central leadership's problems with communications and basing in order to campaign outside Party structures and processes and beyond the knowledge of the central leadership. The conspirators thought that between September and November, they were capable of unleashing an anti-Party upsurge.

The first "opposition" paper which we received reached us in the third week of November, sent by a region far from the NCR. In the second week of December, we received other "running amok" papers from the "SGVC", "GC" and "KRMR" [Tagalog initials of the former Manila-Rizal Regional Committee], including a copy of a "petition" without a date, without any addressee, and without any signature, courtesy of a region again far from the NCR. None of the criticisms, complaints and objections of the "opposition" was ever directed or presented to the central leadership. Up to now, we have not received any petition against the 10th Plenum and the rectification movement. According to the acting NUFC chairperson, the complete list of those who signed up was not sent because they might be suppressed. The fact is that not a single signature has reached us. Among those confirmed to have signed, there are those who have withdrawn their signatures after explanations regarding the disinformation and distortions against the 10th Plenum, including all those from the NUFC who had been misled into signing, except two. There are also those whose names were used without their knowledge. There are also those who signed up only because they agreed with the calling of a new plenum or a second congress but supposedly did not agree with the accusation that the 10th Plenum is bogus nor that the rectification movement is wrong.

The EC-CC's responses and clarifications with regard to the anti-Party papers and "opposition" campaign were made and issued only towards the end of November. The factionalists and anti-Party elements had had three months of wreaking havoc, with the EC-CC not knowing it and unable to defend itself. This means that what frustrated the first wave of the anti-Party campaign was the loyalty to the Party of the vast majority of Party cadres and members then, who through individual study and effort, rejected and condemned the "opposition's" slander and incitement. Had there been no such loyalty of members and units of the Party, and had the wishes of the "opposition" been followed, the Party organization would certainly have been fragmented.

The ranks of those who had been misled by the "opposition" further dwindled after their boasts about getting the majority of the Party membership proved empty, and after the EC-CC clarifications had been issued. And even in the ranks of the "opposition" itself, differences emerged between those who had become determined and diehard anti-Party and some who remained open to studying the issues and events, and sincere in seeking clarifications with the Party.

The biggest thing being omitted and covered up by the proponents of the new "NUFC position" is this: from the first

quarter of 1993, especially from March 1993, the most loudmouthed and most aggressive among the "opposition" (who from the very start were dominant among them and determined their general activities) have openly turned their backs on Marxism-Leninism, on the line of the people's democratic revolution, on the line of the protracted people's war, and on the Leninist concept of a vanguard party. During the last quarter of 1992, even the most brazen in the "opposition" postured as arguing against the analyses and conclusions of the CC summing-up from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the line of the people's democratic revolution, and the line of protracted people's war. But from the first quarter of 1993, according to those who themselves are directly involved in the "opposition", it is no longer just the correctness of the summing-up that is at issue for the hardened anti-Party elements but the very correctness of the Party's basic principles. They now openly peddle modern revisionism, insurrectionism, populism, capitulationism, splittism and liquidationism.

From "opposition" to the rectification movement and the 10th Plenum, they have become all-out "opposition" to the proletarian revolutionary line and the principles of the Party. Behind the anti-Stalinist line, they outrightly repudiate and assail Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Leninist concept of the vanguard party and the socialist revolution from the stand and viewpoint of the Gorbachovites, Bukharinists and social-democrats, as well as through the crudest anticommunist methods. At the same time, they now directly denigrate protracted people's war, insist on the insurrectionist line, toy with, or outrightly uphold populism and parliamentarism, and uphold the capitulationist line in peace negotiations.

And if in the last quarter of 1992, the "opposition" had illusions that they could overturn the central leadership and the rectification movement through an "upsurge within the Party" and they still pretended not to have left the Party, from March 1993 they have turned to separation and splittism, and propagation of liquidationism. Earlier on, Paco (Ricardo Reyes) and the Gorbachovites declared their dream of setting up a pluralist, parliamentarist and populist New Left Formation to supplant the Party which they consider as representative of "old decadent structures". The Popoy (Lagman) gang is pushing for a party that would "encompass all trends within the ranks of the working class", with freedom for various tendencies and freedom of factions and blocs. On July 14, they formally declared "autonomy" from the principles, line and discipline of the Party (splittism and separation, in the words of ordinary mortals), and

after this, Popoy arrogantly declared, "Now the revolution can begin!" Meanwhile, Tabara and his gang are ever on the lookout to grab and spread whatever new anti-Party inventions the Gorbachovites and the Popoy gang issue and, for the first time in many years, are now staying in the Visayas for longer periods, proof of their sincerity in sabotaging and harming the Party.

In short, the new "NUFC position" omits and covers up the true character and activities of the "opposition", their ceaseless, determined and deliberate violation, sabotage and betrayal of the Party.

It is true that there are some who had previously aligned themselves or gotten involved with the "opposition" without directly joining the anti-Party chorus and have not attacked the revolutionary line of the Party. They are not counted among the anti-Party elements but neither have they at all principally determined the activities of the "opposition". The acting NUFC chairperson mentions "some innocent parties" who can get trampled upon in the struggle. If there are indeed such elements, they must clearly demonstrate how different they are from the traitors and diehard anti-Party elements. However, the Party keeps close track of the moves of the anti-Party elements and, at all times, determines the varying levels of responsibility of individuals. But it would be a gross subjectivist error, if not a deliberate distortion, for the proponents of the "NUFC position" to cover up the predominantly anti-Party activities and character of these groups only because there are a few vacillating ones in the "opposition", -- especially after more than a year of intense struggles.

More than one year of intense struggles prove that the all-out factionalist and anti-Party campaign which has culminated in outright splittism and peddling of the liquidationist line is not a simple misunderstanding or disparate differences of views on some tactical issues, nor much less is it merely a "voicing out of some resentment" over some excesses within the Party. This last one is sheer invention of anti-Party elements for deceiving cadres and members of the Party, as well as themselves. The struggle is a long-running one against a determined and systematic line of opposing the basic principles of the Party, which has grown more intense since the Party identified and criticized the gross deviations and errors, and has now become a vicious campaign to attack and destroy the Party since the Central Committee decided to carry out a thoroughgoing rectification movement. Since the first quarter of 1993, the opponents of the Party have openly and comprehensively repudiated Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary line of the Party.

Thus, it is only proper to refer to the line, activities and ideas being propagated by the anti-Party elements as counterrevolutionary. Such line, activities and ideas run counter and are antagonistic to the interest of the revolution and, thus, are absolutely impermissible within the Party.

The longstanding and gross deviations and shortcomings were conditions for the emergence and growth of various petty-bourgeois influences and tendencies within the Party. Since 1990, it has been very clear that certain elements, especially in the organs and circles based in the NCR, were already convinced about renouncing the Party's revolutionary principles and, in the running controversies over tactical issues and struggles, were not content just with internal debates along proper channels but went around spreading their ideas through informal channels. Paco admitted sometime ago that as early as 1988, he and his cohorts already had a secret reform bloc within the Party. And by 1990, aside from their deliberate promotion of anti-Marxist-Leninist concepts, there were also their conscious maneuvers to fan discontent against the central leadership, form a separate and more or less visible bloc, block the dissemination and implementation of decisions of the legitimate central leadership, and surreptitiously implement their own "policies" and "decisions" on major national issues and struggles.

As early as then, decisive steps to safeguard the integrity of the Party were already imperative, but the Party itself had just begun to perceive the evil of a program of mixing right and wrong. With the emergence of the fullscale factionalist and anti-Party campaign after the CC's 10th Plenum, it has become even more imperative that decisive steps are taken to rid the Party of the factionalist and anti-Party elements. But the still widespread and grave disorientation, looseness and confusion became a big obstacle and factor. The Party had been restrained from fully using its rights and legitimate instruments in defending itself against the unrelenting attacks and acts of sabotage, although it had clearly pointed out and condemned the anti-Party and counterrevolutionary character of the campaign. Under the circumstances, there had to be a consideration of the level of understanding of the issues by the cadres and members as well as of the task of reaching out and making explanations to those who had been misled by disinformation.

But now more than one year has passed since the CC's 10th plenum and since the explosion of the fullscale struggle inside and outside the Party. There has been time enough for explanations and persuasion; those involved in the "opposition"

have been afforded more than enough opportunity to weigh the issues and decide clearly. So much time that should have been spent on the rectification movement has been redirected to efforts at reaching out to as many of those misled as possible. A comrade who has since died said, "We want to advance." It is not possible for us to indefinitely restrain the advance of the rectification movement and the firm efforts to pursue the revolutionary line. Should there be some who lag behind and get separated but who are truly sincere and still determined in waging revolution (proof of which is standing by the revolutionary principles and willingness to rectify deviations and errors), the door for them shall not be totally closed. But those who have been actively and persistently pushing anti-Party lines, concepts and activities must expect the Party to fight and struggle against them resolutely, vigorously and unremittingly.

When a line or activity is counterrevolutionary, its relation to the revolutionary line and struggle is antagonistic. The use of the term counterrevolutionary has been seized upon and exploited by the anti-Party elements as well as by the schemers of the illegal "consultation" to fling at the Party central leadership the charge of fanaticism and narrow-mindedness. It has also been seized and exploited by them to arouse sentimentalism and emotionalism, and to pose as aggrieved. And because of low theoretical level and widespread confusion and looseness regarding principles, there are not a few who fall for the anti-Party elements' posturings and deception.

But the anti-Party elements' renunciation of revolutionary principles has become more and more flagrant as time passes. Their abuse of the integrity, interest and security of the Party and the revolutionary movement has been relentless, unceasing and has also become more flagrant as time passes. Their obstruction of efforts to rectify the major deviations and errors in the past has exposed their gross insincerity and their adamant refusal to remold themselves. Their all-out campaign to attack, sabotage, split and destroy the Party is incontrovertible proof that they have more than turned their backs on the Party and now consider it their bitter enemy, an object of anger and slander. They themselves, by word and deed, destroy whatever contribution they have made to the revolution. Nobody, no matter how big the sacrifice or contribution to the revolution, has the right or privilege to refuse to remold himself and to rectify errors. Nobody, no matter how big the sacrifice or contribution to the revolution, has the right or privilege to attack, damage and wreck the Party and revolution.

Those who accuse the Party of slinging the label

counterrevolutionary on any kind of objection to decisions of the Party central leadership either grossly distort the issues, cover up for anti-Party elements, or are truly confused.

There are also those who try to deceive and scare others by claiming that when a group or an individual is labeled counterrevolutionary, it supposedly means preparation for the use of violence or physical elimination. As early as the last quarter of 1992, the anti-Party elements have been spreading irresponsible prattle about using violence. There are those like Tales² who it seems desire nothing else but the explosion of violence between the Party and the anti-Party elements.

It is our general policy to fight the counterrevolutionaries and defeat them within the Party and in the bases and guerrilla zones. But never has their physical elimination been our general policy. There are various ways of dealing with, combating and crushing the counterrevolutionaries. Execution is only one of them and is reserved for the worst elements with grave crimes against the revolution and the people. Generally, in fighting counterrevolutionary traitors, the Party relies on the exposure, denunciation, isolation, expulsion, and withdrawal of the right to membership and to interfere in any revolutionary organization. Those who have or who acquire criminal responsibility against the revolution and the people are subject to being charged and tried in the people's court.

It is wrong and against principles to come to terms with elements who determinedly and relentlessly propagate anti-Party and counterrevolutionary activities, ideas and lines. Such activities, ideas and lines constitute treachery to revolutionary principles and aspirations, and totally disqualifies their diehard propagators from membership in the Party. These should not be permitted but should in fact be thoroughly combated within the Party. To propose or to permit that such elements -- whose activities, ideas and lines are counterrevolutionary -- remain in the Party is to agree to and participate in the liquidation of the vanguard party of the revolutionary proletariat.

The proposed "unity congress" is even more unacceptable. If anti-Party activities, lines and elements are impermissible within the Party, it is even more impermissible to give the anti-Party elements the opportunity to join in the process of deciding the Party's principles, line and rules. To drag the name of Lenin into the proposed "unity congress" is sheer deception. We must remember that when Menshevik opportunism reached the point of pushing a liquidationist proposal of building a broad workers'

2 ² A pseudonym used by Joel Rocamora in writing anti-Party articles.

party to replace an illegal Marxist party, it was not compromising or uniting with them that the Bolsheviks had in mind, instead they summarily repudiated the Mensheviks as traitors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. It is not the example of Lenin that is being followed by the proponents of the "unity congress" but the example of the Mensheviks and the centrist Trotsky faction after the frustrated first revolution in Russia.

As long as the anti-Party elements relentlessly slander, attack and sabotage the Party, the conditions do not exist for us to unite or be friends with them at whatever level or scope. They must be thoroughly exposed and isolated and must not be allowed to deceive, hoodwink and make trouble among the organizations and within our areas at all levels.

2. Intrigues and Slander Against the Central Leadership

It is one gauge of the confusion as well as of the intensity of the damage not only to the organization and mass base but also to the reasoning of some elements in the Party, that there are those who posture as exemplars of honesty and propriety but do not hesitate to wallow in the mire of the most shameless kinds of distortion and slander. The intrigues of the anti-Party elements, also being purveyed by the proponents of the new "NUFC position", are ordinary rubbish for burying the real issues and, moreover, are obviously malicious and distorted; these do not deserve a formal response. Nonetheless, we will directly clarify these with the comrades who are spreading or are confused by these.

In this section, we wish to clarify the following intrigues purveyed in the illegal "consultation":

a. "The EC-CC has withdrawn from defending the existence of quorum at the CC's 10th Plenum and shields itself with the issue of 'collective will' to insist on the plenum's legality and decisions." This supposedly was the report of a former political detainee who had talked to the EC-CC.

The EC-CC's stand on the legality of the 10th CC plenum remains unchanged and firm. All CC members were notified about the plenum, every effort was made to assemble all members in the country, that some could not attend was not deliberate on our part, and despite the inability of some to attend, a sufficient number was assembled for the plenum to proceed. The legality of

the plenum and the necessity and correctness of its decisions have been firmly upheld by almost all the CC members in good standing at the time of plenum.

The issue of "collective will" was clarified by the EC-CC to explain the spirit and letter of the rule on a quorum. The spirit of the rule is to ensure that decisions of the assembly would always faithfully reflect the true "collective will" of the leading committee of the Party, instead of the will of a minority claiming it to be the will of the whole organization. The EC-CC never used the issue to circumvent letter and technicality of the rule on a quorum.

The current CC rule on a quorum does not require an exact number or percentage to be achieved at all times. As far as possible, all CC members must be assembled, and if this is not achieved due to circumstances beyond control, a sufficient number (always a majority, of course,) must be assembled to have a truly collective decision of the committee. This rule is adapted to the war situation in which the Party exists, and has served the Party well.

Regarding the EC-CC's conversation with the aforementioned former political detainee whom the proponents of the new "NUFC position" now cite as authority for their contention that the present central leadership is illegal, it is not true that the EC-CC retreated from its position on the legality of the 10th Plenum, based on the letter and spirit of the rule on a quorum. However, we recognized the right of any Party member to propose any amendment to the existing rule, based on the lessons learned from the current troublemaking of the factionalist and anti-Party elements.

- b. "The current central leadership is not legitimate, it is merely de facto."

This is the latest ruse of the promoters of the illegal "consultation" who claim to stand by the basic principles of the Party and yet refuse to subject themselves to the policies and decisions of the Party on the rectification movement and to the full discipline of the Party, refuse to take a stand against anti-Party activities and elements, and are chasing after reconciliation and unity with the anti-Party elements. The only possible decision and activity of the central

leadership that they would be willing to support is a "unity congress" and a "unity summing-up".

This is the line of those whose intent is to deceive, or whose minds are split, whose souls are split, and who wish to straddle the fence. The promoters of the illegal "consultation" are still in the Party but they wish to exclude themselves from the discipline of adhering to Party policies and decisions. Thus, the line, "not legitimate, but de facto", snugly fits their needs.

But as this paper clarifies, this line goes against the principles, goes against the rules of the Party, and is grossly harmful to the Party and the revolution. This is a line for disrupting and wrecking the Party.

c. "Factionalism of the center."

This is an accusation flung by the proponents of the new "NUFC position" without a shred of basis at all. Flinging such a serious accusation becomes merely amusement when people have begun to toy with the principles and rules of the Party.

The accusation reflects the accusers' thinking process rather than the actual situation and activities of the central leadership. In their bourgeois-liberal frame of mind, what is necessary and of paramount importance is reconciliation and unity between the Party and the anti-Party elements, between the proletarian revolutionary line and all sorts of new-type anticommunist, opportunist and capitulationist lines. Thus, the central leadership's firm stand and defense of the Party's ideological, political and organizational integrity is -- not surprisingly -- misconstrued by them as "fanaticism", "narrow-mindedness" and "factionalism".

d. "Suppression and violation of due process."

The Popoy gang and other anti-Party elements are the ones most raucously drumming up the bogus issue of absolutism and authoritarianism against the Party. But through their unremitting deception and disinformation, manipulation and underhanded maneuvers, bullying and intimidation, and mobster conduct in the legal mass movement they are in fact the foremost suppressors of free and democratic decisionmaking by cadres and members of the Party. The Party central leadership has no need of and has never had any liking at all for such methods. What the Party desires and demands is firm unity and strong determination to struggle on the basis of informed decision and conviction.

The expulsion of individuals and dissolving of groups

sabotaging and creating trouble in the Party is an inherent democratic right of the organization. The prerequisites for remaining in the Party, the tasks and rights of Party members and units are clearly set by the Party Constitution. The anti-Party elements clearly, openly and wantonly violate the most fundamental conditions for remaining in the Party and it is but proper to remove them from the Party. In this connection, the failure of the central leadership is not in the excessive use of organizational measures, but in its long postponed use because of conditions and considerations already mentioned above.

Some elements wish to take issue with the central leadership over its supposed reliance on organizational measures rather than on vanquishing the "opposition" in debates. They must realize that from the last quarter of 1992, the anti-Party elements, did not just challenge and begin a debate against the analyses and decisions of the 10th CC plenum. They also launched a campaign to disrupt and sabotage the organization of the Party. Thus, the Party took two measures: 1) it refuted the distortions and the wrong concepts being propagated by them; and 2) it took organizational measures to defend the integrity of the Party against their sabotage and troublemaking.

Still some magnify the issue of due process, specifically in connection with confronting those involved before making any decision regarding their status in the Party. But from the time that they launched their all-out factionalist and anti-Party campaign during the last quarter of 1992, these anti-Party elements served clear notice that they no longer recognize any responsibility to the Party, and that they refuse to recognize, or to submit themselves to the structure and processes of the Party. They have absolutely no more compunction about violating the principles, integrity and organization of the Party; such that when someone in the "opposition" suggested that they report and seek clarification with the center, he was accused of "appeasement" by the "SGVC" impostor Pol. Now, how can we expect them to face and subject themselves to a hearing by the Party on their cases? And why tie the hands of the Party in acting on their status when they themselves have decided their status by refusing to face and subordinate themselves to the processes of the Party?

In the last quarter of 1992, the EC-CC sought to reach out to and dialogue with the ringleaders of the factionalist and anti-Party campaign. They arrogantly brushed aside the appeal of the EC-CC to confine the issues in controversy and launched an all-out anti-Party campaign. Their ringleaders were fully convinced that their "upsurge in the Party" was about to erupt.

But when their "upsurge" fizzled out and the EC-CC took action to defend the integrity of the Party, they, echoed by the concealers of their wrongdoings, now howl "due process"!

D. The Status of the NUFC

The rectification movement is exceedingly important and necessary for the NUFC and its units, as it is for other Party organs and their units, if their objective is to persevere on the revolutionary path, overcome past deviations and disorientation, and subdue the gust of revisionism, opportunism and liquidationism.

The ideological, political and organizational consolidation and strengthening of the NUFC units is a matter that has long been acknowledged and presented. In a meeting of the acting NUFC chairperson with the EC-CC in November 1992, the need for a thoroughgoing consolidation campaign -- from the summing-up of experience, the study of documents of the rectification movement and of the Party courses, down to the reorganization of the NUFC based on the CC decision on the reorganization of the central leading organs and their staffs -- was clarified. The acting NUFC chairperson agreed and immediate schedules were agreed upon for a conference and a summing-up, both to be presided by an EC-CC representative.

Some part of the NUFC organization has been misled and a still bigger part has been confused by the avalanche of lies and disinformation unloosed by the anti-Party campaign in the last quarter of 1992. Nevertheless, the first conference of the NUFC leading cadres stood for the rectification movement, recognized the CC's 10th Plenum and its decisions, and kept to Party structures and processes. Thus, although the acting NUFC chairperson did not keep to the agreement of having an EC-CC representative preside, and although much of the disinformation and distortion on the issue of process remained unclarified and were passed off as credible, what prevailed there was a fair presentation and study of the CC summing-up and the rectification movement, and grasp of revolutionary principles on many issues. Despite major defects, the first conference had a grasp of the correct concept and spirit of the Party.

But after the conference, when the anti-Party elements stepped up their attacks and sabotage, the vacillations of some leading NUFC cadres grew stronger and stronger. From May, the acting NUFC chairperson started abandoning her previous stand on the rectification movement and responsibilities to the Party. What used to be disparate purveying of some of the anti-Party elements' distortions and disinformation became a deliberate and

systematic vilification of the central leadership. This course of degeneration culminated in brazen maneuvers to hold the illegal "consultation" and the attempt to smuggle through a deceptive new "NUFC position" for a "unity congress" and "unity summing-up".

At the illegal "consultation", the acting NUFC chairperson admitted that the new "NUFC position" runs counter to the policies of the Party central leadership. In spite of this, she went ahead and called on the NUFC units, to stand up and support a so-called "Program of Struggle for 'Unity' of the Party". In essence, this was a call for an outright pullout from the Party's structures and processes, in order to push unity with the anti-Party elements.

Among the distortions being used unduly to incite anger among NUFC units is that the reorganization of the NUFC and other central organs of the Party is an organizational maneuver to suppress those who object to or vacillate on the rectification movement and the struggle against the anti-Party elements. The acting NUFC chairperson made a specific call for the NUFC units to object to the reorganization.

The reorganization of the central leading and staff organs, including the NUFC, is one among the decisions to overcome the ill of bureaucratism and urban basing, and the neglect of basic educational and organizational work within the Party. The 10th Plenum decided to rebuild the General Secretariat to ensure continuing attention to organization and education work in the Party. It also decided to abandon the former commission-type Party organs which reflected and became the vehicle of the bias for campaigns, sweeping propaganda and sweeping coordination, to the neglect of tasks at the basic levels, ideological building and comprehensive mass organizing.

At the consultation in November 1992, this was clear to the acting NUFC chairperson and she agreed to the bases, objectives, factors and extent of the reorganization. This was discussed when it was not yet known that there was a factionalist and anti-Party campaign. The acting NUFC chairperson volunteered her desire to be transferred to territorial work. Thus the distortion of the issue of reorganization and the attack on the central leadership on this account are malicious.

The illegal steps and malicious schemes of some NUFC leading cadres cannot be allowed to pass. No call, even if it purports to be a call for unity, can be sufficient excuse for disrupting and destroying the structures and processes of the Party. All

loyal Party cadres and members within or outside the NUFC should oppose and fight the deceptive line and disruptive scheme of reconciliation with anti-Party elements. We call on the promoters of the illegal "consultation" and the deceptive new "NUFC position" to stop violations of the principles and rules of the party such as these.

The EC-CC is hereby removing the acting NUFC chairperson and other promoters of the illegal "consultation" and deceptive new "NUFC position" from their positions of responsibility; they are hereby disauthorized from speaking or acting in the name of the NUFC or the EC-NUFC. We are still investigating the full circumstances behind the illegal "consultation" and the deceptive new "NUFC position" to identify and pin down the responsibility of each individual involved. We call on these comrades to desist from violating the integrity and interest of the Party, and to make a report to, meet and discuss with the central leadership.

A provisional caretaker organ led by EC-NUFC members who did not participate in the illegal "consultation" has been constituted. This organ will immediately take care of the ensuring the flow of information between the Party central leadership and the NUFC and its units; draw up concrete plans for and continue the conduct of the education and rectification movement in the NUFC and its units; and safeguard the security of NUFC units against sabotage and troublemaking by the anti-Party elements.

All leading NUFC cadres and units are enjoined to communicate, report, coordinate and assist the provisional caretaker organ in order to quickly overcome the difficulties created by the illegal "consultation", and advance the rectification movement and consolidation of the NUFC units.

We call on the leading NUFC cadres and units to strive hard and rally to defend the integrity of the Party.

NOTE:

This memorandum is being disseminated to leading Party organs guerrilla front and provincial levels upward. The analysis and policies clarified here should be discussed with all Party cadres and members .

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