

A N G B A Y A N

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**Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of Our Party  
and Lead the Philippine Revolution  
from Victory to Victory**

**By Armando Liwanag  
Chairman, Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines**

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**Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Party  
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Let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Since then, the Party has achieved great ideological, political and organizational victories. These constitute the glorious record of the Party in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire people for national liberation and democracy against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

These great victories are the result of the correct revolutionary line and the hard work, struggles and sacrifices of the Party cadres and members and the broad masses of the people. Our Party cadres and members have faithfully upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guide to revolutionary action and have gone deep among the workers, peasants and other people in order to arouse, organize and mobilize them and thereby lead them correctly and effectively. Let us always remember and pay homage to all the revolutionary martyrs who have made the supreme sacrifice in order to make our victories possible.

When we reestablished the Party in 1968, we were determined to bring to a victorious conclusion the first great rectification movement and to carry out constantly the fighting and constructive tasks of the people's democratic revolution. We are now in the midst of the second great rectification movement, partially started in 1988 and proceeding in comprehensively and thoroughly since 1992. As a result of this, we are reinvigorated to wage revolutionary struggle and overcome the grave deviations, errors and shortcomings. Thus, we now celebrate the restrengthening of our Party on a nationwide scale.

We have reaffirmed our basic revolutionary principles and rectified major errors. We are successfully raising to a new and higher level the revolutionary unity and fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the enemy, the U.S.-Ramos clique that currently represents the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, both servile to foreign monopoly capitalism.

The 25th anniversary of the Party coincides with the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong. We offer our victories as our bouquet of tribute to the memory of this great communist thinker, leader and

fighter. His correct leadership of the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution continues to inspire us. His Marxist-Leninist critique of imperialism, modern revisionism and neocolonialism and his theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship are vindicated by the events of 1989 to the present and give us scientific light and hope that the socialist and communist future of the Filipino people and mankind is achievable.

## **I. The Glorious Record of Revolutionary Struggle in the Last 25 Years**

The reestablishment of the Party was preceded by the development of the legal anti-imperialist and antifeudal mass movement from 1961 onward, by the emergence of advanced revolutionary mass activists among the workers, peasants and youth; and by the clandestine theoretical and political education of proletarian revolutionary cadres in Marxism-Leninism and the first great rectification movement which partially started in 1965 and was vigorously launched in 1967.

In 1962, the representative of the new proletarian revolutionary cadres joined the leadership of the old merger party of the communist and socialist parties and took the initiative of pushing the open progressive mass movement in a comprehensive way, providing refresher courses to veteran cadres and combating subjectivism and opportunism in the history of the old merger party as well as modern revisionism then centered in the Soviet Union. He took the line that the revolutionary party of the proletariat must ceaselessly promote the legal democratic movement but the point is to resume at the soonest possible time and accomplish the unfinished armed revolution of the people against foreign and feudal domination. As Comrade Mao Zedong taught, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system demands a protracted people's war.

Proletarian revolutionary cadres entered the trade union movement by doing social investigation and educational work. They came into contact and close working relations with the veteran cadres and the masses of workers and peasants from 1962 onward. Among the toiling masses, the proletarian revolutionary cadres increased their number. They also continued to arouse, recruit and militate the student and other youth to serve the people. The **Progressive Review** shed light on domestic and international issues from a Marxist-Leninist vantage from 1962 onward. From 1964 onward, theoretical and political education was promoted through Kabataang Makabayan, a comprehensive youth organization of young workers and peasants, students and young professionals.

In 1965 the proletarian revolutionary cadres put forward a review of the history of the old merger party of the communist and socialist parties and criticized the major errors which had caused the almost total destruction of the revolutionary movement in the 1950s. From 1966 onward, **Struggle for National Democracy** became the principal study material of the mass movement. Inspired by all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people and goaded by the

worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation, the youth joined up with the workers and peasants through social investigations, mass work and concerted activities. They were also inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Vietnamese war of national liberation against U.S. imperialist aggression and other revolutionary struggles abroad.

In 1967, a sharp division and struggle developed between the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Lava revisionist renegades who refused to rectify their long-running errors and who took the patronage of the Soviet revisionist renegades. Consequently, preparations were made for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, entailing comprehensive and thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and the Lava revisionist renegades in Manila as well as the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique which had usurped authority over remnants of the old people's army in Central Luzon.

In more than a year before the reestablishment of the Party, the first great rectification movement was carried out along the Marxist-Leninist line. The document, **Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party**, was enthusiastically studied by the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the advanced revolutionary mass activists. They studied and analyzed the history and circumstances of the working class and the entire people. The **Program for a People's Democratic Revolution** and the **Constitution of the Party** were also prepared and studied. The Marxist-Leninist classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao were propagated. While seriously studying the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and the ideological and political line relevant to the concrete conditions of the Philippines, the proletarian revolutionary cadres were in the forefront of the legal democratic movement and were resolved to reestablish the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The major errors and shortcomings of the old communist party (since 1930) and the subsequent merger party (since 1938) were identified, criticized and repudiated. The most damaging errors were those of the series of Lava brothers who had acted as general secretaries of the old merger party within the period of 1942 to 1964. They were afflicted by bourgeois subjectivism and swung from Right to "Left" opportunism and vice versa.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres consistently pursued the Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and organizational line. Since the beginning of the 1960s, they had been responsible for clarifying the character of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the character of the present revolution as national democratic of the new type (led by the proletariat), the motive forces, the targets, the strategy and tactics and the socialist perspective of the Philippine revolution.

## **Reestablishment and Formative Years of the Party**

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines was characterized by the integration of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete conditions and concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The history and current circumstances of the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the Filipino people were thoroughly studied and analyzed, using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method.

At the congress of reestablishment on December 26, 1968, there were twelve delegates (one in absentia), representing a few scores of proletarian revolutionary cadres who had studied the full course on Marxism-Leninism and the Philippine revolution and several hundreds of advanced revolutionary mass activists. The latter were prospective Party members and were assisting the Party cadres in the mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth. These organizations under the effective leadership of the proletarian revolutionary cadres had a total membership of no more than fifteen thousand people.

Soon after its reestablishment, the Party linked up with the good cadres, commanders and fighters of the remnant units of the old people's army, engaged them in ideological and political studies, mass work and politico-military training. Together, they repudiated the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and established the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. The Party inherited the good cadres, commanders and fighters and the rural mass base from the previous revolutionary movement and was true to the revolutionary line of pursuing the new-democratic revolution through people's war and through the development of the worker-peasant alliance. The Plenum of the Party Central Committee in 1969 integrated into the Central Committee the most outstanding cadres of the peasant movement and the people's army. It decided that the mass base in Central Luzon would be the main resource base for the nationwide expansion of the revolutionary forces. It also decided to seek military assistance from abroad upon the proposal of the cadres in the NPA.

The people's army became the main organization of the Party under its absolute leadership. It started with only 60 fighters and only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac province. It had a mass base of 80,000 peasants with revolutionary experience since the 1930s, especially since the armed struggle against the Japanese occupation during World War II. In preparation for starting guerrilla warfare at several strategic points in the archipelago and for building the people's army nationwide, politico-military training of the Red fighters in Tarlac as well as cadres for deployment in Northern Luzon and the Visayas was conducted by the Party in the months before the establishment of the New People's Army.

Even as the Party initiated and developed the people's war from scratch, it never ceased to lead and develop the legal democratic mass movement based in the urban areas. It coordinated the revolutionary struggle in both urban and rural areas. The dialectical relationship between legal and illegal forms of struggle helped to strengthen each other. In terms of developing the capability to seize political

power, the revolutionary armed struggle based in the countryside is the principal form of revolutionary struggle. The legal forms of struggle based in the urban areas are secondary, indispensably important but vulnerable to enemy suppression and therefore defensive in character. Both forms of struggle are integral aspects of the people's war.

Since the beginning of the people's war in 1969 under the leadership of the Party, the united front mainly for armed struggle and secondarily for legal struggle was promoted. The revolutionary class line in the entire national democratic revolution is the same class line for developing the united front. It requires the leadership of the working class through the Party; the basic worker-peasant alliance through the people's army and the peasant movement; the basic revolutionary forces, including the petty-bourgeoisie; the positive forces, including the middle bourgeoisie; and taking advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the most reactionary big comprador-landlord clique most subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism at every given time.

Even before 1969, the good remnants of the people's army had been creating the barrio organizing committees as organs of political power. But the Party would subsequently raise these to a higher level of development in accordance with the revolutionary antifeudal line of the working class through its Party, relying mainly on the poor and middle peasants and the farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the despotic power of the latter.

In 1969, the Party was able to hold a large demonstration of 15,000 peasants in Metro Manila and subsequently 50,000 in Tarlac province. These proved that the reestablished party had already gained a sizeable peasant mass following. At the same time, the NPA waged guerrilla warfare and raised the number of its nine automatic rifles to 200 from early 1969 to the middle of 1970 through ambushes and raids. In 1969, the enemy attempted to nip the people's army in the bud but failed. He resorted to massacres, bloody crimes of intrigue, widespread illegal searches and detention, torture and other barbaric acts in order to suppress the revolutionary movement in Tarlac from 1969 onward.

Some of the major errors in 1969 included the persistence of the roving rebel band mentality, the purely military viewpoint, the neglect of solid mass organizing, the failure to improve the [proletarian] class character of the barrio organizing committees and the adventurist dispatch of armed cadres to Negros province without even an initial mass base, the putschist attacks on "barrio self-defense units" without distinguishing between the bad elements from the good elements in them and the like. These errors were promptly criticized and corrected.

But the overwhelming concentration of one full division of the enemy, Task Force Lawin, in the second district of Tarlac against only 200 Red fighters resulted in severe losses. In the latter part of 1970, Marcos announced the demise of the New People's Army after enemy armed units under Task Force Lawin seized the sixty M-16 rifles of the NPA main force in one raid. At any rate, valuable lessons were learnt and immediately transmitted to the revolutionary cadres and forces in Isabela province. A few cadres and weapons had been shifted from Tarlac to Isabela. At the end of 1970, the NPA successfully raided in Baguio City the armory of the Philippine Military Academy and seized several scores of Browning automatic rifles -- a fitting riposte to the earlier enemy capture of the weapons of the NPA main force in Central Luzon.

Unknown to the enemy, the Party had already created a large mass base of 50,000 people in Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya by 1970. This area would become the training ground for more cadres for nationwide expansion. This also became the venue for the 1970 Politburo meeting which produced the **Organizational Guide and the Outline of Reports** and pushed for the revolutionary seeding of the whole country with cadres arising from the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement. These cadres were instructed to form provisional regional Party committees. The 1970 PB meeting decided to accelerate the recruitment and education of Party members from the ranks of advance mass activists in the First Quarter Storm of 1970. Thus, before the end of the year there were already more than 200 Party members who had taken the basic Party course with the basic Party documents, (**Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party, the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution** and the **Party Constitution**) and **Philippine Society and Revolution** as the basic texts.

In continuing to lead the legal democratic mass movement based in the urban areas, the Party directed and carried out the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This consisted of weekly demonstrations and marches, participated in by 50,000 to 100,000 youth and workers in Metro Manila and considerable numbers of youth and other people in provincial cities. These mass actions broadcast the general line of national democratic revolution and generated a powerful mass movement all over the country. These yielded advance revolutionary mass activists who would subsequently join the Communist Party and the New People's Army.

Previous high points of the legal mass movement in the 1960s had been the anti-CAFA demonstration of 5000 mainly students in March 1961, the demonstration of 15,000 workers, peasants and students in January 1966 and the demonstration of 15,000 to 20,000 peasants in April 1969 in Manila and 50,000 of them in Tarlac also in 1969. The proletarian revolutionaries who reestablished the Party and the people's army consistently led the urban-based legal democratic movement and took away the initiative from the blatant enemy forces as well as from the Lava revisionist renegades, the clerico-fascists and other groups that were opposed to the people's war and acted as

special agents of the reactionary state.

In 1970, **Philippine Society and Revolution** was printed and publicly distributed to provide a full presentation of the entire history, the current basic problems of the Filipino people and the new democratic revolution. This became the best seller aboveground and underground. There were also timely definitive articles from the Party about domestic and international issues. The most prominent among these were concerning the major domestic and international issues, including the First Quarter Storm (FQS) of 1970, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the Vietnam war. **Ang Bayan** (The People), the main organ of information of the Central Committee, carried the articles.

The Party central leadership directed the entire Party organization to conduct general mass education on the national democratic revolution and special mass courses focused on the specific interests of the various types of mass formations. At the same time, the Party central leadership drew up the three-level Party course of Marxist-Leninist study. In accordance with the Party Constitution, the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought was put in overall charge of Party education and specifically in charge of the intermediate and advance study courses and the Education Department under the General Secretariat was put in charge of the basic Party course. The course outlines and the reading lists were drawn up. The Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought took charge of the selection, translation and reproduction of study materials. The Education Department of the General Secretariat took charge of producing the study guide of the basic Party course and the translation of related materials. The mass organizations took charge of basic mass education.

In 1971, the CC Plenum summed up and drew lessons from the revolutionary experience gained in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon and Negros Island. It paid ample attention to the major errors committed in Tarlac and to the objectives of recovering lost areas in Tarlac province and expanding into the whole of Central Luzon by taking advantage of the 1971 collapse of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique which had previously blocked the expansion of the revolutionary movement there in 1969 and 1970. It criticized and rectified the rapid and arbitrary punishment of suspected informers in Isabela. The principles and methods of adhering to due process were clarified. So was the question of forming the people's court. The **Organizational Guide and Outlines of Reports** was further improved and finalized.

The same Plenum discussed thoroughly and planned the nationwide expansion of the Party and other revolutionary forces. It was decided that the country would be covered by seven regional Party organizations: Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. Cadres were chosen either to strengthen the existing regional committees or form



new ones where these did not yet exist. The establishment of a provisional regional Party committee in Mindanao, the second largest island in the archipelago, was one of the major objectives.

Consequent to the Plenum, the Party central leadership formulated the **Rules for Establishing the People's Government** and the **Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform**. The local organs of political power at the barrio level were considered the base of higher levels of the people's government which would be built from one territorial level to a higher one. It was made clear that the Party would be the ruling party in the evolving people's government and that it exercises political power, especially at levels where the people's government does not yet exist. It was also made clear that the minimum program of land reform would be the general antifeudal line. This entailed land rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving the prices of the peasants' produce, raising production in agricultural and sideline occupations through the initiative of individual households and rudimentary forms of cooperation.

The translation and reproduction of the works of Mao Zedong were pushed. The Party made a selection of these works to make seven volumes under the titles: **On Philosophy, On Class Analysis and Social Investigation, On Party Building, On the Armed Struggle** (two volumes), **On the United Front** and **On Economic Work and Land Reform**. These were intended for the Intermediate Party course and for advance reading and study by Party organs, units and individual Party members.

On the third anniversary of the Party's reestablishment in 1971, a three-year summing up was made of the first three years of revolutionary experience. Both dogmatism and empiricism were criticized. Revolutionary phrasemongering and blind practice were repudiated. The call for closer links with the masses and for more thorough social investigation was made in order to strengthen the integration of theory and practice. The main thrust of the criticism was to correlate properly the fighting tasks of the NPA with the task of social investigation, propaganda and solid mass organizing. The cadres and fighters were reminded that it was not enough to build barrio organizing committees and that they had to organize the various types of mass organizations, the Party branches in the localities and the militia. The concrete dialectical relationship of consolidation and expansion was explained.

Wishing to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people and reacting to the upsurge of the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement, the U.S.-Marcos ruling clique accelerated its campaigns of suppression and its preparations for martial rule from 1970 to 1972. First there was the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971 immediately after the Plaza Miranda bombing which the regime automatically blamed on Marcos' arch rival Benigno Aquino and on the Party. The Party made a prompt denial and put the responsibility squarely on Marcos himself. Secondly, the regime imposed martial law on September 22, 1972 based on a proclamation predating September 21, 1972.

As Marcos prepared for the installation of his dictatorship, the Party intensified the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement and, in anticipation of the martial rule, strengthened the revolutionary urban underground. Thus, when martial law was imposed on the people, the Party could secure most of its Party cadres and members and revolutionary mass activists in the urban areas. Most of those immediately arrested by the fascist dictatorship did not belong to the Party. Nevertheless, a number of Party members were arrested and detained indefinitely.

Among all parties in the country, including the political parties of the reactionary opposition, the Party was the most competent and clear in explaining the long-term premeditation and preparations (including the so-called constitutional reforms and the massacres) that Marcos had made for the imposition of the fascist dictatorship on the people and thereby prolong his rule. The Party correctly described that the open rule of terror was an act of desperation of both the ruling clique and the entire ruling system, a manifestation of the gravity of its crisis and the inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way, and predicted that martial rule would fail to suppress the revolutionary movement but serve to further incite the people to armed revolution.

The Party called for the realization of a formal national united front organization and put forward the 10-point of the National Democratic Front on April 24, 1973. In accordance with this program, the NDF-Preparatory Committee (NDF-Prepcom) sought to coordinate the formerly legal organizations which had been forced underground, to win over allies from the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and to establish cooperative relations with the reactionary groups and leaders opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos ruling clique.

In 1972, Northern Luzon was divided into two subregional committees, Cagayan Valley (Northeastern Luzon) and Ilocos, Mountain Provinces and Pangasinan (IMP or Northwestern Luzon). It was advantageous [necessary and advantageous] for the Party to form the subregional Party organization of northwestern Luzon and develop the guerrilla forces in the Cordillera because the division-size Task Force Saranay of the enemy had been determinedly launching search-and-destroy operations against the NPA main units in Isabela since the latter half of 1971. the whole of Central Luzon remained under one regional Party committee. So did each of Southern Luzon (with Southern Tagalog and Bicol as subregions), Metro Manila, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao.

As a result of the declaration of martial law, there was the urgent need to redeploy the high concentration of more than one thousand Party members from Manila-Rizal who had gone underground. But the capacity of the regional Party organizations outside of Manila-Rizal to absorb these cadres was still limited. The main base

in Isabela was blockaded by the enemy and the Party had just begun to expand in Central Luzon under difficult conditions. The underground organizations of the Manila-Rizal Party organization and the central staff organs of the Party absorbed many of the cadres. A significant number of them were gradually redeployed to other regions. It was only in 1974 that they could be rapidly absorbed by the other regions.

The open rule of terror became a favorable condition for the growth in strength and advance of the revolutionary movement. However, there were severe difficulties and setbacks for the revolutionary movement. There were the unbridled military campaigns of suppression directed against the known guerrilla zones. Since July 1972, the main units of the people's army in the forest region of Isabela had borne the brunt of enemy attacks aimed at searching for and destroying them and depopulating the area. Eventually, these main units (two well-armed companies) became isolated and passive in the same forest region from 1972 onward. One ill-armed company disintegrated in Nueva Vizcaya.

The initial armed propaganda teams in Mindanao were decimated in 1972-73 because they made the mistake of going first to the armed hill tribes without doing mass work among the peasants in the plains. NPA companies rose and fell in Aurora and Sorsogon provinces in the 1973-74 period. Some national cadres of the Party were arrested in 1973 and 1974.

But on the whole, from year to year, the nationwide expansion of the Party, the NPA and the other revolutionary forces and the start of guerrilla warfare and mass work at strategic points of the country more than compensated for the setbacks in different places at different times. There never was an instance when an entire regional Party organization was wiped out by the enemy in the period 1969-85, even if from time to time and from region to region, the regional Party committee was hit hard in varying degrees by the arrest of the principal regional cadres. Neither did the arrest of central Party cadres in 1974, 1976 and 1977 cause the overall setback of the Party and the revolutionary movement in any year.

The nationwide expansion of the revolutionary forces was achieved under the direction of the Party Central Committee. The central and regional cadres who were directly responsible for two NPA companies in the Isabela forest region did not shift them to Cagayan province until 1977 despite the depopulation of the Isabela forest region and the sustained campaign of encirclement and suppression by the enemy and despite the repeated instructions of the Party central leadership for the shift and the redeployment of troops to be made and the clear demonstration by the platoon in Tumauini, Isabela that it was good to be out of the enemy's sphere of the encirclement.

In accordance with the decision of the 1969 Plenum and upon prodding by cadres in command of the people's army, the Party central leadership was able to make a plan and arrangements, which were very complicated, for the shipment of weapons from abroad in 1972. But

notwithstanding the decision to deliberately avoid the heating up of Isabela to make way for the importation of firearms, the same high military cadres who had been eager to get the imported firearms decided to intensify tactical offensives in the province. In these offensives in the latter half of 1971, the scores of Browning automatic rifles (BAR) seized in the raid of the arsenal of the Philippine Military Academy in December 1970, were used and thus revealed the general location of the NPA main forces.

As a result, the enemy escalated the armed strength and operations of Task Force Saranay to the level of a full division in Isabela. This compounded even more all the complexities, difficulties and vulnerabilities of the importation plan and the resulting errors involved in the plan and implementation. The failure of the entire importation plan and the errors involved were criticized promptly and thoroughly. But again upon the proddings of the same military cadres, another plan was adopted under more complex, more difficult, more limited and more vulnerable objective conditions and were implemented only to end up in failure in 1974. The failure and errors were once more promptly and thoroughly criticized. The 1972 and 1974 importation plans had the promise of strategic advantage but when they failed they had no strategic adverse consequences to the nationwide expansion and development of the revolutionary forces.

In 1974, the success of the Party in nationwide expansion and development of the revolutionary forces were indubitably clear. On the basis of the wealth of experience, both positive and negative but mainly positive, it was timely to write and issue the ***Specific Characteristics of the People's War in the Philippines***. This is guided by the teachings of Mao Zedong on people's war and yet takes into account the concrete geographic, socioeconomic and political conditions of the Philippines and the revolutionary experience so far gained by the Party. This definitive work demonstrated the advances already made and those that could still be made and pointed to the principles and methods by which objective and subjective advantages could be enhanced and how disadvantages could be turned into advantages and by which difficulties and setbacks could be overcome. It took into account the most favorable as well as the most unfavorable conditions under which the revolutionary forces can still preserve themselves and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle in accordance with the principle of self-reliance.

The point was to take advantage of the chronic crisis of the semifeudal and semicolonial conditions, with the countryside as a wide area of maneuver enhanced by the mountainous and archipelagic character of the country, develop the people's war in stages along the probable course of the strategic defensive, strategic stalemate and strategic offensive (with the people's army growing from small to big and from weak to strong), to wage guerrilla warfare and to be guided by the line of centralized leadership (ideological and political) and decentralized operations.

Party membership had grown from 2000 in 1972 to 4000 in 1974 but it was still highly concentrated in the central staff organs and regional Party organizations in Manila-Rizal. In 1974, the central leadership decided to streamline the central staff organs and deployed the biggest ever number of Party members to the regional Party organizations outside Manila-Rizal. Guerrilla fronts and guerrilla zones were growing in number and strength all over the country. It was favorable and necessary to strengthen the Party core and leadership within the people's army.

From late 1974 to early 1975, the Party was also able to initiate and lead a few hundreds of workers' strikes all over the country. On the basis of these strikes, it was already possible to foresee that eventually before the end of the decade a gigantic mass protest movement, far greater than the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and mobilizing workers in the main, would arise if the correct line would be pursued. Legal mass organizations, including trade unions, peasant associations and student organizations were reemergent under the leadership of the Party.

The whole of 1975 was a year of rapid development of the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale. In December of that year, the Central Committee held a plenum whose significance and degree of accomplishment were those of a national Party congress. It replenished the ranks of the Central Committee by nominating the most outstanding cadres from the regional Party organizations and central staff organs and electing from the long list of nominees new members of the Central Committee by secret balloting. It reviewed the revolutionary experience from all over the country since 1968 and drew positive and negative lessons from it. It assessed and evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of the revolutionary forces in various regions and made many important decisions to strengthen all of them. It concluded that the martial rule of the U.S.-Marcos regime had failed to destroy the revolutionary movement and had instead created favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The Party had attained a membership of 5000 and the NPA had accumulated a force of nearly 1000 Red fighters armed with automatic rifles, excluding a thousand more with inferior firearms (single-shot rifles and handguns).

Northeastern Luzon had a few hundreds of Red fighters with automatic rifles (in two companies in the Isabela forest region, one oversized platoon in Tumauini and another oversized platoon in Aurora); Northwestern Luzon, a few scores of Red fighters in squads; Central Luzon, close to a hundred, plus around 30 which had come from the company in Aurora and had shifted to Nueva Ecija; Southern Tagalog, a few scores in Quezon; Bicol, a few tens, remnants of the company in Sorsogon; Eastern Visayas, several scores; Western Visayas, several scores; and Mindanao, around 150 at the core of several times more of inferior firearms. Mindanao, Samar and Panay had the most homemade shotguns, garands and M-1 carbines which ran in the hundreds. These augmented the automatic rifles.

On the basis of the discussions and decisions of the Plenum, the

central leadership formulated and issued **Our Urgent Tasks** in 1976. This document clarified the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal line and elaborated on the principles and methods of building in stages the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the Party within the army and in the localities. It showed the way to raise their level on the basis of the best and most practicable lessons from the revolutionary experience of the Party and the people. It would become the most important and most fruitful document in guiding mass work and mass campaigns in the rural and urban areas and in building the organs of political power. It demonstrated the practical steps to take, from the stage of social investigation and initial contacts in a new area.

In the period 1976-77, the growth in the number and strength of the guerrilla fronts and the urban-based legal democratic forces proceeded rapidly and cumulatively. The main line of development was for the regional Party organizations to strengthen themselves notwithstanding the arrest of the principal central leaders of the Party in 1976 and 1977. Regional Party committees that read, studied and applied the **Specific Characteristics of People's War in the Philippines** and **Our Urgent Tasks** gained confidence in waging revolutionary armed struggle and in building the Party, the people's army and the mass base.

The revolutionary forces of Northwestern Luzon struck deep roots among the people in the Cordillera and the lowlands of Pangasinan. Those in Central Luzon relied on the revolutionary traditions of the people in the region and expanded far beyond the confines of the original mass base in Tarlac in 1969-72. Those in Manila-Rizal took advantage of the continuous development of the legal democratic forces and the hypocritical "normalization" measures of the enemy. Cadres in Southern Tagalog and Bicol persevered in revolutionary struggle despite the grave errors of previous leaders in the Southern Luzon Party Committee and one supervisor assigned by the NPA National Operational Command up to 1974 and the serious adverse consequences of such errors.

In 1976 and 1977, the regional Party committee and organization of Eastern Visayas were showing to the entire country how to develop the revolutionary forces in an allround way. This is documented by the report of the regional Party committee to the Central Committee, published by **Rebolusyon** in 1977. Those of Negros and Panay in Western Visayas were also doing well. So were those of Mindanao. The two NPA companies that had become isolated and passive in the Isabela forest region was able to shift to Cagayan province and redeploy there in 1977. The central as well as the new regional leadership comprehensively and thoroughly criticized the previous error of prolonged isolation of these units in the Isabela forest region from the masses.

In 1976 and 1977, the central leadership could foresee that guerrilla fronts would multiply, with platoons as the center of

gravity, on the basis of a wide network of squads, each capable of operating in a guerrilla zone (roughly equivalent to a municipality) and dividing into armed propaganda teams with militia support to do mass work under favorable conditions (when no superior enemy force are concentrating on the area).

### **Cumulative Growth Along the Correct Line and the Interference of Opportunism**

A new central leadership of the Party assumed responsibility in November 1977. It enjoyed legitimate continuity with the previous central leadership as well as the support of all the regional Party organizations. It succeeded in overcoming the loss of some principal leaders of the Party. It firmed itself up by drawing strength from the central staff organs and the regional Party committees and organizations through a series of consultations, promotion of cadres to the Central Committee and plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

By and large, the Party's ideological, political and organizational line was followed by the central leadership and the regional Party organizations and the NPA regional commands. But certain elements in the Central Committee and central staff organs began in 1978 to question the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, arguing that Philippine society had become more urbanized and industrialized than China before 1949 and to preoccupy themselves with the wish to "innovate on", "adjust" and "refine" the theory and strategic line of people's war and to cause a leap from the early substage of the strategic defensive to the advance stage.

They were in effect praising the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship for "industrializing" the Philippines. They blinded themselves to the fact that the big comprador bureaucrat-capitalist policy and operations of the Marcos ruling clique was deepening the semifeudal status of the Philippine economy and likewise to the fact that the NPA had no more than 1200 Red fighters with automatic rifles for making the big leap to the advanced substage. With their wishful thinking, they laid the subjectivist ground for interfering with the proper development of the people's war, particularly the multiplication of guerrilla fronts with platoons (and eventually companies) in relative concentration as centers of gravity.

From 1977 to 1979, the regional Party organizations which followed the correct line consolidated and expanded their forces and in an all-round and balanced way. The outstanding example was provided by the Eastern Visayas regional Party organization. It used the squads to control entire municipalities either as guerrilla zones or consolidated guerrilla zones and built platoons as centers of gravity and strike forces of guerrilla fronts. It excelled in mass work and in launching tactical offensives.

While generally all the regional Party committees and organizations were supportive of the central leadership in accordance

with the principle of democratic centralism, certain elements in the Manila-Rizal Party committee were obsessed by struggle mania and insisted on making it a question of principle whether the Party should openly participate or not in the farcical 1978 "parliamentary elections" staged by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Thus, it became impossible for the central leadership and the MR leadership to work out a decision similar to that previously taken by the Party in the 1969 and 1971 elections. Instead of describing the 1978 elections as a farce, in common with the central leadership, the Manila-Rizal leadership insisted on forcing the issue and dividing the house on a boycott-participation dichotomy in dogmatic conformity to the terms of Bolshevik history. In 1979, the Manila-Rizal Party organization went into shambles.

From 1980 to 1985, there was an unprecedented acceleration of growth of the Party and the revolutionary movement due to the rapid worsening of the crisis of the ruling system starting in 1979, the accumulated strength of the revolutionary forces and the continuing correct line of work pursued by the overwhelming majority of cadres and fighters. At the same time, overlapping with these factors, there was the increasing drive of the impetuous elements in the central leadership and in certain regional Party committees to bring about the so-called strategic counteroffensive (as the highest substage of the strategic defensive) and regularization in the Party and the people's army (creating more layers of bureaucracy and command without the corresponding development of the mass base and Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres) and the premature formation of NPA companies at the cost of reducing the number of squads and platoons.

In the enlarged Plenum of 1980 attended by representatives from the regional Party organizations, the Central Committee replenished its ranks with those deemed as the most outstanding cadres from the regional Party committees and the central staff organs and created six interregional commissions as staff organs to supervise the regional Party organizations which had been increased to sixteen (16). The Plenum spent a lot of time discussing the character of Philippine society, questioning the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and asserting that Philippine conditions were unlike those of Russia and China before their revolutionary victories. The Plenum preoccupied itself with looking for a rationale to modify the strategic line of people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside and giving a greater role to armed insurrections. Emphasis was given to Vietnam as the model for emulation to the point of taking the 1945 uprising and the Tet offensive out of their historical context.

In 1981, the meeting of the Political Bureau further elaborated on the need for "regularization" in the Party and the NPA and for giving insurrections a role sooner and greater than the central leadership had ever given to it. The concept of "strategic counteroffensive" was put forward. It was a rhetorical malapropism, converting the probable third and final stage of the entire people's



war into a mere substage of the strategic defensive. It was a "Left" opportunist wish to overreach far beyond what the given nationwide strength of the NPA (which was no more than 2000 Red fighters with automatic rifles) could permit. Notes of individuals who attended the PB meeting were circulated for study and application by regional Party organizations. Subsequently, there was a drive to create layers of the Party bureaucracy and army command, to form NPA companies by drastically reducing the number of smaller units and taking cadres away from work at the grass roots.

The basic Party course was undertaken from 1979 onward but would peter out sometime in 1983 even while there was an urgent need for it and for higher levels of Marxist-Leninist education. In every PB meeting during the 1980's there was always a recognition of the need to carry out theoretical and political education and a decision to do so. But from 1983 onward, the central leadership did not find it necessary to maintain any central staff organ responsible for implementing any program of theoretical and political education. This was supposed to have been delegated to the regional Party organizations but in fact these were not given any clear direction and were preoccupied with practical work.

Copies of study materials in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and even basic Party documents dwindled and disappeared. Concealing the dearth or absence of these study materials, it became commonplace to say that the Party learned from all possible revolutionary examples abroad. The successful anti-authoritarian insurrection in Nicaragua which was led by quasi-Marxist petty-bourgeois radical anti-imperialists became more highly rated by certain elements than the Chinese revolution and other social revolutions led by Marxist-Leninist parties. Some of the former leaders of the Manila-Rizal Party committee had also taken pride in reading Lenin but characteristically quoted him out of context to exaggerate the importance of their urban work. Eclecticism and subjectivism ran rampant.

The proletarian revolutionary cadres were not lacking in the presentation of facts in arguments against the erroneous trend of questioning the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and undermining the theory and strategic line of people's war. There were the research and writings done before on the subject. And in 1982 and 1983, there were the articles on the mode of production and the losing course of the armed forces of the Philippines. Even the group commissioned by the central leadership to restudy the character of Philippine society would conclude later on that Philippine society was still semicolonial and semifeudal. There were also correct statements repeatedly made by proletarian revolutionary cadres that the Party must pay attention to the horizontal basis (the mass base, the small units dispersed for mass work, etc.) for building the vertical structure of forces (higher NPA formations).

In 1982, the Mindanao Commission made its own elaboration on strategy and tactics on the basis of the notes of one commission

member coming from the 1981 Politburo meeting. On the false presumption that under the strategy of people's war there had been no coordination between city and countryside, between political and military work and between domestic and international work, the commission put out a paper metaphysically dichotomizing these supposed coordinates and then "re-coordinated" them in order to undermine the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, upvaluing urban insurrections as the highest form of politico-military struggle, downgrading the people's army as a purely military and secondary force and exaggerating the importance of international work to undermine the importance of self-reliant revolutionary struggle.

The Party and the NPA were "regularized", filling up positions at various levels without sufficient ideological, political and organizational training of the cadres. Up to 1984, the premature formation of absolutely concentrated NPA companies in Mindanao was pushed upon the reasoning that they had to hit the enemy forces before these were fully reinforced by forces from the Moro areas. So long as the absolutely concentrated companies could be formed, some of the top cadres in the people's army in Mindanao did not mind the people's army being downgraded on paper as being purely military and secondary to the putative "urban insurrectionary forces" which were considered principal because the spontaneous popular forces were in contrast considered political.

In 1983 and 1984, the formation of the absolutely concentrated NPA companies went into full swing. In 1984 these companies were pushed to an isolated and passive position by the drastic loss of mass base and by the enemy campaigns of suppression which proved to be effective in a purely military situation. But still in 1984, the Executive Committee of the Mindanao Commission made another paper which further elaborated on the line military adventurism and urban insurrectionism and distributed this to all lower organs of the organizations of the Party and the NPA without the benefit of any democratic discussion beyond the aforesaid executive committee and without consideration of the gross setbacks already occurring as a result of the wrong line.

In the Plenum of 1985, the promoters of the line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism had the temerity to demand the full rejection of the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war in favor of their wrong line which by then had already caused gross setbacks and led to the murderous anti-DPA hysteria called Kampanyang Ahos. Dishonestly, they did not present the facts of these disasters to the Plenum and they strutted about as victorious leaders in their sphere of work. The Plenum repulsed the proposal to discard the strategic line of people's war but did not withdraw the erroneous "strategic counteroffensive" concept which had encouraged the line of "regularization", military adventurism and urban insurrectionism.

Focal attention is given to the sequence of the wrong line of urban insurrectionism and military adventurism, gross setbacks, and

anti-DPA hysteria in the period of 1982 to 1986 in Mindanao because this sequence of events inflicted the worst damage ever to the Party and the revolutionary forces -- up to the point of murdering Party cadres, Red fighters and NDF supporters by the hundreds in both rural and urban areas on the basis of mere suspicion and false confessions extracted by torture. "Left" opportunism took various forms and expressions in various regions, especially because the dismal experience in Mindanao was not correctly summed up and criticized and was even evaluated as a model for emulation and because the cadres responsible for the grave errors in Mindanao were promoted to the Central Committee's Politburo and its Executive Committee, the Military Commission and "general command" of the NPA and were able to propagate their wrong line from 1985 to 1990 on a nationwide scale through a series of military conferences.

Thus from 1985 to 1990, the Party and the other revolutionary forces suffered losses and setbacks unprecedented in their entire history. The easy and shallow explanation for these given by the "Left" opportunists was that the enemy was proving to be superior with his strategy of "war of quick decision" and "gradual constriction" and that the premature and unsustainable premature companies and battalions were doing their best along the correct line but that the Party and the masses could not catch up with the NPA. This is a puerile line of reasoning. The correct line necessitates stopping military adventurists and urban insurrectionists from preempting for themselves the personnel and resources of the Party and thereby playing into the hands of the enemy with their wrong line. The Party should always lead comprehensive and balanced building of the Party, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the properly-sized NPA units. The Party and the people should never be made to tail after "Left" opportunists but should stop them on their track.

An examination of the record from 1980 to the present shows clearly that the revolutionary movement developed best in accordance with the strategic line of people's war and the implementation of **Our Urgent Tasks**. Painstaking mass work and solid organizing of the various types of mass organizations, organs of political power and the Party have laid the foundation for the development of the guerrilla forces and the guerrilla fronts. The correct force structure of the NPA is one in which small guerrilla units are dispersed on a wide scale to do mass work and, on this basis, the center of gravity (the rallying point and strike force) can arise. This is the force structure that can carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an expanding and ever consolidated mass base.

In contrast, where the revolutionary forces suffered grave setbacks, there is the overconcentration of Red fighters in prematurely formed companies and there is a far lesser number of Red fighters in small units for expanding and consolidating the mass base. After the big debacle in Mindanao, one of the worst examples is the concentration of 598 Red fighters in one battalion and two companies (80 percent) and only 151 (20 percent) Red fighters were in local

guerrilla units. Inevitably, the result has been a dwindling of the mass base by more than 50 percent within a short period of time, preoccupation with logistical problems and, of course, the ineffectiveness, isolation and passivity of the prematurely large military formations.

In the nationwide propagation of military adventurism, the drive to form 36 companies and two battalions in 1986 repeated the grave errors in Mindanao from 1982-84. These higher formations were set up by drastically decreasing the number of local squads for mass work and for control of guerrilla zones (usually the size of municipalities). Some of the remaining local squads and platoons were reduced to being service and logistical support units of the prematurely formed bigger units. When bigger formations suffered losses of personnel due to battle casualties or demoralization, they replenished personnel by devouring the smaller guerrilla units.

The line of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism became clearly untenable in most regions in 1987 and 1988, especially after the 1987 attritive actions which wasted ammunition in attacks on enemy hard points and after the enemy made retaliatory actions in both urban and rural areas. Some regional Party committees complained of the companies and battalions as excessively heavy logistical burdens and yet less effective than smaller units in launching tactical offensives and as the cause for the big loss of mass base. But the "Left" opportunists in the central leadership continued to insist that the prematurely bigger formations were the life buoy rather than the millstone around the neck of the revolutionary movement.

As early as 1988, the proletarian revolutionaries in the central leadership recognized the imbalances in revolutionary work and called for corrections and adjustments. The brief review of the history of the Party on the occasion of its 20th anniversary signaled the consolidation of the proletarian revolutionary line against military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. From year to year, the devastating results of the wrong line came in. These prompted the proletarian revolutionary cadres in the Central Committee and lower organs and organizations to argue against the wrong line. The yearly anniversary statements of the Party and the records of the meetings of the Executive Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee reflected a two-line struggle and the eventual victory of the proletarian revolutionary line and the defeat of the "Left" opportunists.

In 1989 major corrections and adjustments started to be made. The proletarian revolutionaries in the central leadership prevailed and stopped the further formation of premature and unsustainable companies. Upon the direction of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, an increasing number of regional Party committees dissolved and redeployed some of these companies. In 1990 the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" was finally withdrawn, thus undoing the roots of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. In 1990

and 1991, the gross damage caused by the wrong line on a nationwide scale became absolutely clear. Thus in 1991, the central leadership decided to undertake a comprehensive and thoroughgoing rectification movement.

"Left" opportunism has a Rightist content and direction. The "Left" opportunist line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism is no exception. The "Left" motivation and facade is to accelerate total victory in the revolution far beyond the given level of strength of the revolutionary forces. But in fact the line plays into the hands of the enemy and delivers the revolutionary forces to both self-destruction and destruction by the enemy. Those who espouse the ultra-Left line either simultaneously carry both ultra-Left and Rightist ideas or swing from a conspicuously ultra-Left position to a blatant Rightist position after the telling frustration of the ultra-Left position.

By arguing that relations with the Soviet and Soviet-bloc revisionist parties would mean access to more powerful weapons and funds for accelerating the victory of the armed revolution, the "Left" opportunists went to the extent of reconsidering these parties as genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the societies that they ruled as genuinely socialist. They turned their backs on the foundational antirevisionist line of the Party as early as 1982. Without even seeking the nullification of the antirevisionist line in the Party Program and Constitution, they spread within the Party the line that the Soviet Union was socialist and not social-imperialist and was a great exponent of proletarian internationalism and a great source of aid for proletarian revolutionaries and the national liberation movements. In 1984 and 1985, papers carrying the line were passed off as documents of the Central Committee and started to be implemented.

The "Left" opportunists, including those in the "General Command" of the NPA based themselves in Metro Manila under the pretext of waiting for a "sudden turn of events" along the line of urban insurrectionism and, more importantly, for the purpose of carrying out special operations. The special operations consisted of making arrangements for the importation of weapons, which never materialized, and conducting gangster activities, including robbery holdups and kidnap-for-ransom, which were never authorized by the appropriate central organs and were unaccountable to them. The "Left" opportunists were engaged in outright criminal activities for selfish interests. They stubbornly based themselves in Manila-Rizal even as they were repeatedly rounded up here in 1988 and in 1991. They were not at all commanding the people's army in a people's war but preoccupied themselves with "special operations".

Following the enemy roundup of the GC in 1988, an anti-informer hysteria emerged in Metro Manila and this spread to a number of regions. This followed the pattern of the wrong line of combining military adventurism and urban insurrectionism, gross setbacks and anti-DPA hysteria. It was similar to the sequence of events in Mindanao from 1982 to 1986. The anti-DPA hysteria which consecutively

involved Olympia, Operation Missing Link (OPML) and Save the Center (STC) had the high potential of destroying no less than the central leadership of the Party and the entire revolutionary movement. It was stopped by the formulation and implementation of the "Guidelines on the Correct Principles and Methods of Investigation, Trial and Evaluation of Evidence".

In 1982, the "Left" opportunists adopted the insurrectionist terminology of FSLN and FMLN of Central America regarding the people's army as a "military force" and the spontaneous masses in uprising as the "political force". But some of them also openly adopted from these liberation fronts the idea that the vanguard Party of the proletariat must be replaced by the vanguard front. Thus, the idea to liquidate the leading role of the Party in the Philippine revolution came to be espoused both by the "Left" and the Right opportunists within the Party. The so-called New Katipunan was envisioned to replace the Party and the NDF.

Although the Right opportunists in the Party were mainly responsible for pushing the idea that the NDF be a federation or confederation in which the Party loses its independence and initiative, becomes a mere member organization and subject to the majority vote of noncommunists, one of the key leaders of the "Left" opportunists became the most active in pushing the same idea. This wrong idea was adopted by the Politburo meeting in 1987. The same ringleader of the "Left" opportunists carried out the wrong line of converting the NDF into a federation or confederation and at the same time a unitary organization of individuals, bound by a program of bourgeois nationalism, pluralism and mixed economy in 1990.

In the years after the fall of the fascist autocracy of Marcos, the "Left" opportunists collaborated with the Right opportunists within the Party and with the anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups like the pro-imperialist liberals, bourgeois populists, Christian democrats, petty-bourgeois socialists and Trotskyites to overstate the boycott error of 1986 as the biggest error ever in the entire history of the Party. In their view, it was a strategic error causing the strategic decline and marginalization of the Party, unless the Party opted for a deemphasis or liquidation of the revolutionary armed struggle.

The boycott error was indeed a major tactical error which could be criticized from a correct Left viewpoint. But one of the ringleaders of the "Left" opportunists, deliberately and dishonestly overstated the boycott error to rationalize and whip up bourgeois reformism and capitulationism and obscure the far graver error of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism which led to the gross setbacks in Mindanao in 1984 and the bloody anti-DPA hysteria in 1985-86.

In 1986, after the release of political prisoners (except those falsely accused and convicted of common crimes), the proletarian revolutionaries held the view that the new presidency of the

exploiting classes could be beaten in propaganda about the question of peace without necessarily entering into any ceasefire agreement. But the actual principal promoters of localized as well as nationwide ceasefire without any prior substantive agenda and any prior substantive talks were the "Left" opportunists who were directly responsible for the debacle in Mindanao from 1984 to 1986, who criticized the 1986 boycott error from a Rightist position and who thought that ceasefire was the way out of the debacle in Mindanao.

The principal pushers of the "Left" opportunist line in yesteryears have unabashedly become counterrevolutionary Rightists and have openly combined with the anticommunist petty bourgeois groups to push the NDF to capitulate on behalf of the revolutionary forces to the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique and to make propaganda about seeking convergences and accommodation with this clique supposedly because the people's war is futile, the people are satisfied with oppression and exploitation and are tired of their own revolutionary resistance, the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system are invincible and the global trend is for national liberation movements to strike peace deals with the enemy. Frustrated in their previous "Left" opportunism, some of the more recent counterrevolutionary Rightists are even more rabidly capitulationist, reformist and liquidationist than the long-time Right opportunists who have not made ultra-Left pretenses.

Various types of insurrectionism have arisen within the Party. Like all kinds of opportunism, they have a petty-bourgeois social base, outlook and methods. The appearance is Leftist but the content is Rightist. The exponents of insurrectionism are carried away by impetuosity. They wish to finish the revolution quickly and easily. They do not have the proletarian class logic, wisdom and tenacity for the protracted people's war, especially its requirement of painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing. They deck out the stale theory of spontaneous masses as something new and superior to the theory of protracted people's war. However, when they are frustrated, the insurrectionists typically swing to a conspicuously Rightist position.

The proponents of the "strategic counteroffensive" held the view that uprisings could be made in third and fourth class municipalities to ignite nationwide insurrection. This kind of insurrectionism is more akin to the failed uprisings of the Sakdalistas in the thirties than to the 1968 Tet offensive which had the backing of an already powerful people's army. The proposal of this kind of insurrectionism served to encourage other kinds of insurrectionism in rejection of the development of people's war in stages and wave upon wave.

So far, the kind of insurrectionism that has been most destructive to the revolutionary forces is that one which seeks to reduce the people's army into a purely military force and put it in the service of urban armed insurrections as the "highest form of politico-military struggle". The dramatic actions of armed city partisans and people's strikes are conducted supposedly to whip up the insurrectionary consciousness and then the spontaneous masses rather

than the organized revolutionary forces are expected to overthrow the ruling system.

One variant of this kind of insurrectionism was linked to military adventurism in Mindanao and had resulted in grave damages to the revolutionary movement there. Another variant of this insurrectionism is that one pushed by the former secretary of the Manila-Rizal Party Committee. It sought to use small groups of armed men to steal the scene from the masses in mass actions and deliberately provoke the police and military to attack the mass demonstrators.

But the most ambitious and yet the most absurd type of insurrectionism was actually pushed by one of the "Left" opportunists who was the main drafter of the 1984 paper in Mindanao, which elaborated on the line of combining urban insurrectionism with military adventurism. While usurping authority from the central leading organs of the Party and trying to change the character of **Ang Bayan**, the National United Front Commission and the National Democratic Front, he worked out all by himself a medium-term plan of insurrection and pushed it in collaboration with the former secretary of Manila-Rizal Party committee and certain members of the National United Front Commission.

He sought to combine the legal organizations of the Left, Middle and Right to form the so-called people's caucus and to call on then President Aquino in 1990 to agree to a so-called people's agenda. If Aquino refused, then in the medium term the legal organizations of the Left, Middle and Right would conjoin with all "armed opposition groups" like the NDF, MNLF and the factions of the reactionary armed forces (RAM, YOU and SFP) and once more call on Aquino to agree to a still broader people's agenda. Should Aquino refuse again, then the insurrection would be carried out. This was a ridiculous idea of going Right in order to realize the ultra-Left objective of armed urban insurrection before the end of the presidential term of Aquino in 1992.

The insurrectionism of the medium-term plan and that of the former leadership of the MR regional Party organization sabotaged the legal democratic mass movement from 1990-1992. The chief promoters of these two types of insurrectionism held the common view that there could be no favorable objective conditions for mass protest actions, unless these result in armed urban uprisings immediately or in the medium term. They campaigned in 1991 and 1992 to deny the worsening crisis of the ruling system as a favorable condition for the party to lead (arouse, organize and mobilize) the masses for offensives (mass protest actions and NPA tactical offensives) but at the same time they were agitating for nothing less than an armed urban insurrection. They were being Rightist and at the same time ultra-Leftist.

The only type of insurrectionism there is that is clearly Rightist from the very beginning is that one which proposes



insurrection as the end of an indefinite protracted legal struggle and as the replacement of protracted people's war in the Philippines. The Lava revisionist renegades and the exponents of bourgeois populism are the main proponents of this kind of insurrectionism. Certain elements who have become bureaucrats of foreign-funded "NGOs" run along the reformist line but at the same time spread the notion of spontaneous peasant insurrections as the replacement of protracted people's war.

It is not surprising that as a result of the rectification movement, the "Left" opportunists have conspicuously merged with the Right opportunists in order to push an outrightly anticommunist, anti-Stalin line formulated mainly by the long-running counterrevolutionary Right and are now openly collaborating with the U.S.-Ramos regime and with such anticommunist groups as the Lava revisionists, the pro-imperialist liberals, the bourgeois populists who call themselves popular democrats, Christian democrats who call themselves social democrats, the petty-bourgeois socialists and the Trotskyites.

It has come to light from the admission of one former "Left" opportunist now acting openly as a counterrevolutionary Rightist and as an agent of the enemy that he and a handful of elements inside and outside the Party have sought to form a "reform bloc" within the Party since 1988 to liquidate the Party from within in imitation of Gorbachov. If not for the rectification document being ready within the last quarter of 1991, he and his counterrevolutionary group would have caused more confusion and done more damage with the four anti-Party papers that he had written and addressed to the general membership of the Party.

As a result of the rectification movement, the anti-Party elements have been clearly held responsible for their grave errors (and for some, their crimes) and have been exposed and isolated. They have been compelled by their own counterrevolutionary character to publicly attack the Party and to move out of it. They have openly proclaimed their opposition to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the antirevisionist line, the analysis of Philippine society as semifeudal and semicolonial, the general line of new democratic revolution, the vanguard role of the working class through the Party, the strategic line of people's war, the revolutionary class line in the united front, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective and proletarian internationalism.

They are receiving funds and other kinds of assistance from foreign and local reactionary entities in order to attack the Communist Party of the Philippines and the revolutionary mass movement. They are now in the process of forming anticommunist groups and alliances in various sectors and one more anticommunist party as a minor adjunct of the major big comprador-landlord parties. They have gone to the extent of announcing their intention to seek convergences with the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique and are openly collaborating with civil and military agencies of the regime. This indicates that the ringleaders of these new anticommunist formations have long been linked to the U.S. and Philippine reactionary governments. Among

these ringleaders are long-time intelligence and psy-war agents of the enemy.

The correct line of the Party was responsible for the general trend of advance from year to year from 1968 to 1984. But the wrong line of "strategic counteroffensive", "regularization", and combining military adventurism with insurrectionism from 1980 onward overlapped with the correct revolutionary line up to the beginning of the rectification movement in 1992 so much so that from 1985 onward, the wrong line was doing more damage than the correct line could do to advance the revolutionary movement.

There has always been a two-line struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the unremoulded petty-bourgeois within the reestablished Party. To deny this fact is to be an idealist. The Party somehow reflects the social reality from the outside and there is always uneven development of the Party membership and thus unremoulded petty-bourgeois elements can hold on to and generate varying degrees of antiproletarian ideas within the working class party.

In the 1968-80 period, the antiproletarian ideas and acts were fragmentary and sporadic. But from 1980, these would become systematized to undermine the proletarian revolutionary line, principally through "Left" opportunism and secondarily through Right opportunism. Since 1988, there has been a conscious and systematic effort by a so-called reform bloc to liquidate the proletarian revolutionary line in a comprehensive way. In 1990, the anti-Party elements usurped authority over certain central staff organs, one interregional c commission and one regional Party organization to openly attack the line of the Party and push their counterrevolutionary line. Finally, within the last quarter of 1991, one of the ringleaders of the anti-Party group drafted and issued anti-Party manifestoes in the form of letters to the Party general membership.

Just as the anti-Party elements were conspiring to take over the Party and destroy it from within, the proletarian revolutionaries in the Central Committee started to confront and combat them with the correct revolutionary line. They started in 1988 to criticize the gross imbalances in work and in the deployment of personnel and resources and to demand corrections. They arrested the general trend of decline from 1989 and proceeded from year to year to prevail over the wrong line until the decision was taken in 1991 to carry out a rectification movement to defeat the wrong line in a comprehensive and thoroughgoing manner and strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. Thus, the rectification movement came into force in 1992, especially after the Plenum of the Central Committee approved the rectification documents.

As a result of the rectification movement, there is a new and higher level of revolutionary unity among the Party cadres and members

along the correct proletarian revolutionary line within the Party and along the general line of the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war among the broad masses of the people. The Party cadres and members are more determined and more militant than ever to rectify and overcome the major deviations, errors and shortcomings, practice correct evaluation, criticism and self-criticism, go more deeply into the midst of the toiling masses of workers and peasants in order to learn from them, lead them and raise to a new and higher level the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique and the entire ruling system.

## **II. The Current Party Situation and Our Tasks**

The current situation of the Party is excellent as a result of the rectification movement. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Party cadres and members have resolutely united to reaffirm the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and rectify errors in order to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the ruling system and the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique.

The entire Party is reinvigorated as the vanguard force of the Filipino proletariat and people. It has further strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is more resolute and more confident in integrating the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in leading the new democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Party, the tens of thousands of Party cadres and members, the thousands of Red fighters of the New People's Army and the millions of people under the organs of political power and mass organizations in both urban and rural areas are determined more than ever to wage the revolutionary struggle against the enemy.

The rectification movement led and initiated by the central leadership is an overwhelming and resounding success. The national staff organs, the interregional commissions, all regional Party organizations and the general membership have seriously studied the principal rectification documents, "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors", the "General Review of Important Events and Decisions" and "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism". They uphold and support these documents and all the related and consequent decisions of the 1992 Plenum of the Central Committee.

The rectification documents are guiding the summings-up, criticism and self-criticism and definition of tasks. These documents were drawn up by the central leadership on the basis of the concentration of the facts and ideas from the 1980-1992 period of the history of the reestablished Party and scores of major documents and hundreds of other related documents from lower Party organs and

organizations resulting from direct investigation, reports, consultations and conferences.

Subsequently, in a dialectical process, the lower Party organs and organizations have already in 1992 and 1993 made new summings-up, criticism and self-criticism, and definition of tasks in the light of the rectification documents. The process of gaining revolutionary knowledge is a never ending dialectical process. It characterizes the rectification movement. The principle involved in the process is "from the masses to the masses".

The overwhelming majority of the central staff organs and regional Party committees have made their new summings-up, criticism and self-criticism, and definition of tasks and submitted their reports to the Central Committee. Only a few other organs are still in the process of doing these and are expected to submit them soon. Those already submitted are being studied by the Central Committee and are being shared with those organs other than those submitting them. **Rebolusyon** is also publishing the publishable materials for study by the general Party membership.

In the course of the rectification movement, the proletarian revolutionary line has asserted itself and defeated the counterrevolutionary bourgeois line. The opposition to the proletarian revolutionary line has clearly exposed itself. First, it conspicuously became an anti-Party faction of "Left" opportunists and Right opportunists and then the "Left" opportunists dropped off their "Left" mask and exposed their counterrevolutionary Rightist character. Finally, these anti-Party factionalists splittists and liquidationists flagrantly put themselves out of the Party by publicly declaring "autonomy" and their anticommunist, anti-Stalin line.

They are a mere handful of frustrated military adventurists and urban insurrectionists who are responsible for Kampanyang Ahos and are criminal gangsters as well as long-running Rightists who have sought to liquidate the Party and subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie and now have the full initiative within the gang of counterrevolutionary Rightists in pushing the line of anticommunism, reformism and capitulationism. Some of these counterrevolutionaries have exposed their longstanding character as enemy agents.

Since July 1993, the anti-Party group has publicly come out in an anticommunist alliance which includes the lackeys of the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique, the local lackeys of the now defunct Soviet revisionist party, the bourgeois populists (popdems), pro-U.S. liberals, Christian democrats ("Socdems"), petty-bourgeois socialists and Trotskyites. The self-exposure of the anti-Party elements as counterrevolutionary Rightists is a manifestation of the overwhelming victory of the rectification movement and facilitates their own isolation and political extinction.

In more than a year, the Party has demonstrated the main and

essential character of the rectification movement, has upheld, defended and advanced the correct revolutionary line, has shown respect for due process and exercised restraint in dealing with the anti-Party ringleaders and those few whom they have misled through lies, slander and intrigues.

### **The Ideological Situation and Tasks**

The rectification movement is mainly and essentially an educational movement in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Theoretical education is of crucial importance because there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. The theory can only be as true and effective as it is integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice and guides it from victory to victory through the twists and turns of the revolutionary struggle.

Theoretical education means the study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as taught by the great communists Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and as integrated with the history and circumstances of the Filipino proletariat and people by the Communist Party of the Philippines. There is already a rich accumulation of revolutionary experience and writings under the leadership of the Party. There are the experiences and writings of the positive kind to promote and there are those of the negative kind that must be criticized and repudiated. We must raise our rich revolutionary experience to the level of theory.

The first requisite for winning cumulative and lasting victories in the current rectification movement and in the entire revolutionary process is for the entire Party to carry out successfully the movement in Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political education. The unremoulded petty-bourgeois elements were able to generate subjectivism within the Party and to bring in even the most outrightly counterrevolutionary ideas because they had been able to move into the vacuum created by the lack or scarcity of Marxist-Leninist education in certain parts of the Party. It is not enough for the Party to be good at promoting the general line of the national democratic revolution. It is necessary for the Party to have a good grounding in the basic principles of the revolutionary proletariat through Marxist-Leninist theoretical education.

It must be recognized that the "Left" opportunists (the military adventurists and urban insurrectionists) and the Right opportunists (advocates of Gorbachovite revisionism, bourgeois populism, liberalism, petty-bourgeois socialism, Trotskyism, Bukharinism, nationalism, pluralism and pacifism) were able to arise within the Party because of the lack or scarcity of Marxist-Leninist education. All these opportunist political trends took a grounding in idealist philosophy, bourgeois subjectivism and eclecticism.

All the victories won so far by the rectification movement are unstable and ephemeral if Marxist theoretical and political education is not carried out correctly, promptly and relentlessly. Sooner than

expected, the ringleaders of opportunism have thoroughly exposed themselves as anticommunists and counterrevolutionaries by their own proclamations and actions. This development should not make the Party complacent about the urgent and long-term need for Marxist-Leninist education.

We have defeated the anti-Party elements within the Party because of the bankruptcy of their ideological, political and organizational line and because of the speed by which they have exposed themselves as anticommunists through their own words and deeds. But if we do not move fast enough to carry out Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political education, there is no assurance that anti-Party elements would not emerge once more from within the Party to inflict damage on it and the revolutionary movement. We have a lot of work to do in order to raise the level of our education and to make sure that the new members of the Party get the basic Party education.

The central leadership must stress that ideological work is the most important component of the rectification movement and the entire revolutionary struggle, especially because the imperialists and the reactionaries have succeeded in recruiting quite a number of unremoulded petty bourgeois intellectuals, posing as ex-communists, as their special agents in an ideological and political offensive. The central leadership must set the direction and deploy sufficient personnel and resources for ideological work.

The three levels of Party study courses (basic, intermediate and advance) must be resolutely promoted. The outlines of study, the list of reading materials and the reading materials must be circulated in advance to all Party organs and units. In the exercise of leadership, the Central Committee must direct the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought as the higher Party school and the General Secretariat and in particular its Education Department to carry out the program of Party education. All the regional Party committees and the staff organs must go full swing into the movement of Marxist-Leninist theoretical and political education.

The basic Party course must instill the basic proletarian revolutionary stand, viewpoint and method and must clarify the basic periods of Philippine history, the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the new-democratic character of the current stage of the Philippine revolution, the motive forces, targets, the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war, the comprehensive tasks and the socialist perspective of the revolution.

The basic texts include: the Five Golden Rays and the Philippine version of this; the **Guide for Party Cadres and Members**, ("Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party", the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution); **Philippine Society and Revolution**, **Philippine Crisis and Revolution**, **On the Mode of Production**, **Our Urgent Tasks** (OUT), **Specific Characteristics of Our People's War** (SCPW), and the current documents of rectification,

"Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors", "General Review of Important Events and Decisions from 1980 to 1991", "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism", and "Unite to Raise the Fighting Will and Capabilities of the Party and the People".

The intermediate Party course must require more extensive knowledge of the study materials in the basic Party course and go more deeply into our revolutionary experience and the problems and tasks of social investigation and class analysis; building the Party, the New People's Army, the united front; economic work; and cultural work. Those taking the course can be encouraged to express themselves orally and in writing about the problems of the revolutionary struggle and recommend solutions and make comparative studies of subjectivist and opportunist lines of thinking and action, make comprehensive studies of the Philippine revolution and other revolutions abroad.

The basic texts include those of the basic Party course and other documents from various levels of the Party in its 25-year history. Main references are the selected works of Comrade Mao Zedong that are most pertinent to the entire process of new democratic revolution. The Philippine selections of Mao's works originally published in the 1970s must be reproduced.

The advanced Party course must provide Party cadres with a comprehensive and profound knowledge of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in materialist philosophy, capitalist and socialist political economy, scientific socialism, the struggle against classical and modern revisionism, the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, the history and strategy of the international communist movement.

The basic texts include mainly the concise works and extracts from the long works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and related documents of the CPP. Those taking the advanced course are encouraged to express themselves orally or in writing about the subjects and to try to raise to the level of theory the concrete revolutionary practice of the Party.

In the course of the rectification movement, the assessment and evaluation of the achievements and errors of the Party in varying scales and in varying periods can result in good Marxist-Leninist education and strong ideological building of the Party. The errors and shortcomings can be turned into a good thing. They can serve to give us a sharpened understanding of the correct line and lead us to rectify them. The anti-Party elements have viciously attempted to foul up the rectification movement by seeking to conceal the serious deviations and errors and the crimes which they have committed.

The Marxist-Leninist classics and contemporary materials from the CPP and other Marxist-Leninist parties must be circulated in advance so that they can be read and studied by individual members and by collectives ahead of the formal Party courses. Party organs and units

must be encouraged to go ahead in undertaking their own programs of study for the benefit of their members ahead of any formal course run by a higher organ.

The meetings to assess and evaluate work by specific organs and units, conduct criticism and self-criticism and set forth new tasks are important for raising the level of ideological and political consciousness and militancy of all Party members. As a matter of fact, this is the most concrete and living way of acquiring a Marxist-Leninist education.

Meetings regarding administrative and procedural matters must be shortened and made more efficient in order to give more time to collective study. Ideological work must be given ample time.

It is absolutely necessary for all members of the CPP to understand not only the two stages of the Philippine revolution (new democratic and socialist) under the leadership of the working class but also the crucial importance of combating revisionism and similar trends now and in the future and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship to consolidate socialism, combat revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism until imperialism is defeated on a global scale and communism becomes possible.

In its ideological building, the Party firmly upholds the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We should never again deviate from the antirevisionist line. We must never be misled by any illusion that we can accelerate the victory of the revolution by depending on military and financial assistance from abroad and at the same time by departing from our Marxist-Leninist line. Had the Soviet party agreed to have "fraternal" relations with the CPP in the past, the costs in ideological and political confusion would have been subsequently devastating. No revisionist party abroad is genuinely interested in supporting the Philippine revolution. We should stop thinking that, if we fell silent on the question of revisionism, someday some revisionist party would rise above its self-centered interests and would help us.

The Party resolutely seeks to realize the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. The ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism necessitate and justify the new-democratic revolution. The ever-worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and that of the world capitalist system and the resolute strengthening of the revolutionary forces guarantee the eventual victory of the new-democratic revolution.

As regards the socialist future of the Philippines, it is realizable as proven in the past by the proletariat and people of several countries. As regards the question of whether socialism can be built by the Filipino proletariat and people alone on the scale of



the Philippines, the answer is that by the time that the new-democratic revolution wins so many other peoples shall have made major advances in revolution in a global resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement, as a result of the now unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system.

As regards the question of whether there is still a socialist future after the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the answer is that the achievements of Lenin, Stalin and Mao in socialist revolution and construction have become more clear, the rise and fall of revisionist regimes provide us with unforgettable lessons, the unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system is bound to lead to the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship shows us the way to the socialist and communist future of mankind.

Since 1989, the crisis of the world capitalist system (including monopoly bureaucrat capitalism, with or without the mask of "socialism") has worsened so rapidly that the high-tech ideological offensive of the imperialists and its retinue of blatant anticommunist petty bourgeois, the revisionists and neorevisionists and the most backward reactionaries has become so discredited and blunted. On the scale of the Philippines, owing mainly to the grave crisis of the domestic ruling system and the rectification movement, the Party has been able to frustrate the long-drawn scheme of the imperialists, the anticommunist petty bourgeois and the reactionaries to discredit and wipe out Marxism-Leninism, the Party and the revolutionary movement.

It is a distinct honor for the CPP to be at the vanguard of the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in the Philippines and to be one of the few armed revolutionary movements led by a Marxist-Leninist party in the world. It has the outstanding role of upholding the torch of armed revolution in a period of revolutionary struggle in the world, when the revolutionary forces in the world are still germinating or are small due to the success of neocolonialism and modern revisionism in undermining for several decades and setting back the anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

The Philippine revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is now at the forefront of the revolutionary struggles led by the proletariat in the world. There can be no serious gathering of revolutionary forces in the world today without the participation of the Party or the National Democratic Front. In the final years of Soviet social-imperialism, states, parties and movements closely associated with it were compromised in varying degrees.

It is the proletarian internationalist duty of the CPP to stay on the road of armed revolution to demonstrate to the proletariat and people of the world that it is necessary and possible to wage armed revolution against the counterrevolutionary forces and grow in strength and advance. At the same time, we should expect the

imperialists and reactionaries to use all means to destroy our forces. By persevering on the road of armed revolution, the Party looks forward to the time when the anti-imperialist and socialist movement shall surge forward once again on an unprecedented scale at a new and higher level.

The Party upholds proletarian internationalism as the principle that guides in common and coordinates all the workers of the world now and in the long future in struggling against monopoly capitalism and in building socialism until imperialism is defeated on a global scale and communism becomes possible.

In consonance with its Marxist-Leninist ideological building, the Party seeks to develop the closest fraternal relations and common understanding with Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. It works for the closer ideological and political understanding of all Marxist-Leninist parties that are not hostile to Stalin and Mao and that wish to uphold the continuous development of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. It also seeks to develop the broadest range of solidarity relations with parties, organizations and movements abroad on the political basis of adherence to the anti-imperialist cause.

## **B. Political Situation and Tasks**

The semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of Philippine society have deepened and worsened since the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968. It must be stated in all candor that the "Left" and Right opportunists have been utterly wrong in spreading the lie since the late 1970s that the U.S.-Marcos fascist regime was industrializing and urbanizing the Philippines and was invalidating the description of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal.

The "Left" opportunists generated false illusions about Philippine society in order to undermine the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war and to push the erroneous line of "strategic counteroffensive", "regularization", military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. The Right opportunists spread the same illusions in order to push the line of misdirecting the united front and the legal form of struggle towards the liquidation of the Party and the armed revolution.

Now, the incorrigible opportunists of both types are out of the Party, are seeking to destroy it and are shamelessly spreading the lie that the "Philippines 2000" (Medium-Term Development Plan) of the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique will turn the Philippines into a "newly industrializing country". They openly babble about seeking "convergences" with the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique. They have completely unmasked themselves as special psywar agents of foreign monopoly capitalism and the local reactionary classes.

The Philippine economy remains agrarian, preindustrial and semifeudal. It is dependent mainly on a backward type of agriculture

for its staple food and exports. It has no basic industries that produce basic metals, chemicals, machine tools and precision instruments. It is dependent on imported equipment, manufactured components, fuel and other raw materials. The value of its export of agricultural and mineral products and low value-added manufactures keeps on falling far below the value of its import of consumer and producer goods. The export of cheap labor (overseas contract workers) fetches more income than any of the export products.

In a country with a gross national product of around US\$49 billion and a population of 65 million, the import bill normally runs nearly 30 percent of GNP and the export income less than 20 percent. The trade deficit is nearly ten percent of the GNP. Foreign loans are annually incurred to cover the debt service, the trade deficit and profit remittances of the multinational firms. The current level of foreign debt is more than US\$33 billion. The annual debt service burden is at the level of US\$ 4.6 billion. The domestic public debt is more than 570 billion (US\$20 billion).

The budget of the reactionary government is one of the most absurd budgets in the world. From 1986-1991, an average of 53 percent of the budget was devoted to debt service. The second largest expenditure is for the military, police, paramilitary forces and intelligence services, gobbling up more than 15 percent of the budget. There are dwindling funds for education, health and infrastructures. The approved budget for 1993 involved the estimated expenditure of 310 billion (US\$11 billion), the revenue of 284 billion and the estimated deficit of 26 billion. But the expenditures have soared and the expected deficit is far larger. And yet there is a breakdown in infrastructures and basic social services (electricity, water and the like) and consequently production.

Accumulated unemployment in the labor force of 27 million is more than 50 percent, although official statistics claim unbelievably low unemployment rate of only nearly 10 percent and underemployment rates ranging from 31 to 33 percent. The legislated minimum daily wage is 118 but the daily cost of living for a family of six is 229. The inflation rate is running high but the official claim is that it is less than 10 percent. Eighty percent of the people fall below the poverty line. They belong mostly to the working class and the peasantry, and include most of the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

The working people suffer not only the misery and want due to economic exploitation but also the most conspicuous forms of oppression. Official and unofficial violence is used to deprive the workers and peasants of their right to organize and seek the improvement of their conditions even where there are yet no revolutionary forces. In areas where the revolutionary forces exist, the reactionary forces unleash the most vicious forms of violence, including bombardments, arson, massacres, selective murders, illegal arrest and detention, torture, forced mass evacuations, zoning and strategic hamlets. All these are desperate measures of the enemy.

They are carried out under the total war policy of the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique. This policy is currently operationalized as Lambat Bitag III.

The new catchphrase of the ruling clique is "Philippines 2000". It is supposed to be an economic plan premised on the violent suppression or capitulation of the revolutionary forces, the provision of union-free and strike-free areas for the foreign investors and the further enlargement of the incentives long offered to the multinational firms. There is absolutely no basis for the regime to expect that foreign investments would come to industrialize the Philippines. The current general crisis of the imperialist countries involves an unprecedented contraction of productive capital and huge inventories of unsold goods. The economic plan of the regime does not solve but seeks to aggravate the land problem. It is therefore contrary to any serious plan of industrialization.

The local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords have a common interest in oppressing and exploiting the Filipino people but they are divided into rival economic and political factions. The U.S.-Ramos clique is the chief representative of the reactionaries but it faces opposition from the other factions. Conscious of the minority vote that brought him to the presidency and taking orders from the Pentagon, General Ramos has taken steps to agree on a ceasefire with the Moro National Liberation Front and to reconcile with the anti-Ramos sections of the reactionary armed forces, especially the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) and the Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP) and the nationalist Young Officers Union (YOU). But the conditions for long-lasting mutual accommodation are limited.

The U.S.-Ramos ruling clique has even gone further than its predecessor, the U.S.-Aquino clique, in drumming up the rumor of peace talks by actually agreeing to exploratory talks abroad in 1992, resulting in The Hague Joint Declaration between the National Democratic Front and the Manila government, and asking for a second round of exploratory talks in Vietnam. The main purpose of General Ramos is to carry out psychological warfare, to misrepresent his regime as desirous of peace, conjure false illusions among the people and split the revolutionary movement. The Party and the National Democratic Front are standing up firmly for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people and are fending off the attempts of the counterrevolutionaries to whip up pacifism, capitulationism, reformism and liquidationism.

The socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system will keep on fueling the political crisis. There are two conceivable ways of ending the crisis of the system. One is to bring about the industrial development of the Philippines. But this way is blocked by the concurrent crises of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and the determination of the Ramos ruling clique to preserve big comprador and landlord interests. The other way is for

the new-democratic revolution to proceed through people's war and win victory.

So long as the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system persists, its chronic crisis provides the fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of the armed revolution. Together, the objective fact of the chronic crisis and the development of the revolutionary forces ensure the general tendency of the ruling system to disintegrate in what may be called the terminal crisis of ruling system even if the crisis is going to be ended not so soon but by a protracted people's war. Were the armed revolution to be terminated, the ruling system will continue to muddle through indefinitely, despite its chronic crisis.

The revolutionary forces would be far stronger had it not been for the "Left" opportunist errors of "regularization", military adventurism and urban insurrectionism inspired by the notion of the "strategic counteroffensive". These played into the hands of the enemy by skipping the necessary phases in the development of the revolutionary forces in the strategic defensive, ruining the mass base and making the people's army less effective and vulnerable to the enemy's strategic offensive (war of quick decision) and tactics of gradual constriction.

Mao Zedong has taught us since a long time ago that it suits the enemy with superior military forces to carry out the strategic offensive and it suits the people's army to go on a strategic defensive and launch tactical offensives within a wide area of maneuver created by mass work in the countryside. The strategic line of people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength in the countryside until it is possible to seize the cities. Only a fool can imagine that cities can provide a wider room for a force inferior to the reactionary armed forces. The dismal record of the urban insurrectionists and criminal gangs provide abundant proof.

The countryside becomes a far wider area for maneuver than the cities only if the mass base is constantly expanded and consolidated far beyond the capacity of the enemy to concentrate upon and occupy for extended periods of time. He can concentrate on a guerrilla front or any portion of it but he gives away space elsewhere, allowing the revolutionary forces to grow in strength outside the enemy's points of concentration or areas under strategic enemy encirclement. It is impossible for the enemy to unfold any strategic encirclement without any gaps. The units of the people's army can launch tactical offensives against inferior enemy units inside and outside that strategic encirclement.

In the rectification movement, there must be a redeployment of the Red fighters in order to have a force structure in which 20 to 30 percent of the Red fighters are in the centers of gravity and 70 to 80 percent are in smaller units for mass work on a wide scale. Without

the mass base, there can be no people's war. The current line is to conduct extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and ever deepening mass base.

It is absurd when the enemy is the one using small units as "special operations teams" (SOTs) for psywar and intelligence in order to effect gradual constriction and it is the NPA giving up the use of small units to expand and consolidate the mass base beyond the capacity of the enemy to cover. It is the long-tested winning practice of the NPA to have a wide network of guerrilla squads (divisible into armed propaganda teams), creating the mass base and coming to the call of the center of gravity for launching tactical offensives.

The record shows that small units (platoons and squads) of the NPA have been far more effective in carrying out tactical offensives than the prematurely formed companies and battalions which are formed at the expense of the smaller units, which further convert some of the remaining smaller units into supply units or which gobble up smaller units in the course of troop replenishment. The center of gravity in a guerrilla front may only be a platoon (itself doing mass work and in relative concentration when not engaged in a tactical offensive) but it can draw in any number of smaller units necessary to make a larger force (company-size or oversized platoon) for a tactical offensive or a series of offensives.

In building the mass base, the organs of political power, the mass organizations and the local Party branches must be built. The overall committee that is the organ of political power must hew to the revolutionary class line, must be assisted by working committees in charge of mass organizations, public education, land reform, production, finance, defense, health, arbitration and cultural affairs, must be supported by mass organizations of the workers (if any), peasants, youth, women, cultural activists and children and must be led by the Party.

There must be mass campaigns in order to develop the power and mass participation of the people and to gain immediate social benefits. The key campaign in the countryside is the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving the prices of farm products, and raising production in agriculture and sideline occupations. This is in accordance with the antifeudal line which is within the framework of the new-democratic revolution. There are other possible campaigns which can be undertaken by the organs of political power, its working committees and the mass organizations under the leadership of the Party.

There must be no premature proclamation of the existence of a municipal, provincial or regional organ of political power. In our experience, this has helped the enemy to identify the areas where we are relatively the strongest and against which he directs his armed

reaction. The wide-scale guerrilla warfare must be like a veil to deprive the enemy of specific fixed targets.

As the vanguard of the Filipino proletariat and the entire Filipino people, the CPP must wield two powerful weapons: the armed struggle and the united front. It must have absolute leadership over the NPA. In the united front, be this formal or informal, the National Democratic Front or the legal alliances, the Party must maintain its independence and initiative and exercise class leadership. The united front is mainly for the armed struggle and secondarily for the legal struggle.

We must repudiate the "Left" opportunists who wish to separate the NPA from the absolute leadership of the Party and who misuse certain units in military adventurism, urban insurrectionism and gangsterism. We must likewise repudiate the Right opportunists who also wish to liquidate the Party by replacing it as the center of the revolution with a bogus united front, which is a federation or confederation and/or a unitary organization of individuals in which the representatives of the Party are eventually, if not immediately swamped by nonproletarian or antiproletarian forces. Such an arrangement may at first be dominated by the petty bourgeois but it is subsequently delivered to the big bourgeoisie under a program of bourgeois nationalism, pluralism and mixed economy.

In leading the new democratic revolution, the Party must rely mainly on the worker-peasant alliance, win over the urban petty-bourgeoisie as one more basic revolutionary force, further win over the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the most reactionary clique, which is the most subservient to foreign monopoly capitalism at every given time.

In pursuing the antifeudal line, the Party must rely mainly on the poor and lower-middle peasants, win over the middle-middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and the enlightened gentry, take advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened gentry and the evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. The Party should take advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and the evil gentry. It will take a higher level of development in the revolutionary movement for us to be able to carry out the maximum land reform program of confiscation and free land distribution.

It is "Left" opportunism to carry out the maximum land reform program while we are still carrying out guerrilla warfare. We should not forget the bitter lessons learned from the premature application of the maximum land reform program in Tarlac in 1972 and Sorsogon in 1974 or in more recent times in Nueva Vizcaya. There is a difference between singling out a despotic landlord for the confiscation of his land or a landgrabber for the restitution of the land to the real owners on the one hand and compelling all landlords (including small

ones and otherwise enlightened ones) to unify in armed reaction to the confiscation of their land on the other hand. The current of peasant insurrectionism pushed by certain foreign-funded NGO bureaucrats who are in fact reformists is a malicious attempt to confuse our cadres among the peasant masses.

The principal form of revolutionary struggle is the armed struggle because it answers the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power, and for smashing the military and bureaucratic machinery of the counterrevolutionary state. In this regard, the legal form of struggle is secondary. But it is indispensable and important to extend the influence of the revolutionary movement to more and more people in their millions and prepare the ground for the expansion of the revolutionary forces through the legal form of struggle.

The Party must coordinate the urban and rural, armed and nonarmed, legal and illegal, underground and aboveground forces and forms of struggle. The coordination must bring about the development of all forces and forms of struggle. We must repudiate the Right opportunists who have falsely claimed that the Party neglected the legal struggle by waging revolutionary armed struggle and who wish the Party to cease or to "de-emphasize" this principal form of revolutionary struggle. The fact is that it is the Party which has been consistently the leading force in the legal democratic movement. To do better in the urban-based legal democratic movement, the Party must reduce the proportion of cadres preoccupied by office work, institutions and coalitions and it must deploy and develop more cadres in the factories, urban poor communities and schools. And instead of ceasing or "de-emphasizing" the armed struggle, the Party must rectify the reverse flow of cadres from the countryside to the cities and must dispatch more cadres and revolutionary mass activists to the countryside.

The Red fighters and the peasant masses are in dire need of Party members and revolutionary mass activists, who are willing to train as political officers of the people's army and who have professional and technical skills. It is fine that there is now a campaign to urge the workers, the youth and the professionals to render revolutionary service in the countryside permanently or for a certain significant period. The "Left" and Right opportunists have sabotaged the armed revolutionary movement by drawing Party cadres to the urban areas and discouraging others to go to the countryside.

It is not the Right opportunists and their bourgeois reformist collaborators who have led and built the legal democratic movement: it is the Party. In the field of legal struggle, we have long seen the puny and inconsequential results of the reformist line and work of the Lava revisionist renegades, the bourgeois populists (popdems), the liberals, Christian democrats, the petty-bourgeois socialists and other groups that wish the party to capitulate and take their reformist line. Were the Party to go aboveground, it will become as



puny and inconsequential as its bourgeois reformist detractors and will be at the mercy of the enemy.

The incorrigible "Left" and Right opportunists have left the Party after failing to destroy it from within. The work of rectification within the Party is unwittingly facilitated by the open proclamation of their anticommunist, anti-Stalin line. Now, all the Party members and the public recognize clearly what they are: counterrevolutionary Rightists and special agents of the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique. The long-running paid agents of the enemy among them are trying to whip them up into a new pseudo-Left party as well as into an anticommunist alliance with other groups, including the yellow organizations that are funded by U.S. and Philippine government agencies.

The political and economic position of the Ramos ruling clique is far weaker than its predecessors, the Marcos and Aquino cliques. But it has outstanding psywar skills and has acquired the paid as well as volunteer services of factionalists, splittists and liquidationists who have gone out of the Party. But psywar cannot alleviate the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system. The Ramos ruling clique is daydreaming when it speculates that the Party can be induced or pressured to take a pacifist, reformist and capitulationist line by repealing the antiradicalism law and by financing and using a few renegades and reformists posing as progressives in order to slander the Party and stage localized "peace talks".

Before the rectification movement, when the major deviations, errors and shortcomings in the Party and the revolutionary movement were not being comprehensively and thoroughly rectified, the Party and the revolutionary movement could withstand Lambat Bitag 1, 2 and 3 and put to shame the yearly false prediction of NPA defeat by General Ramos. The rectification movement should give him and his ilk nightmares even during daytime.

Consequent to the rectification movement, the Party is stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally. Its revolutionary will is steeled by theoretical and political education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and dedication to the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. Its cadres and members are being redeployed to create a far wider and deeper mass base for protracted people's war.

### **C. Organizational Situation and Tasks**

The membership of the Party runs into a few tens of thousands. It is in the central leading and staff organs and in seventeen regional Party committees and organizations covering the entire country. It is in the New People's Army and in aboveground and underground mass organizations of workers, peasants, farm workers, fishermen, women, youth and professionals. It is in the Party branches in urban and rural localities. It is in the Party groups and committees at various levels of mass organizations.

There is a great and urgent need for increasing the Party membership. The Party leading organs at various levels must assess and evaluate the membership ideologically, politically and organizationally within their respective jurisdictions and see how the current membership can raise its IPO level and serve as the basis for expanding the Party membership. The plan for Party recruitment must be worked out and submitted to higher leading organs.

The Party must recruit candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced revolutionary mass activists. The organizational building of the Party must be based on ideological and political work. The period of candidature must be followed. After the application for membership is filed and the candidate-member is sworn in on the basis of the recommendation of two full members of the Party and verification of record done by a third Party member, a Party branch must take full responsibility for providing the basic theoretical and political education to the candidate-member and directing his or her trial work within the period of candidature. A major part of the trial work for the candidate-members of urban petty-bourgeois social standing must be social investigation and mass work particularly among the workers or peasants.

It has occurred so often that someone becomes a candidate-member and then his/her development towards full membership is neglected and then forgotten and the candidate-member is shy about pursuing the question of becoming a full member of the Party. The Party Constitution should be the common point of reference for the Party branch and the candidate-member regarding the question. When full membership is not possible within the period of candidature, the Party branch must explain the reasons. The candidate-member can also inquire. The sale of Party literature must be a basic assignment of all Party candidate-members and full members.

The most important basic requisite for Party membership are the proletarian revolutionary attitude to serve the people, ideological and political education and active participation in a Party branch. The existing full members and candidate members must be checked up and encouraged to raise their ideological, political and organizational level.

All Party organs, units and members must uphold, study and apply the principle of democratic centralism. This is the basic organizational principle of the Party. It must be studied in a living way against the manifestations of bureaucratism and ultrademocracy that have already occurred or are persisting within the Party.

Democratic centralism is democracy guided by centralized leadership and centralism that is based on democracy. The essence of centralism is upholding the scientific theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the essence of democracy is the conscious participation

of the entire Party membership in carrying out the revolutionary line and in providing the basis for decisions by higher Party organs. There is inner Party democracy but there is also discipline.

It is fine that the rectification movement which has been launched by the central leadership in response to the demands of the lower Party organs and organizations, has become a full mass movement and has inspired the lower Party organs and organizations to make further summings-up, criticism and self-criticism and definition of tasks. This movement strengthens the Party comprehensively, including organizationally.

Following the rectification movement, the Party can further strengthen the Party organs at every level, up to the Central Committee and the National Congress of the Party. The delay in holding the Party Congress is not the responsibility alone of the current central leadership. At the same time, the plenary conferences of the Central Committee in the past were legitimately done and were representative of the entire Party organization. Some of them had the weight of national congresses because of the importance of decisions that they had taken. No anti-Party faction can claim to be superior to the current Central Committee or any of the previous composition of the Central Committee.

There is bureaucratism when centralized leadership does not rely on a democratic basis and does not use democratic methods in arriving at a decision and is engaged in a one-way top-down traffic. There is ultrademocracy when any lower organ, unit or individual Party member can decide and do anything against the principles, line and policies set by the Party, declares autonomy from the Party and approaches directly the general membership to attack the Party center.

In the entire history of the Party so far, the worst practitioners of bureaucratism were the "Left" opportunists and the Right opportunists. The "Left" opportunists promoted the line of the "strategic counteroffensive", "regularization", military adventurism and insurrectionism without seeking the approval of the Party Congress, prolonged the period of not holding a Party congress even as they sought to change the correct line of the Party, always preferred to send down commands within the Party and the people's army without investigation and consultations and outside the people's army instituted the practice of "political officers" as a single-person level of authority and as some kind of *deux ex machina*.

Through their access to foreign funding, the Right opportunists made themselves important in the Party by becoming moneybags for financing "regularization" and mass campaigns, creating institutional offices, becoming "NGO" bureaucrats, fabricating paper organizations, consortia and coalitions and using the name of the masses already organized by the Party, drawing away quite a number of cadres and potential ones from work with the masses and, worst of all, spreading the ideas and lingo of the Western bourgeois funding agencies, especially through in-house publications.

The worst practitioners of ultrademocracy were also those "Left" and Right opportunists who had practiced bureaucratism while they were in positions of authority in the Party. Together, they went into a frenzy of ultrademocracy unprecedented in the entire history of the Party. They had earlier manifested their ultrademocracy by building "independent kingdoms" by blocking no less than the central leading organs and by adopting and implementing policies contrary to the Party line.

The "Left" opportunists wanted to separate the people's army for their own military adventurist, urban insurrectionist and gangster line and actually had their way to a considerable extent, thereby damaging the interests and prestige of the Party. The Right opportunists had also tried earlier to liquidate the vanguard role of the Party as well as the Party itself and wanted to cut down the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party and cut off the Party from the illegal and legal united front so that they can lord over foreign-funded "NGOs" and mass organizations without direction by and accounting to the Party. Both the "Left and Right opportunists were the real authoritarians in their respective turfs vis-a-vis subordinates and were anarchists in relation to the Central Committee and the entire Party.

There are selfish and narrow interests propelling the erstwhile "Left" and Right opportunists to form a faction against the Party, seek to destroy it from within and then to stridently join up with the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique, the Lava revisionist renegades, the bourgeois populists (popdems), the liberals, Christian democrats (socdems), petty-bourgeois democrats, socialists and Trotskyites to attack the Party. A number of the ringleaders of the opportunists who have blatantly become anticommunists have criminal accountabilities and have absconded with Party funds and facilities. They wish to escape accountability and therefore wish to decapitate and destroy the entire Party and the revolutionary movement.

In trying to mislead the people, the counterrevolutionary renegades prated about there being no democratic process within the Party. But their small circles conspired in what they called caucuses, attacked entire central organs and leaders of the Party and then publicly issued their statements of judgment and condemnation against the Party, the Party center and individuals whom they pillory as "Stalinists", a term they use demagogically to capitalize on the anticommunist propaganda of the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

They slap their own faces when they use the term as defined by anticommunists. Among the ringleaders of the counterrevolutionary renegades are those accountable for Kampanyang Aghos, the most vicious crime ever committed not only against the hundreds of individual victims but also against the Party and the people. Among the renegades are long-time intelligence and psywar agents of U.S.

imperialism and the Philippine reactionary government. They are the principal formulators of the anti-Stalin, anticommunist line and the line of delivering the Party and the revolutionary movement to the enemy.

In view of the long period of not being able to assign any significant number of Party cadres from the urban to the rural areas, because of the erroneous lines running for a long period, the Party is determined to inspire, encourage and guide an increasing number of Party cadres to go to the rural from the urban areas. The central organs of the Party have taken the lead in this regard by basing themselves in the countryside. It is therefore of great importance to expand the membership of the Party.

Even before the rectification movement, the Party had called for the shift of a good number of Party members to the countryside in order to replenish the loss of Party cadres. But the erroneous lines barred the way. As a result of the arrests of Party cadres in urban areas, the Central Committee has also issued the security guidelines and instructed urban-based Party cadres whose identity is known to the enemy to shift to work in the countryside. But the promoters of the wrong lines, especially the former head of the NPA general command, the former secretary of the Standing Group of the Visayas Commission and the secretary of the Manila-Rizal Party committee, refused to heed the decision.

The enemy agents in the midst of the renegades have succeeded in swinging the renegades to a blatant anticommunist line and the enemy has gained a considerable amount of information from the renegades. For this alone, it is of urgent necessity and importance to shift known Party cadres from the urban to the rural areas and to generate a great number of Party members who are no longer known to the renegades. These renegades must be totally deprived of information that they can use to harm the Party.

Contrary to the intrigues of the anti-Party elements since early 1992 that it would cause a big split or become a "bloody Stalinist purge" of thousands of Party members, outstripping Kampanyang Aho, the rectification movement has already proven to be mainly an educational movement in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The Central Committee has narrowed the target of the rectification movement to a handful of anti-Party ringleaders.

These were expelled only after they had undertaken a series of flagrant anti-Party activities: public dissemination of slander articles aimed at decapitating and destroying the Party starting in late 1991 and proceeding more stridently from 1992 onward, declarations of anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist positions, disruptions of legal mass organizations and alliances, declarations of autonomy and separation, and open collaboration with civil and military agencies of the U.S.-Ramos clique and with an assortment of anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups under the common slogan of anti-Stalinism.

For a long period, these expellees had committed serious errors of line, inflicting unprecedentedly huge damage to the Party and the revolutionary movement and are subject to disciplinary action. They had also committed serious crimes, such as treason, murder, bloody witchhunts, gangsterism and gross malversation of funds and are subject to trial by the people's court. They oppose the rectification movement and wish to destroy the Party because they want to escape their responsibilities. It is completely beneficial to the Party and the revolutionary movement that they are expelled. They had destroyed more than they had ever contributed to the strength of the Party in the period of 1980-92 and they sought to further wreak destruction in a vain attempt to stop the rectification movement.

The policy towards those whom the anti-Party ringleaders have misled is to give them time to come to their senses and see the facts and the truth. They have been easily swayed by lies, slander and intrigues. They come from ideologically weak parts of the Party, are few in number and some of them are fictitious communists. It is far more productive and far more important to recruit new candidate members of the Party from the long-running revolutionary mass movement than to keep on running after those who have been thoroughly disinformed and disoriented by the counterrevolutionary renegades.

The Central Committee has reconstituted only three regional Party committees (Manila-Rizal, Negros and Central Mindanao) and only two central staff organs (the Peasant Secretariat and the United Front Commission) and dissolved one interregional commission (Visayas Commission) in connection with the rectification movement and in response to the demands from below because some of the leaders had degenerated into anti-Party elements. These organizational measures were undertaken to secure the Party from the wrecking operations of the anti-Party factionalists, splittists and liquidationists.

The decision of the Central Committee to launch the second great rectification movement constitutes a great historic victory of far-reaching significance and consequence to the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people. Making the decision has been preceded by a long struggle of several years between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line within the Party.

In the course of the rectification movement, the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party have upheld the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and have defeated the handful of bourgeois reactionaries. The overcoming of the major deviations, errors and shortcomings and the strengthening of the Party are victories which lead to greater victories in the entire revolutionary movement of the proletariat and people. The Philippine revolution will

advance further and continue to be a brilliant part of the world proletarian revolution.

There is much to celebrate now and there is much revolutionary

work and struggle ahead. We shall surely win greater victories in the years ahead because the Party is more than ever determined to lead the people in their millions in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!

Long live the Philippine revolution and the world proletarian revolution!