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**Bayan**

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS  
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG  
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-MAOISMO

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# Greet the 21st century and new millennium with the resolve to intensify the revolution

Message of Armando Liwanag, Chairman  
Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines  
December 26, 1999

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**WE ARE CONFIDENT  
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**A**s we celebrate the 31st anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we greet the 21st century and the new millennium with resolve to intensify the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

We are determined to complete the revolutionary struggle for national independence and democracy that started more than a century ago. Our revolutionary forefathers heroically

fought and won against Spanish colonialism which had ruled the country for more than three centuries. They proceeded to fight the aggression of US imperialism. Carrying forward the revolutionary legacy, we shall continue to fight US imperialism and its puppets even for another century.

On the broad scale of history, the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war, which we are now carrying out, is a short period. But we are ready to pursue it for as long as necessary to win complete victory. We are confident that within the first few decades of the 21st century, we shall

be able to establish the people's democratic republic and proceed to the socialist revolution.

Our revolutionary struggle is part of the world proletarian revolution. We are benefited by the historical experience and current struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world. And we resolve to continue contributing the best we can to the resurgence and advance of the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all reaction.

In the decade that is about to pass, the imperialists and all reactionaries have gloated over the fall of the revisionist regimes and

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misrepresented it as the end of the socialist cause. But from year to year, the crisis of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder have worsened. The people have no way out other than through armed revolution.

Indeed, the revisionist betrayal of socialism has allowed the imperialists and all reactionaries to intensify the oppression and exploitation of the people under the slogan of “free market” globalization. But in turn, the people’s suffering generates revolutionary resistance. We are certain that in the forthcoming century the proletariat and oppressed peoples shall win far greater victories than in the century that is about to pass.

### **I. Certain victory of socialism over monopoly capitalism**

As Marx and Engels have taught us, the contradiction between the social character of the forces of production and the private character of appropriation under capitalism is irreconcilable. Lenin has further taught us that such contradiction sharpens and becomes more violent in the era of imperialism. Thus, the outgoing century has been

characterized by grave economic crises and wars and has become the most violent in the history of mankind.

The adoption of ever higher technology in the imperialist countries intensifies the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat. By increasing the constant capital for equipment and raw materials, the monopoly bourgeoisie cuts down the variable capital for wages in order to maximize profits and counter the tendency of profit rates to fall upon the increase in production.

The result is the chronic and ever-worsening crisis of over-production relative to the shrinking of the market. The crisis deepens as the monopoly bourgeoisie cuts down the cost of labor by laying off workers, presses down wage conditions and further concentrates productive and finance capital.

The average growth rate of all imperialist countries is stagnant and fluctuating downward. The growth rate of the US is above the average because it has the lead in high technology, attracts foreign investments in US securities from Japan and the European Union and draws the most advantage from the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. The biggest bubble of finance capital in the entire history of capitalism is puffed up in the United States by the overvaluation of monopoly assets.

The two other global centers of capitalism are afflicted by higher levels of unemployment. As a consequence, the workers’ strike movement is more vigorous in the European Union than in the US. However, in Japan, the monopoly-bourgeois state has gone into heavy public deficit-spending to counter the decade-long recession and hold back an outbreak of the workers’ strike

movement.

US imperialism is the main promoter of the neoliberal myth of free market in order to scapegoat the working class and social spending by government as the cause of stagnation and inflation and to dictate trade and investment liberalization, privatization and deregulation on all other countries. In fact, state monopoly capitalism and protectionism are growing in various forms and ways to serve private monopoly firms in all imperialist countries.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has used state power to cheapen labor and to appropriate public resources. The result is the rapid inflation of assets in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries. The concentration and centralization of capital in the imperialist countries, chiefly in the US, is proceeding at an unprecedentedly rapid rate, reducing all other countries to the status of loan beggars and consigning them to plunging levels of poverty and misery.

The recent Seattle meeting of the WTO went into shambles as the imperialist powers themselves accused each other of being in fact protectionist and likewise the client states accused the imperialists of being protectionist against them. Right in the belly of the beast, US imperialism, the American workers and people of various nationalities encircled the WTO and denounced the imperialists. Their protests were suppressed by brutal police action. But the battle in Seattle has signaled a new wave of mass protests, which is likely to strike again at the forthcoming IMF-World Bank meeting.

At the base of the global economic and financial crises in the ’90s is the fact that all types of goods and services are now overproduced

relative to the shrinking global market. Under these circumstances, the competition among imperialist countries is sharpening. The few South Korea-type economies, touted since the '70s as newly industrialized countries, are being crushed under the weight of the industrial surpluses of their imperialist masters. Thus, the workers' strike movement has sprung up dramatically in such places.

The countries, previously betrayed by revisionist regimes and now complete adjuncts of the US-ruled capitalist system, have become dumping grounds of surplus products and speculative investments from the West and are plunging from one level of economic and social degradation to another. In varying degrees, they have become neocolonies of the imperialists, are ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and are descending to the general condition of the third world.

Russia today is an imperialist power relative to the oppressed nationalities within its borders and in its environs. But economically, it does not have much to offer to the world capitalist market beyond oil, which is in global oversupply. Like Russia, some East European countries offer steel, which is also in global oversupply. China is the biggest sweatshop for the production of low value-added consumer goods and finds itself hemmed in by its own overproduction and that of a few underdeveloped countries engaged in the same line of production.

Although Russia and China have become subordinated to the world capitalist system, the US and other imperialist countries remain wary of assertions of national sovereignty by these countries, their possession of nuclear weapons and the possible resurgence of revolutionary forces. The US and other imperialist powers covet these

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countries as neocolonies and wish to prevent them from becoming industrial competitors.

The strategic line of the US-led imperialist alliance is to encircle Russia and China with the NATO and the pro-US European military forces and the US-Japan security partnership and to further weaken their economies through the local comprador big bourgeoisie in order to render useless their nuclear and other weapon systems.

The end of the cold war between the US and the defunct Soviet Union has not meant the end of tensions due to imperialist acts of intervention and aggression. The US and other imperialist powers have been encouraged by the internal weaknesses of China and Russia to intervene in their internal affairs and commit or threaten acts of aggression within their borders and in their vicinity.

By becoming adjuncts of the world capitalist system and continuously deteriorating economically and socially, both Russia and China have become polarized internally and become hotbeds of social conflict. The new big bourgeoisie is extremely

intolerable to the people as it ceaselessly robs them and inflicts terrible suffering on them.

The great legacy of Lenin and Stalin is still alive in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There is a proliferation of parties inspired by such legacy even as phony communists and social democrats are still prominently competing with the blatant anticommunists. The proletariat and people are beginning to stir. The revolutionary forces are gradually developing.

The imperialists expect that in the first or second decade of the next century the rulers of China would peacefully cast off the signboards of socialism and the communist party as in Russia. But workers' strikes and peasant uprisings have broken out although sporadically. It is only a matter of time before a genuine communist party arises under the inspiration of the great legacy of Mao.

The overwhelming majority of the countries of the world are semicolonial and semifeudal. Whatever industries some of them established in the past are being destroyed under the terms of neocolonialism and neoliberalism, as dictated by the imperialist countries bilaterally or through such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The imperialist countries require the client countries to accord national treatment to foreign investors, press down wage levels, privatize state assets, deregulate and open up their economies to the dumping of surplus goods and to the flow of speculative investments.

Since the late '70s, the client countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered from the global overproduction of raw materials, the ever-deteriorating terms of trade and the ever-rising levels of foreign debt. A few of them,

like those in Southeast Asia, have gone into the production of low value-added semimanufactures for export. But these have become overproduced in the '90s.

Together with the former revisionist-ruled countries, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are now in the landscape of social and political turbulence. There is widespread counterrevolutionary violence instigated by imperialist powers and arising from the rivalries of reactionary cliques spouting the slogans of chauvinism, ethnocentrism and religion.

The US and other imperialist powers have taken the initiative to wage wars of aggression, such as those against Yugoslavia and Iraq, and have used high-tech weapons and economic sanctions that are far more deadly and indiscriminate against the people than the weapons in the hands of rival reactionary groups that launch civil wars and coups against each other, often attended by massacres.

Amidst the widespread counterrevolutionary violence, however, there are countries where Marxist-Leninist parties are leading protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution. There are other revolutionary movements fighting for national self-determination or merely against authoritarianism. There are also states, like those of North Korea and Cuba, which are standing up for their national independence and the socialist aspirations of their peoples.

In our region of Southeast Asia, the depressed economic and social conditions due to the financial crisis of 1997 have caused unprecedented social unrest. As a consequence, the Indonesian people have overthrown the long-running US puppet dictator Suharto and the East Timorese people have won their national independence. Like the Filipino

people, the other peoples of Southeast Asia are disgusted with the ruling systems of big compradors and landlords and wish to make revolution.

All basic contradictions in the world capitalist system are sharpening. The main contradiction is the one between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples. So far and for a long while to come, it is this contradiction which is directly generating the conditions for the revolutionary parties of the proletariat to wage armed revolution.

The contradictions among the imperialist powers are intensifying on economic, political and military issues. But so far, the US-led imperialist alliance is holding insofar as they are united in oppressing and exploiting the people of the world and trying to contain and engage Russia and China, which they fear as imperialist rivals if uncontrolled and not further weakened.

The outbreak of war in the contradiction among the imperialists can result from the continuous worsening of the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system, the rise to power of fascist forces in any imperialist country (including Russia) and the realignment of imperialist powers in exploiting the oppressed peoples. Only the revolutionary people led by the proletariat can stop fascism and war or turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war.

In the imperialist countries, where the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is intensifying in varying degrees, the monopoly bourgeoisie always tries to shift the burden of crisis to the client countries. But it never ceases to extract surplus value from the proletariat in the imperialist countries. The rate of exploitation and the rate of unemployment have

increased in imperialist countries.

The polarization between the proletariat and the rest of the people upholding the banner of socialism on one side and the monopoly bourgeoisie and its fascist forces on the other side will proceed faster as the struggle of the oppressed people and the inter-imperialist contradictions further intensify.

Even as imperialism has benefited from the revisionist betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union since 1956 and in China since 1976, the material conditions that have emerged cannot be contained and controlled by monopoly capitalism. Thus, in so short a time, imperialism has been

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thrown into an unprecedented economic and social crisis.

Such forces of production as the higher technology and the more educated and highly skilled proletariat are appropriate to socialist relations of production and not to capitalist relations of production which are dominated and driven by the motive of private profit. In fact, such forces of production are again and again straining against the capitalist relations of production, trying to break these fetters.

The technology now

available for production can wipe out poverty in a world where more than four-fifths of humanity live below the poverty line and one-half live on less than two dollars a day. But greater production means overproduction relative to the market in the capitalist system. For the monopoly bourgeoisie to maximize profits, it increases the rate of exploitation on those workers who remain on the job and keeps the overwhelming majority

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of the world's work force in a condition of unemployment and underemployment.

Desperate in offering new products for accelerated profit-taking and capital expansion, the monopoly bourgeoisie has commercialized communications technology previously reserved for its military forces. This same technology is now available for the revolutionaries for conducting revolutionary propaganda and other work and for economic planning and socialist democracy in the future.

Imperialism tries to pass itself off as a new thing with the alias, globalization. But this signifies

something old, a retrogression to the "laissez faire" rapacity of capitalism as it raced towards monopoly capitalism or imperialism from 1870 and onwards to the first inter-imperialist war in 1914.

"Free market" globalization since 1980 has brought to the current decade the most irrational destruction of productive forces and the most avaricious concentration of capital and thus an unprecedented crisis and disorder in the world capitalist system.

As the 20th century draws to a close, the stage is set for the great battles in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie. The current grave crisis and great disorder in the world capitalist system are the prelude to great upheavals and social revolution in the 21st century.

## **II. The ever-rotting domestic ruling system**

From decade to decade, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system has deepened and aggravated. The endless series of IMF-directed structural adjustment and stabilization programs and the shift of emphasis in official pretense, from World Bank-directed "development" under the Marcos regime to the GATT and WTO-directed "free market" under the post-Marcos regimes have made the ruling system more rotten than ever before.

During the prolonged period of Marcos fascist dictatorship, infrastructure projects, raw-material production, construction of tourist facilities and even sheer bureaucratic and military waste of resources were passed off as economic development. Budgetary and trade deficits widened and public borrowing mounted until the US-instigated fascist regime became untenable.

In the post-Marcos regimes, all top-level puppet politicians are under orders by imperialism not even to pretend that they are for industrial development. The controlling term for them is "free market", while they are leashed to the production of raw materials plus low value-added semimanufactures for export. They are required to liberalize trade and investments in favor of foreign monopoly capitalism, privatize state assets and deregulate against labor standards, environmental protection and other social concerns.

The low value-added semi-manufactures (semiconductors, garments, toys, shoes and the like) account for around half of gross export receipts. But their import content run as high as 90 percent. These types of goods are now under deteriorating terms of trade due to global overproduction, like raw materials since the late '70s. It is actually the export of contract workers that fetches more foreign exchange earnings than any export product.

Public works and private construction of residential and office towers have been used to pump-prime the economy. This has not stimulated any kind of lasting domestic production but only the importation of construction equipment, structural steel and luxury goods for the exploiting classes. This has merely aggravated the perennial trade deficits and the rapid increase of the local and foreign public debt as well as promoted in the neoliberal way the shadiest credit transactions and contracts between the foreign lenders and suppliers on the one hand and the bureaucrat capitalists and cronies on the other hand.

The Philippines remains a backward agrarian country and yet it has become a net food importer of rice, corn, sugar and meat. This is

the effect of trade liberalization which allows the dumping of agricultural surpluses from other countries to the detriment of domestic agricultural production. Food security is also ruined by the rapid reclassification of agricultural land as commercial and industrial land for real estate speculation, by the alienation of public land, mineral, forest and water resources under various pretexts and by the escalating campaigns of military suppression in the countryside.

Just as they are banned by their imperialist masters from promising industrial development, the ruling politicians are banned from promising land reform. Even the few pieces of rice and corn land, previously covered by a tokenistic land reform program of the reactionary government, are now being reclassified as commercial or industrial land and are being repossessed by the landlords or bought from the state by real estate speculators.

The entire economy and the reactionary government are dependent on foreign credit. But the foreign credit that is now available is merely for stabilizing banks and for a limited number of public works.

The US-Estrada regime has grave difficulties in raising revenues in the form of tax from a depressed economy, tariff from liberalized trade and proceeds from sale of dwindling corporate assets of the state. A large chunk of the budget is gobbled up by debt service and military and police spending. Consequently, there is a scramble for limited funds among the office of the president, national departments, Congress and local officials.

The US-Estrada ruling clique is running a government that is bankrupt. It has imposed an unannounced austerity program at the

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expense of the people. It is under orders from its imperialist masters as well as its big comprador-landlord patrons to carry out the most treasonous and stupid policies.

The ruling clique declares that the Philippines can compete globally only by auctioning off the national patrimony. Thus, it is campaigning for the rewrite of the 1987 constitution in order to allow unrestricted foreign ownership of land and all types of businesses, including the exploitation of natural resources, public utilities, banks, retail trade, schools, mass media and advertising.

The rewrite to make the reactionary constitution far worse than it is now is also meant to adjust it to the Visiting Forces Agreement which surrenders national sovereignty and territorial integrity to US imperialism, remove the formal guarantees of civil and political rights and prolong the terms of office of the ruling clique.

There is practically a return to colonial times and likewise to the ways of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship in terms of puppetry, corruption, deceptiveness and brutality. The ruling clique consists of direct political descendants and the most notorious cronies of the late unlamented fascist dictator.

The US-Estrada regime berates the people for marking the declaration of martial law on September 21 and condemning the human rights

violations under the US-Marcos regime and admonishes them to forget about these. At the same time, it collaborates with the Marcos family in evading the enforcement of the US court decision to compensate the victims of human rights violations. This family and the most notorious Marcos cronies are keeping their concealed ill-gotten assets and taking out from sequestration those ill-gotten assets that are still under litigation.

The US-Estrada regime is escalating military and police campaigns of suppression and perpetrates human rights violations with impunity without having to declare martial law. In fact, entire communities in both rural and urban areas are being subjected to zoning and search operations as well as forced mass eviction and evacuation. An increasing number of people are victims of warrantless arrests, illegal detention, torture, extrajudicial killings, including massacres.

The rising level of oppression is directly connected with the rising level of exploitation by the imperialists and a narrow ruling clique. Brute force is used to compel people to leave the land which Estrada and his cronies covet for acquisition and likewise intimidate the people in general. The regime cynically describes as land reform the most vicious corporate tricks of landgrabbing and praises the big comprador-landlord Eduardo

Cojuangco as the godfather of land reform.

Together with the big comprador Lucio Tan, Estrada insults the workers by claiming they are “pampered”. The US-Estrada regime freely uses the military and police forces to threaten and attack workers, especially during strikes. Here is a regime that is not satisfied with the detrimental effects of the so-called free market economic policy and the labor

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flexibility policy. It goes further with its propensity to fling insults and use physical force against the workers.

The reasons are clear why the US-Estrada regime has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. It considers the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law as an obstacle to a policy of brutality against the people. It is terribly afraid of negotiations on basic social, economic, political and constitutional reforms because it is hell-bent on rewriting the 1987 constitution for the benefit of the imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

It is necessary for the broad masses of the people to

rise up and fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. As far as the armed revolutionary movement is concerned, it is ever more necessary to intensify the basic tactical offensives for wiping out enemy units and seizing their weapons as well as to launch special tactical offensives to punish the most notorious traitors, human rights violators and plunderers and to serve notice that foreign oppressors and exploiters are not welcome in the country.

It is no longer sufficient to denounce as farces the periodic elections, staged by the reactionaries, and to implement a policy of revolutionary dual tactics towards reactionary candidates. It is necessary to actively prevent the most notorious malefactors from running as candidates and to take punitive action against them. Assaults on their armed convoys can serve to dispel the illusion of democracy conjured by the electoral farce of the enemy.

It is absurd that on the basis of mere suspicion the enemy can do as he pleases to harm and kill revolutionaries and that revolutionaries should abstain from arresting, trying and punishing those who have committed the most dastardly crimes against the people. Moreover, the ruling system would become even more wobbly when it becomes unable to conjure the illusion of democracy.

At whatever rate the armed revolutionary movement can carry out the just punitive actions, the socio-economic and political crisis of the ruling system is accelerating. The all-round bankruptcy of the reactionary state limits the amount of spoils available for amicable mutual accommodation among the rival political factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The bureaucratic corruption of those in power becomes more easily exposed by those who are out of power. The contradictions among the reactionaries have become more bitter and tend to be more violent. Reports are already rife that the US-Estrada regime would not last until the end of its term, either because there would be a coup, an assassination or a declaration of incompetence against Estrada.

An increasing number of the members of Congress are rankling that Estrada has accused them of thievery through the traditional pork barrel. But he has turned the congressional pork barrel into a presidential pork barrel and has made Congress a beggar. In the style of Marcos, he and his son grab the lion’s share of the graft in public works and goes around vaingloriously ladling out public funds.

In obedience to the dictates of the IMF and World Bank, the Estrada regime is laying off a great number of civil employees of the reactionary government. These lowly paid employees are now engaged in a protest movement to retain their jobs. Officials and employees at the provincial and municipal levels of the reactionary government have also expressed their outrage at the arbitrary reduction of internal revenue allocations for them.

In contrast to the civil bureaucracy, the military and police forces get a far higher proportion of budgetary allocations, especially in the name of military modernization. Many of their officers are running criminal syndicates engaged in robbery, kidnapping for ransom, smuggling and prostitution. No less than Estrada himself and his criminal associates are engaged in criminal operations, of which the most lucrative is technical smuggling. This also accounts for lessened tariff

collection.

By following and carrying out the neocolonial and neoliberal dictates of its imperialist masters, the puppet regime of Estrada oppresses and exploits the Filipino people and inflicts intolerable suffering on them. They are therefore resisting the regime with increasing resoluteness and militancy.

The US-Estrada regime is already isolated as a result of its own blatant antinational and anti-democratic policies and acts. A broad alliance of the toiling masses, the middle social strata, respectable institutions and anti-Estrada reactionaries is now further isolating the regime.

This broad alliance has conducted nationwide mass protest actions against the return of the Marcoses and Marcos cronies to power with Estrada, against the corruption of old and new cronies, the plan to rewrite the 1987 constitution and the suppression of press freedom.

The leaders of the broad alliance have repeatedly warned Estrada that they can arouse and mobilize the people to remove him from power, as in the case of Marcos, for violating the most fundamental rights of the people. The broad alliance can be further developed to oust Estrada or compel him to resign.

While always ready to cooperate and coordinate with other forces, the progressive mass organizations and alliances of the workers, peasants, women, youth and other sectors have repeatedly launched nationwide mass protest actions. The issues include wages and workers' rights, agrarian reform and food security, women's rights, student rights, the Visiting Forces Agreement, the repeated oil price hikes, human rights violations, and so on.

The people recognize that legal

protest movements are important and necessary for exposing the antinational and antidemocratic character of the ruling system and the current ruling clique. They also recognize that the armed revolutionary movement is the most important and most necessary weapon for overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords and establishing the people's democratic system on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

The people condemn the US-Estrada regime's termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and ridicule the so-called localized negotiations under the auspices of a

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GRP-controlled "national peace forum" as nothing but a futile psywar scheme to solicit surrenderees and fragment the revolutionary movement and as a complement to the escalating military and police campaigns of suppression, under Oplan Makabayan, against the revolutionary forces and the people.

The people welcome the alliance of the National Democratic Front and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front against the US-Estrada regime. This alliance involves mutual respect and mutual support against the common enemy. All the revolutionary organizations within the NDFP, including the

Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army support the Moro people's struggle for self-determination and democracy.

The struggle against the US-Estrada regime is part of the long-term struggle against the ruling system. The Party can go into any alliance to isolate and destroy the current regime. At the same time, it maintains its independence and initiative and develops its own revolutionary strength in the process of fighting every regime that the ruling system can still put forward until its final overthrow.

### **III. Intensify the revolution**

The Communist Party of the Philippines is well prepared to lead the Filipino proletariat and people in accomplishing the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. It has a correct ideological, political and organizational line. It has been tempered by decades of revolutionary struggle, has learned lessons from its experience and from abroad and has clear fighting tasks. It has won significant victories and accumulated strength.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has reaffirmed the basic revolutionary principles put forward by the First Great Rectification Movement and by the congress of reestablishment of the Party in 1968. It has successfully reinvigorated and strengthened the Party in an all-round way, for the protracted people's war along the line of new-democratic revolution.

The Party upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical guide and ideological line and integrates it with the practice of the Philippine revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the telescope and microscope of the revolution. It guides us in comprehending the

history and current circumstances of the Philippine revolution and world proletarian revolution and provides us with the foresight, up to the stage of consolidating socialism, combating revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism and staying firmly on the road to communism.

By grasping the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method of the revolutionary proletariat, the Party has understood well the history and current circumstances of the Philippines. It has summed up its revolutionary experience in a comprehensive and profound way and has learned lessons from both positive and negative experiences.

degenerates serving the ruling system and the imperialists. The worst of them are shamelessly either in the service of the US-Estrada regime, imperialist-funded agencies or Trotskyite, racketeering and bourgeois-liberal grouplets.

The Party has frustrated the imperialist ideological offensive, which proclaimed capitalism and liberal democracy as the end of history and misrepresented the fall of the revisionist regimes as proof of the futility of socialism. The Party has reaffirmed its foundational criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and is vindicated by the full unmasking of the revisionist

benefit of comrades with less formal education, simplified texts and illustrated study materials have been designed. Master copies of educational materials are available in computer disks for reproduction. A website is maintained on the internet and appropriate materials have been posted on it.

The Party steadfastly carries out the general political line of new-democratic revolution through a protracted people's war in correspondence with the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of the Philippines. This revolution is a preparation for socialism, which is realizable only after the overthrow of the ruling system dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

As the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Party vigorously conducts underground work among the workers and rapidly promotes both the current general line and Marxist-Leninist education among the workers. It guides and encourages the trade union movement and all the political struggles of the working class. It builds the Party organization among the workers in an underground way. Thus, it can play its leading role effectively and be at the core of the entire workers' movement.

In view of the fact that there are so many workers being thrown out of their jobs, the Party should be able to dispatch more proletarian revolutionary cadres and worker-activists to serve in the New People's Army, link up with peasant masses and do mass work among them. Thus, the leadership of the Party and the working class and the worker-peasant alliance are further strengthened.

It is fine for the armed revolutionary movement that the reactionary government has abandoned its pretenses for land

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**THE PEOPLE'S WAR MUST BE INTENSIFIED. THERE MUST BE THE BASIC TACTICAL OFFENSIVES THAT ARE AIMED AT INCREASING THE ARMED STRENGTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THERE MUST ALSO BE SPECIAL TACTICAL OFFENSIVES AIMED AT PUNISHING THE MOST NOTORIOUS TRAITORS, VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND PLUNDERERS AND DEMONSTRATING THAT THE OPPRESSORS AND EXPLOITERS ARE NOT SECURE FROM PUNISHMENT WHEREVER THEY ARE.**

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Periodically and on a timely basis, it sums up and analyzes experience and engages in criticism and self-criticism in the course of current work in order to improve work and the style of work and further clarify the revolutionary tasks and methods of carrying them out. Thus the revolutionary struggle of the people is advancing from victory to victory.

The Party has repudiated and combated subjectivism that took the form of empiricism and dogmatism and ultimately led to revisionism, liquidationism and reformism. The unremoulded petty-bourgeois elements who systematically generated subjectivism have openly exposed themselves as traitors and

renegades as the agents of capitalist restoration.

The level of ideological consciousness of all Party cadres and members has risen as a result of ideological struggle in the Second Great Rectification Movement and of the application and verification of correct ideas in the course of revolutionary practice. Formal study courses at primary, intermediate and advanced levels, study meetings in leading organs and units, social investigation, summing up of work and criticism and self-criticism are continuously being undertaken.

The theoretical organ of the Party and Marxist-Leninist classics in books and pamphlets are widely distributed in the Party. For the

reform. The solution of the land problem is the main content of the democratic revolution. It concerns the peasant masses, the biggest and most oppressed and exploited class in the Philippines. It can be realized only by integrating revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass-base building.

In the process, the peasantry is

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**IT IS CERTAIN THAT IN THE  
EARLY DECADES OF THE  
FORTHCOMING CENTURY  
THERE WILL BE A  
CONFLAGRATION OF  
PEOPLE'S WARS AND  
BROAD ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
MOVEMENTS ON AN  
UNPRECEDENTED GLOBAL  
SCALE**

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the main force of the revolution. It is the class that directly sustains in a big way the armed revolution nationwide. It has enabled the Party to build the New People's Army and wage a protracted people's war by which political and military strength can be accumulated until conditions are ripe for a successful seizure of the cities.

The New People's Army is mainly a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party. It operates in more than 80 guerrilla fronts nationwide. It is still in the stage of strategic defensive. After a significant period of expanding and consolidating its mass base, it is launching tactical offensives against enemy weak points with increasing frequency and on an expanding scale. It is determined to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

It has recently demonstrated its

fighting capabilities with well-planned and well-executed tactical offensives, including raids, ambushes and arrest operations, on the basis of accurate intelligence and prompt reconnaissance. These are attainable because of Party leadership, wholehearted mass support and competent and courageous NPA units. Among the outstanding achievements of the people are raids and ambushes which have resulted in the capture of weapons and arrest operations which have resulted in the capture of enemy officers, including a general.

The people's army has been instrumental in the building of the organs of political power, the revolutionary mass organizations and Party branches in the countryside. Mass campaigns are being carried out with regard to mass education, land reform, production, public health and hygiene, self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural development. The villages are being turned into economic, political, military and cultural bastions of the revolution.

Towards the solution of the land problem, the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, regulation of interest rates, raising farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and promoting production is being carried out. At the same time, despotic landlords and landgrabbers are being thwarted. There are exemplary cases of land confiscation from despotic landlords. And lands that have been grabbed by landgrabbers are returned to the rightful owners. The ultimate goal for the benefit of all landless tillers is the free and equitable distribution of land to them in the maximum land reform program.

The National Democratic Front is the alliance of such progressive forces as those of the toiling masses and urban petty bourgeoisie. As a whole, it is open to formal and

informal alliances with other entities, including the forces and elements of the middle bourgeoisie, reactionaries against the common enemy and movements for national self-determination among the minorities in the country. The recently forged alliance of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front is of great significance and consequence in the armed struggle against the common enemy.

The legal mass movement has surged vigorously this year. The workers' trade unions and mass organizations of peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, religious believers, teachers, health workers, lawyers and other professionals have made protests on multisectoral and sectoral issues. The multisectoral and sectoral legal alliances of progressive forces have demonstrated their increasing ability to conduct nationwide and local mass actions, independent of the anti-Estrada reactionary forces as well as in combination with them in order to isolate the US-Estrada regime.

The Estrada regime is hell-bent on using the coercive apparatuses of the state in order to suppress the armed revolutionary movement as well as the legal democratic movement for the purpose of throwing the country wide open for exploitation by the imperialists and the narrow ruling clique of big compradors and landlords. The people must therefore be resolute, vigilant and militant in opposing them.

The people's war must be intensified. There must be the basic tactical offensives that are aimed at increasing the armed strength of the revolutionary movement. There must also be special tactical offensives aimed at punishing the most notorious traitors, violators of human rights and

plunderers and demonstrating that the oppressors and exploiters are not secure from punishment wherever they are.

The Party follows the organizational principle of democratic centralism by promoting the line of centralized leadership on the basis of democracy and democracy under the guidance of centralized leadership and by opposing bureaucratism and liberalism. It has strengthened itself by taking deep roots among the toiling masses and recruiting Party members from the ranks of advanced mass activists.

The number of Party members has increased since the start of the Second Great Rectification Movement. More importantly, their quality is high because of their education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the intensification of mass work. A significant number of cadres and activists from the ranks of the workers and educated youth have been dispatched to the countryside to serve the people's army and peasant masses.

Party branches are built in factories, transport lines, urban poor communities, in schools, offices, reactionary institutions and in haciendas and in the barrios. The proportion of Party members from the ranks of workers is increasing rapidly. So is the proportion of those from the peasantry.

The Party is healthy and growing because it has removed from its ranks revisionists, liquidationists and the incorrigible opportunists of the "Left" and Right variety as well as the centrists. These opportunists lorded over organs and units by acting as bureaucrat centralists towards those within their organizational scope and as ultrademocrats, liberals and anarchists in relation to higher organs.

For the Party to lead the new-democratic revolution to complete victory, we need far more members than the current few tens of thousands that we have. We need at least hundreds of thousands. To move towards this direction, we must from one period to another have an organizational-educational plan by which we can systematically recruit Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists.

The call is to recruit Party members boldly but not to allow a single undesirable in. All honest and hardworking mass activists who are willing to accept the Party Constitution and Program can be recruited as Party candidate-members. Within the period prescribed by the Party Constitution, candidate-members should be elevated to full members after taking the Party primary course and fulfilling trial work.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism and broad anti-imperialist solidarity, the Communist Party of the Philippines leads and carries out the Philippine revolution. Workers and oppressed peoples must unite in order to overthrow imperialism and all reaction and achieve national and social liberation.

History has proven that socialism can be established and built in one country after another. But to attain the ultimate goal of communism, the revolutionary proletariat and people must first defeat imperialism on a global scale. Before this global victory, the ruling proletariat and the people in socialist countries must also combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and further consolidate socialism.

The era of imperialism and proletarian revolution continues. It takes an entire historical epoch to bring about the global defeat of

imperialism and conversely the global victory of socialism. All genuine communists, from generation to generation, are ready to wage revolutionary struggle for any length of time in order to achieve the victory of socialism in a series of countries until the ultimate goal of communism is reached.

It is certain that in the early decades of the forthcoming century there will be a conflagration of people's wars and broad anti-imperialist movements on an unprecedented global scale. The socialist and anti-imperialist movements are bound to resurge. There shall be great battles in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the people of the world on one side and imperialism and reaction on the other side. To repeat for emphasis, there shall be far greater revolutionary victories in the 21st century than in the outgoing century.

All genuine communists are optimistic that when the proletariat and people again build socialist societies in the forthcoming century, they shall apply well the lessons they can learn from the actual restoration of capitalism by revisionists and from the proven teachings of Comrade Mao on the need for a series of cultural revolutions under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism until the global defeat of imperialism leads to the realization of communism.

**Long live the Communist  
Party of the Philippines!**

**Down with imperialism,  
revisionism and all reaction!**

**Long live proletarian  
internationalism!**