

24th Anniversary, 1992

**UNITE TO RAISE HIGHER THE FIGHTING WILL
& CAPABILITIES OF THE PARTY & THE PEOPLE,
CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS OF THE 10th CC PLENUM**

The CPP celebrates today the 24th anniversary of its establishment, with a greater resolve than ever to unite the Party membership & raise higher the fighting will & capabilities of the entire Party & broad masses of the Filipino people against the enemy, the U.S.- Ramos clique.

This newly-installed ruling clique is the principal target of the revolutionary movement of the people for national liberation & democracy. It is the current general representative of such antinational & antidemocratic forces as U.S. & Japanese foreign monopoly capitalism & the local exploiting classes of big compradors & landlords.

General Ramos has come into power as a minority president of the neocolonial puppet republic, with far less resources with which to deceive & suppress the people & the revolutionary movement than any of his predecessors.

The crisis of the semicolonial & semifeudal system continues to worsen at an accelerated rate. The broad masses of the people have no way out of their intolerable oppression & exploitation but to expand & intensify the armed revolution & the legal democratic movement.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system is also worsening. It has been accelerated & exacerbated by high technology & by the abuse of the international credit system. The longrunning depression in the underdeveloped countries & the former Soviet bloc countries is recoiling upon the industrial capitalist countries & is making them reel from prolonged recession. The ruling system in the Philippines can find no relief from abroad but aggravation of the domestic crisis due to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & regimes in Eastern Europe & the Soviet Union, the collapse of the latter,

the end of the bipolar world & cold war of two superpowers are part of the crisis of the world capitalist system & have brought about social turmoil on a wider scale. There is a new world disorder. The U.S. & U.S.-led capitalist alliance are weighed down & strained by severe domestic & international problems. There is gloom & disarray in the capitalist world.

The new international environment is favorable for the Philippine revolution. We are now entering a new period of revolutionary struggle on a global scale. The factors of anti-imperialism & socialism are once again stirring to life. The genuine communists the world over are at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism & reaction & for a better world. The proletariat & the people of the world are launching sizable organized mass actions against their oppressors.

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union & the earlier disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & regimes in Eastern Europe, the revisionist parties elsewhere in the world have either disintegrated or are turning themselves into supplements of social democratic parties. In contrast, the M-L parties are seizing the initiative in upholding the class leadership of the proletariat, in promoting the anti-imperialist mass movement & in striving to develop themselves from small to big & from weak to strong.

The CPP is fortunate to be among the M-L parties at the forefront, by dint of perseverance in revolutionary struggle, carrying out the new democratic revolution through armed struggle & holding high the red flag for national liberation, democracy & socialism against imperialism & all forms of reaction.

I. Build on the Accumulated Achievements of the Party & Carry Out the Rectification Movement

The 24th anniversary of the reestablishment of the CPP is exceedingly significant. It follows the great victory of the Party in holding the 10th Plenum of its CC. It is an occasion for pushing further the implementation of the decisions of this plenum.

These decisions take into account the situation of the Party, the Philippines & the world, reaffirm the basic M-L principles of the Party, recognize the revolutionary achievements of the Party cadres & members, rectify & repudiate the major

errors & shortcomings which have caused serious losses & define the tasks ahead in order to further strengthen the Party in the spheres of ideology, politics & organization.

The plenum was successfully held in the midst of the fierce revolutionary struggle of the people led by the Party against the total war policy of the enemy. It was characterized by democratic discussion & by resolute unity to rectify the errors that have caused unprecedented setbacks to the revolutionary movement & to raise higher the fighting will & capabilities of the Party & the people against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

The plenum was attended by all regular members of the CC in the Philippines, except for a few who for some reason did not make it in time. All interregional commissions of the Party were represented. Regular members of the CC abroad participated by sending their proposals & views on major questions. The CC, except for one or two now attacking the CC from outside the Party structure, is solidly united in support of the 10th Plenum & its decisions.

Most Important Decisions

The 10th CC Plenum has reaffirmed the theory of M-L as the guide of the Party to its revolutionary practice, the line against modern revisionism, the vanguard role of the working class & the Party, the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial & semifeudal, the program for a people's democratic revolution, the theory & strategic line of PW, the UF along the revolutionary class line, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective & proletarian internationalism.

The most important act of the 10th CC Plenum is the recognition of the urgency of undertaking the rectification movement in view of the grave ideological, political & organizational errors which have caused serious setbacks & losses. If there is no rectification, those errors will persist & will inflict further losses on the Party & the revolutionary movement. Those who stand in the way of the rectification movement oppose the all-round strengthening of the Party & the revolutionary movement.

The Plenum approved the analysis & all major conclusions of the rectification document, "Reaffirm. . .," & likewise the further elaboration on the important events & decisions since 1980 in order to grasp more firmly the significant achievements of the Party & the revolutionary movement, the criticism of the major errors & shortcomings & the corrective measures & tasks set forth.

The aforementioned rectification document is mainly & essentially a self-critical summing up by the CC & is based on the facts & ideas accumulated & drawn by the CC from lower Party organs & organizations through various forms of democratic interaction such as reports, consultations, direct investigation & collective assessments for a period longer than ten years. As the highest policymaking body of the Party, the CC has approved the rectification movement & issued the documents pertinent to the understanding & implementation of the rectification movement.

Setting the example for assessment, criticism & self-criticism within the scope of its responsibility & competence, the CC is directing & urging the lower Party organs & organizations to undertake within their respective scopes of responsibility & competence further assessments, criticism & self-criticism & to submit their report on these to their higher organs in the dialectical course of the rectification movement.

It is wrong to presume that the CC has no policymaking right & duty, that the rectification document has no factual basis & has not been democratically processed, that it seeks to end the dialectical process of knowing & that lower Party organs & organizations can avoid making their own assessments, criticism & self-criticism within their own scope of responsibility & competence by simply declaring themselves for or against documents issued by higher organs.

The few elements who are most bitterly opposed to the rectification movement are those who resist the repudiation of the gravest "Left" opportunist errors which have caused the most serious losses. They have gone into combination with a still fewer elements who attack the very basic principles of the Party from a Right opportunist position & openly take pride in whipping up ultrademocracy, factionalism & splittism in an ambitious but futile attempt to wreck the Party from within wittingly or unwittingly for the benefit of the enemy. The factional combination of unhealthy elements has veritably put itself out of the Party by publicly issuing slander articles against the CC & the entire Party & pushing a bourgeois counterrevolutionary line against the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.

The rectification movement is mainly & essentially an educational movement within the Party to identify & correct major errors & shortcomings on a Partywide scale as well as on the scale of specific lower organs & organizations of the Party. The purpose is to strengthen the proletarian revolutionary stand of all Party

cadres & members & inspire them to work & struggle more effectively for further victories in the revolutionary movement.

Another decision of the 10th CC Plenum that is of utmost importance is the approval of the definitive article, "Stand for Socialism. . . ." This comprehensive document explains the betrayal of socialism & disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & regimes in Eastern Europe & collapse of the Soviet Union. The document is of farreaching significance & consequence because it provides the Party rank & file with a wider, deeper & farsighted understanding of scientific socialism & the counter-revolutionary phenomenon of modern revisionism.

It combats the ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries & their anticommunist hirelings from the petty bourgeoisie, prevents this anticommunist ideological offensive from sowing confusion within the Party & provides the entire Party with the well-informed confidence to fight for the completion of the new democratic revolution & the commencement of the socialist revolution upon the nationwide seizure of political power.

A. In the Sphere of Ideology

The Party is determined to undertake a number of definite measures to carry out the decision of the 10th CC Plenum to raise higher the level of theoretical & political education among Party cadres & members. Since last year, even before the 10th CC Plenum, initial efforts have been undertaken in this regard.

The structure of theoretical & political education is defined. As the foundation, the **basic course** must instil the correct proletarian revolutionary outlook & method of analysis & activity & provide basic knowledge about Philippine history, the character of Philippine society, the new democratic revolution, the motive forces, the targets, the tasks & the socialist perspective. The documents of the Party are the main texts for reading & study.

The **intermediate course** widens & deepens the Party members' understanding of building the Party, the people's army & the UF, socio-economic work, cultural work & international relations. The historical experience of the Party, the current situation, problems & tasks are discussed & studied in connection with the documents of the Party & the most significant & most relevant works of Comrade Mao Zedong & other great communists.

The advanced course provides the Party cadres & members with a comprehensive understanding of DHM, political economy, scientific socialism, modern revisionism & the world proletarian revolution. The documents of the Party & the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin & Mao are read & studied.

Enough personnel & resources must be deployed for work in the sphere of theoretical & political education. The education personnel must be trained & developed at various levels & in various organs & units. The study material must be made available for the formal study courses as well as for reading & study in advance of the formal courses.

The basic course can be undertaken by the basic units of the Party within the shortest possible time. Many units of the Party have started to either take up for the first time or review the basic course. The intermediate course can follow suit after the provision of competent discussion leaders & more study material. The higher Party school can take charge of the advanced course & continuously field discussion leaders to various regions.

It is important to conduct formal study courses consistently in order to raise constantly the level of theoretical & political education of the Party membership. To be most effective, these must be conducted in a living way, linked to the current situation, problems & tasks & opposed to the erroneous currents of thought & activity that have inflicted losses on the Party & the revolutionary movement.

In this regard, the most important study materials, immediately available & most relevant to the current Party situation, are the rectification documents, the stand for socialism against modern revisionism & other issuances of the 10th Plenum. The immediate study of these materials is essential to understanding the situation, doing our work, assessing it & making further advances.

In the field of ideology, it is of crucial importance that we increase the number of Party cadres who have a firm grasp of the M-L stand, viewpoint & method. Without these, they can fall into the pitfalls of such errors of subjectivism as empiricism, dogmatism & revisionism.

We must have the proletarian revolutionary cadres & members who have a comprehensive & profound view of the objective reality, grasp the law of contradiction within things & processes & use

this law to advance the revolutionary struggle. All Party cadres must become wellgrounded in dialectical & historical materialism.

In the course of the rectification movement, let us take into account both the achievements to build on & the problems to solve if we are to further strengthen ourselves & advance. We must recognize the factors for winning greater victories & solving problems within the flow of events & not from elsewhere. Our current strength is still comparable to that of the first few years of the 1980's. That is because the overwhelming majority of our Party cadres & members are well-motivated by the correct revolutionary theory & the just cause of the people & are doing their work well in various spheres.

It is utterly wrong to suppose that the line struggle within the Party occurs only when a completely different line or programme has arisen to openly oppose the Party line & programme. Such mistaken notion disarms the Party ideologically & allows all sorts of bourgeois & petty bourgeois lines & ideas to run rampant inside the Party by simply paying lip service to the basic principles of the Party or by merely assuming the barest proletarian guise.

There is always a struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line & the bourgeois reactionary line in a communist party even at its best, whether it is in power or not yet in power. That is because there is always a degree of influence from the unremoulded petty bourgeoisie within & outside the party. This social stratum generates subjectivist & "Left" & Right opportunist modes of thinking.

Without the ideological vigilance & militancy of the proletarian revolutionaries, the communist party can be subverted & wrecked from within by the unremoulded petty bourgeoisie on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This has happened to a lot of communist parties not yet in power as well as to those in power as in the former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe since 1956.

The M-L & antirevisionist theoretical foundation of the Party has served us well. By & large, we have withstood & overcome the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries & their retinue of ideologues & propagandists coming from the petty bourgeoisie.

The study that we have made of the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & regimes & the collapse of the Soviet Union has not only served to defend & strengthen our Party ideologically & politically but has also been

enthusiastically received by M-L parties in other parts of the world. We have thereby made a contribution to the upholding & defense of M-L.

B. In the Sphere of Politics

It is of great importance for the entire Party, as the CC has done in its 10th Plenum, to recognize correctly the character of current Philippine society as semicolonial & semifeudal. From this given fact proceeds our understanding of the new democratic character & general line of the current stage of the Philippine revolution.

The fundamental characteristics of the ruling system have been thoroughly exposed by the ceaselessly worsening crisis from the regime of Marcos through that of Aquino to that of Ramos. Our theoretical studies & direct social investigation in the field are abundant in clarifying the mode of production & the superstructure. Most important of all, the cumulative all-round victories of our Party in revolutionary struggle have proven beyond doubt the correctness of the Party's comprehensive & profound view of Philippine society & its line of NDR through AS.

The 10th CC Plenum has repudiated the baseless questioning & wrong conclusion that the Party's class analysis of Philippine society no longer holds true. The fallacy involves the exaggeration of the "urban-rural" distribution of the population provided by the statistical agency of the reactionary government. It disregards the agrarian character of the economy, its lack of basic industries & the social class structure. The wrong view gave rise to "Left" opportunist currents regarding the strategy & tactics of the revolution, especially the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive as well as to Right opportunist currents, especially on the question of the UF, from the 1981 Politburo meeting onwards.

"Left" Opportunism: Militarism & Insurrectionist Wishful Thinking

The 10th CC Plenum has upheld the earlier withdrawal in 1990 of the concept of "SCO" within the SD. This was the seed concept whose "3 strategic coordinations" & initial notion of uprisings in 3rd & 4th class municipalities were converted & elaborated on paper & in practice into the "3 strategic combinations" & the RA-WA framework of the Mindanao Commission from 1983 onwards.

Up to fifteen companies of the NPA were formed in Mindanao as full-time fighting units from 1983 to 1984 by drastically reducing

the number of local guerrilla units & armed propaganda teams for mass work. The companies won military victories dramatically but only temporarily. By 1984, the enemy had deployed far larger forces & increasingly pushed the concentrated NPA companies to a position of isolation & passivity & inflicted gross setbacks on the mass base & local Party & army organizations.

In 1985, in the absence of a comprehensive assessment & analysis of the increasing setbacks, suspicion grew that these had been due to enemy deep penetration agents, among other causes. Panic rapidly ensued after arrests & torture of DPA suspects "confirmed" the worst fears about a large-scale enemy infiltration network. This gave way to Kampanyang AHOS, resulting in the prejudgment, torture & murder of more than 950 DPA suspects, including Party comrades, Red fighters, mass activists & other people. By 1986, the Party membership had fallen from 9000 to 3000, the mass base had shrunk by 50 percent & the 15 companies & 30 platoons of the NPA had fallen to 2 companies & 17 platoons.

There was clearly a sequence of the erroneous "innovation" on the theory of people's war in favor of an unacknowledged militarist line of regularization & violation of the requirements of the strategic defensive, the nonrecognition of the error because this was concealed by temporary military successes before the enemy could launch a fullscale counterattack, great loss of mass base, isolation & passivity of unsustainable large formations, gross setbacks, panic & finally the orgy of self-destruction, the anti-infiltrator hysteria called Kampanyang AHOS.

The Tenth Plenum has repudiated the perverse notion that Kampanyang AHOS is a "revolutionary success" & has made a political judgment of it as a crime against the individual victims, the Party & the people, involving the violation of basic individual rights as defined in the Rules Establishing the People's Revolutionary Government, the Party Constitution & the Rules of the NPA. Imbued with the highest sense of justice, the Party simply cannot condone the prejudgment, torture & murder of close to a thousand people.

The executive committee & so-called caretaker committee of the 1985 Mindanao Commission are accountable for approving, planning, launching & carrying out this outrage. Among the culpable members of these committees are some of the most bitter & active opponents of the rectification movement who refuse accounting before the proper Party organs, do not want to face the

consequences & are attempting to shift the blame to other organs or factors. On the whole, lower Party, NPA personnel & other people in the regions are deemed less responsible & are deserving of amnesty or pardon if they have already made an accounting of their responsibility, have accepted disciplinary measures, are truly remorseful & have been active in the revolutionary work of recovery.

Because the disastrous militarist line of regularized full-time fighting companies in Mindanao remained uncriticized & was even held up as a successful model for replication, it was pushed on a nationwide scale from 1985 onwards. The line of forming companies & battalions by greatly lessening the number of local guerrilla units & armed propaganda teams for mass work culminated in the formation of 36 companies & two battalions. In 1987 the nationally coordinated offensive was launched, wasting ammunition stocks & other resources & pushing for even more verticalized formations & command structures.

This was also combined with the intensified armed city partisan actions that tended to steal the scene from the military factional struggle of the reactionaries & jeopardize the legal & defensive character of the urban-based democratic movement in the same year of 1987. Lessons had not been drawn from the already proven disaster of the tactics of urban insurrectionism in Davao & other cities in Mindanao.

By the end of 1988, there was a reduction of the mass base by 12 percent. Several regional Party committees were already complaining of the unsustainability of many of the companies & the reduction of the mass base. Taking cognizance of these facts, the principal leaders of the Party increased their criticism of the imbalances in military & mass work & forces & called for the correction of the plan to increase what were already patently unsustainable companies & battalions from 1988 onwards.

Following the successful enemy raids in 1988 on the central organs, including the general command of the NPA, in MM, & with Kampanyang AHOS still widely believed to have really uncovered a largescale enemy infiltration network in Mindanao, many leading cadres & units became highly susceptible to suspiciousness & panic. The Olympia was launched in Manila-Rizal after the June "breakthrough" while the OPML in southern Tagalog raged. There is a close resemblance between Kampanyang AHOS & Olympia & OPML as phenomena resulting from grave setbacks. These remind us of the self-destructive actions undertaken against "informer suspects" & "hostile

barrios" in the aftermath of the debacle of the Jose Lava line of military adventurism, which had also concentrated companies & battalions at the expense of painstaking mass work & hoped in vain for a spontaneous anti-Quirino armed uprising in 1949 & 1950.

The 10th CC Plenum has upheld the guidelines on the principles & methods of investigation, trial & evaluation of evidence. These guidelines were issued in October 1988 & effectively stopped OPML on its track, resulting in its condemnation as a madness & the adoption of the appropriate disciplinary & recovery measures in November 1988. These also stopped Olympia in the same month & guided its review & rectification starting in December 1988 & January 1989. These also pushed the review of Kampanyang AHOS. These can be used to prevent recurrences of anti-infiltrator hysteria & promote respect for civil rights.

Adjustments & scaling down of the plan to increase the unsustainably concentrated companies & battalions were made in 1989. In the guerrilla fronts where the guerilla units were redeployed to put stress on mass work & recovery of lost territory while maintaining an active posture militarily by means of widespread small unit operations & selective concentrated tactical offensives, the mass base once more expanded & became consolidated.

But mainly due to instructions & pressures from above, the militarist line persisted & resisted rectification. Certain regions & guerrilla fronts strained to maintain unsustainable companies & blocked redeployment to achieve balance between mass work & military work. For instance, in one region, around 80% (598) of the Red fighters were concentrated in companies & one battalion & only around 20% (151) were in local guerrilla units. Inevitably, the result in this particular instance was a 50% or more reduction of the mass base.

Because of the persistence of the militarist line in the Party, the accumulated adverse effects of this line, the failure to compensate elsewhere for the loss of mass base due to enemy onslaught in certain areas & the delayed & insufficient response of the Party leadership, the rural mass base in terms of membership continued to shrink up to the end of 1991 by almost 60% nationwide from the 1986 level & likewise the number of barrios covered by guerrilla fronts, by 15%. The number of officers & fighters fell below the level of 1986.

In the urban areas, the mass movement could not go into any sustained upswing even in 1990 & 1991, despite the rapid deterioration of the socioeconomic situation & the high tide of mass discontent against the U.S.-Aquino regime. The insurrectionist agitation & agent-provocateur acts (busburning & the like) discouraged the participation of the legal mass organizations & the spontaneous masses. Sweeping propaganda & agitation was running too far ahead of solid mass organizing. The attention & energy of urban cadres were also being funneled into proliferating & endless alliance caucuses or into "debates" to push the line that the conditions are ripe for sustained mass actions only when these are so for an armed urban insurrection in the medium term.

The Left opportunist errors of military adventurism & insurrectionism play into the hands of the enemy. Despite the rhetoric of hastening the advance of the revolutionary movement, there is neglect of painstaking mass work & solid mass organizing & there is a disdain for developing the people's war in stages. Thus, the foundation for winning victories in the armed revolution & the legal democratic movement is undermined.

Extensive & Intensive Guerrilla Warfare with an Ever Expanding & Deepening Mass Base

In the concrete application of the theory of PW, the Party takes into account the current strength of the NPA & the balance of forces between us & the enemy. The 10th CC Plenum upholds the line of extensive & intensive GW with an ever expanding & deepening mass base. This line is drawn from the experience of successes & failures of the Party & the people's army during the last 24 years.

We have many good Party cadres & members & NPA commanders & fighters who have persevered in the correct line. Thus, the Party & the NPA continue to have & further build a substantial mass base. There is an ample & strong basis for further developing such integral components of the people's war as armed struggle, land reform & mass base building within the framework of the national democratic revolution.

When the NPA of 200 Red fighters was already being clobbered by the division-size Task Force Lawin in the second district of Tarlac in 1970, the same NPA had already created a far wider mass base in Isabela & was seeding other parts of the country with expansion

cadres. & after the three NPA companies & one platoon allowed themselves to be isolated in the Isabela forest region by Task Force Saranay from 1972 onwards, the NPA was creating more guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale. As in Isabela in 1977, the remedy in Mindanao after the disaster of 1984 to 1986 was to redeploy the unsustainable & isolated companies in order to allow smaller but sustainable units to do mass work & build the mass base once more.

In looking at the balance of forces, let us start with the fact that the total regular combat forces of the enemy can cover only less than five percent of Philippine territory at any given time. Thus, they can never deprive the people's army of the space for maneuver in the countryside, unless mass work is neglected & the NPA engages in self-constriction into a small number of concentrated companies & battalions.

At the moment, the enemy in his Lambat Bitag II has deployed a total of seven regular divisions (two in the Cordillera, one in Bicol, one in Samar, one in the northern part of Zamboanga peninsula, one in Northeastern Mindanao, one in Northcentral Mindanao) & one in Western Visayas. All of these have been able to concentrate on only a third, at the most, of our guerrilla fronts, leaving out scores of our guerrilla fronts. The enemy must be made to suffer the dilemma of concentration & dispersal, while our guerrilla forces must be able to concentrate, disperse & shift more easily on a limitless field of popular support & favorable terrain in the countryside.

As a result of the 10th CC Plenum & the rectification movement, the Party CC as the general staff of the armed revolution & the entire Party are determined to expand & consolidate the mass base, recover lost ground & further expand into new areas; & are therefore redeploying the NPA in such a manner that there is a center of gravity in every guerrilla front & at every higher level of command & there are dispersed units to do the mass work & build more guerrilla fronts.

The center of gravity (the headquarters platoon in a small & medium-sized guerrilla front or subdivision of a large guerrilla front or the headquarters company at the regional level of command) must be in relative concentration within a radius that easily allows assembly for tactical offensives & other operations requiring absolute concentration & yet does not become an

unsustainable logistical burden on the people & is even a participant in mass work & other noncombat functions although within a radius smaller than that of the dispersed units for mass work.

At the current level of the force structure of the NPA, the center of gravity should not absorb more than one third or even one-fourth of the total force (depending on the characteristics of the region) so that the rest of the force can be dispersed for expanding & consolidating the mass base. The main thrust is to build more guerrilla fronts with a well-organized mass base & to use this as the foundation for sustainable larger military formations which serve as center of gravity & are in relative concentration at higher levels of the army organization.

At its present force strength, the NPA can cover so many thousands of villages in several hundred municipalities (Philippine total is 1500) in several scores of provinces (Philippine total is 73 provinces), if on the average an NPA squad dispersed for mass work can operate in at least one municipality, is supported by the local organs of political power, the local Party branches & the mass organizations & is augmented by the militia units & self-defense units of the mass organizations.

When unsustainable NPA companies & battalions absorb cadres & resources & reduce rather than increase the number of local guerrilla forces & armed propaganda teams, the inevitable result is reduction of the mass base & self-constriction. If we thus go into self-constriction, then we play into the hands of the enemy & open ourselves to defeat under his strategy of "war of quick decision" (strategic offensive) & gradual constriction. If we do not have enough armed propaganda teams to create the widest room for maneuver through mass work, the enemy divisions or brigades & the copycat special operations teams & CAFGUs would become effective in taking away our mass base in certain areas & in constricting our mass base nationwide.

We should resolutely keep to the tactics of the strategic defensive & discover or create the opportunities for tactical offensives that we can win. We should always look for the weak points of the enemy & hit them by surprise at the tactical level. We should not overstep or violate the requirements of the strategic defensive by absolutely concentrating on a permanent or fulltime basis larger units that we cannot sustain logistically & that prejudice our

mass work.

Even those units designated as centers of gravity should, while in relative concentration, pay attention to mass work & other functions than offensive operations requiring absolute concentration or convergence of columns. The accumulation of our victories, the all-rounded fulfillment of requisites & the actual change in the strategic balance of forces will tell us when we can move from one strategic stage to another.

We must be self-reliant by dint of hard work & struggle. The logistics of the people's army must consist of the contributions from the masses who have gained from land reform & other results of revolutionary work, production by & for the people's army, tax collection from the enlightened gentry & businessmen in the areas under control & confiscations from the enemy.

The 10th CC Plenum has also criticized & repudiated various types of urban insurrectionism, especially two types that have done the worst damage. One is that type that frontally or obliquely attacks the theory & strategic line of PW & has most lethally combined with militarism in Mindanao in the 1981-86 period. The other is that type that has undermined the mass movement & threatened to jeopardize the just cause of mass organizations in MM.

In this regard, the 10th CC Plenum has pushed the line of respecting the legal & defensive character of the urban-based democratic movement & undertaking painstaking mass work & solid mass organizing at the base of sweeping propaganda & dramatic mass actions. It has also adopted measures to enhance the viability & security of cadres in the legal democratic movement as well as the correct orientation & sustainability of underground work.

Armed city partisan warfare must be under the correct ideological, political & organizational leadership of the Party & must fall within the NPA command structure. It must be within the framework of the strategic line of people's war. To become armed city partisans, individuals must first render service in the countryside for at least two years. The development of armed city partisan warfare must be related to & coordinated with the development of the armed struggle in the countryside & the legal democratic movement in the cities.

The Current of Right Opportunism

So far, "Left" opportunism, especially in the form of militarism, in combination with insurrectionist wishful thinking, has done the worst damage to the Party, the NPA & the entire revolutionary mass movement.

However, from 1990 onwards, Right opportunism has become unprecedentedly conspicuous & strident in opposing the proletarian revolutionary line. It has had a course of development since the early 1980s, when Right opportunists (including some antifascists recruited in the late 1970s without sufficient ideological checkup & remoulding) proposed among other things the downgrading & even liquidation of the Party in favor of a "vanguard" broad front & the "separate dynamism" of mass organizations.

In the aftermath of the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the 1986 boycott policy was criticized as a major tactical error. Indeed, it was an ultra-Left & sectarian error, confusing the legal & illegal forces & forms of struggle. But there were those who went so far as to make bourgeois reformist criticism of the error, describe the U.S.-directed comprador-landlord Aquino regime as a liberal-democratic regime & presume that the newly installed regime had gotten the middle forces & was itself at the middle of the political spectrum & that the Party & revolutionary armed struggle had been pushed into a "politically defensive position" & therefore needed the ceasefire talks & the 1986 60-day ceasefire agreement.

All the loyal & honest Party members who tended to fall into a Right opportunist view of the new situation in 1986 corrected themselves in 1987 upon the Party's clarification of the ever-worsening social crisis & the continuing need for armed revolution & upon the further unfolding of the antinational & antidemocratic class character of the U.S.-Aquino regime.

But to this day, the most consistent & the worst elements among the Right opportunists have persisted in their bourgeois reformist critique of the 1986 boycott error & consider this the biggest error of the Party in its entire history, up to the point of covering up & condoning military adventurism & Kampanyang AHOS which are by far the worst disaster.

Practically bringing themselves out of the Party, these elements have promoted bourgeois populism & liberalism, pacifism &

capitulationism & have overrated electoral struggle within the ruling system as the principal way to "legitimation" of the patriotic & progressive forces. They have drummed up the idea of a supraclass third force that seeks to alienate the people from the Party & have sought to monopolize foreign funding for NGO projects in order to advance their own interests.

The most subtle, most elaborated & most corrosive concepts attacking the proletarian revolutionary line have been generated by the worst Right opportunist elements on the question of the united front & the leadership of the working class (through the Party). These elements contend that the leadership of the working class must be laid aside or liquidated in order supposedly to attract more people to the united front in general & the NDF in particular.

Thus, the concept of federation in the building of the NDF made a headway. Under this concept, the Party is reduced to being a member-organization subordinate to a majority of nonproletarian organizations & to the National Council of the federation. The concept does not immediately appear to be wrong because there are Party groups within the nonproletarian member-organizations. But the basis is established for liquidating the class leadership of the proletariat & its party, & for negating the independence & initiative of the Party & the new democratic character of the revolution. As a matter of fact, certain anti-Party elements have started to attack the Party by using the name of the NDF.

The 1990 draft NDF Constitution does not make any reference to the working class leadership & the basic worker-peasant alliance in the new-democratic revolution. It adopts simultaneously the concepts of confederation, federation & unitary organization. The concept of the NDF as a unitary organization, claiming as its direct individual members all the members of the "member-organizations", is one more way by which the Party's independence & initiative is negated.

The 1990 draft NDF Program avoids any clear reference to the working class leadership, the basic worker-peasant alliance & the new democratic character of the revolution. It adopts such key terms as "nationalism," "pluralism" & "mixed economy" & clearly puts these within the framework of the old bourgeois democratic revolution by suspending or eliminating the working class leadership & the socialist perspective. The 1990 draft NDF program clearly proposes that upon the basic completion of the

national democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, a "national democratic society" shall be built indefinitely & the socialist revolution & construction shall not commence.

Upholding the revolutionary class line in the united front & acting to prevent the collision between the Party & the NDF, the Tenth CC Plenum has made the decision that the Party can participate in a formal alliance (not a federation nor a unitary organization) only if the Party maintains its independence & initiative & its representatives enjoy equal footing with those of other organizations on the basis of consensus & consultations in conferences & councils, without prejudice to the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA & to bilateral relations of the Party with any of the allied organizations in the NDF.

Thus, the Party has proposed a new draft NDF Constitution & this is already being processed by the appropriate NDF organ. A new draft NDF Program is also under preparation. The Tenth CC Plenum has also clarified the relationship between the Party, the NPA & the NDF by stressing the Party's responsibility of ensuring & upholding the proletarian class leadership over the entire revolutionary movement. It enjoins all Party members to resolutely take on this responsibility & reminds all Party members, especially those in united front work, that the united front is not an arena for liquidating the working class leadership & that under the present historical conditions there can be no revolutionary united front without the class leadership of the proletariat.

Certain dubious elements use the wrong concepts about the united front in order to attack --from a petty bourgeois viewpoint --the basic principles & the actual class leadership of the national democratic revolution. Echoing the chorus of the imperialist ideological offensive & the Gorbachovite anticommunist prattle, they go about prating that the M-L principles of the Party are outdated & authoritarian & that the class struggle has lost its centrality in the revolution. They deck out their antiquated petty bourgeois ideas as new & fashionable & use these to attack the M-L stand, viewpoint & method.

The worst element of the Right opportunists pushed a "medium-term" plan from late 1989 to early 1992, combining bourgeois reformism with wishful thinking for an armed urban insurrection. The intention was to build at the legal level a new broad front

consisting of the Left, Middle & anti-Aquino Right by making a clamor for multilateral peace negotiations & then proceed at the "level of the revolutionary front" to build a still bigger alliance to include the NDF, MNLF, RAM, SFP & YOU. The idea was to have a common tactical program (the alternative agenda) that could unite the various political forces & "foster the linkages" between the legal broad front & the revolutionary (illegal) front until such time that the two levels could merge into an upsurge & finally lead to an uprising.

By aiming for an armed urban insurrection within this framework, this worst element of the Right opportunists succeeded in sabotaging the growth & potential upsurge of the legal mass movement under the extremely favorable conditions in the latter half of 1990 up to 1991. He subsequently denied the fluid & volatile character of the objective situation & pushed the line that the conditions were not ripe for sustained mass actions simply because his "medium-term" plan of creating the conditions for an upsurge leading to an insurrection (broad front for multilateral peace talks up to the busburning actions) had the opposite effect of sabotaging the mass movement & actually helping the U.S.-Aquino regime to coast along until the next elections.

The 10th CC Plenum made a decision to take disciplinary action against this worst element of the Right opportunists for his misrepresentations & usurpation of the authority of the Political Bureau in attempting to spread counterrevolutionary ideas over a wide range of issues & in committing other gross violations of the Party's basic principles & rules of discipline, such as spreading anti-Party intrigue & publicly circulating anti-Party articles since the last quarter of 1991, & to confront him further regarding his disclosure of Party secrets to the enemy in 1987. The decision is focused on this individual's wrong ideas, his involvement in the gravest "Left" & Right opportunist errors & his long-running anti-Party behavior.

While there are the incorrigible counterrevolutionary Rightists who must be dealt with politically & organizationally, there are also the honest Party members who have unwittingly provided a base for the former because they have not fully remoulded themselves into proletarian revolutionaries & are therefore susceptible to subjectivist & opportunist currents. The Party offers them further ideological & political education & further revolutionary practice.

There is a conspicuous seepage of counterrevolutionary Rightist ideas into the Party, especially because since the latter half of the 1970s there has been looseness in admitting into the Party certain elements of petty bourgeois status & orientation on the basis mainly of their antifascist political stand, without adequate ideological check up & further education & remoulding. Since 1989, however, the few unhealthy & dubious elements of the Rightist kind have increasingly exposed their character & the extent of their anti-Party activities.

In conjunction with the imperialists in their ideological offensive, this handful of elements have --since the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & regimes -- become bolder in reviling Marxist-Leninist principles as "outdated" & "authoritarian" & in calling for "paradigms," "visions" & "programs" alternative to the Party Program. The renegades are in fact peddling antiquated antiproletarian & anti-Marxist petty bourgeois ideas which they deck out as new & fashionable despite the fact that the foreign models that had earlier adopted these ideas have been swamped by the bourgeoisie & rendered historically irrelevant.

There are elements who misappropriate the issue of the environment by posing it as something supraclass. They deny the outstanding record of the Party in condemning & opposing the imperialist plunder of the human & natural resources of the Philippines, in making critical studies focused on environmental issues & the great mass movements against the imperialist devastation of the environment in the country since the reestablishment of the Party. The Party has already reiterated in definitive terms its firm stand on the issue of ecology.

The petty bourgeois populists, liberals & social democrats, have promoted the phenomenon of NGO bureaucratism. They use the names of progressive mass organizations to solicit money from foreign funding agencies, seek to monopolize the foreign funding & spread their bourgeois reformist ideas in the mass movement & in the ideologically weak portions of the Party.

Since 1989, this handful of elements have become emboldened enough to openly attack the Party because they wrongly calculate that the time has come for them to lay claim to certain organizations & monopolize foreign funding. They have been intoxicated by both the

disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & regimes & the powerful anti-Marxist ideological offensive of the imperialists. Using the demagogic slogan of anti-Stalinism, they have openly attacked the basic principles, policies & line of the Party.

There is a natural petty bourgeois conjuncture of the small hodgepodge of populists, liberals, neoliberals, social-democrats & Gorbachovites. They have a false sense of superiority over the revolutionary proletariat & the CPP & they echo all the anti-Marxist notions & cliches of the imperialist ideologues & propagandists.

However, they have a sense of their puny number & lack of mass support. Thus, notwithstanding all their slogans of openness, democratic process & reform calculated to undermine the Party, they are banding themselves & colluding with the worst "Left" opportunists responsible for military adventurism, urban insurrectionism, gangsterism & the Kampanyang AHOS bloody witchhunt to oppose the Party & the revolutionary movement. They also seek to lure Party cadres in the urban areas with paltry sums from foreign funding agencies.

The U.S.-Ramos regime is well aware that there are two kinds of elements who have put themselves off the line of the Party & out of the Party's discipline. One type consists of those few who have committed the worst offenses in connection with "Left" opportunist errors against the Party & the people. The other type includes the still fewer elements who have been pursuing a Right opportunist line & opposing the class leadership of the proletariat & the revolutionary AS.

Thus, the regime has adopted a sophisticated psywar policy to complement its brutal military policy. It has repealed Republic Act 1700 (the Anti-Subversion Law) but at the same time retained other oppressive laws. It has postured as being desirous of bilateral peace negotiations with the NDF but it has in fact preoccupied itself with the futile scheme to undermine, disintegrate & destroy the Party & the revolutionary movement.

The tactics of the psywar scheme include both encouraging the activities of the "Left" & Right opportunists & trying to recruit them one by one as intelligence & psywar agents. These opportunists have gone so far as to publicly attack the CC, the 10th Plenum & the rectification movement. They produce & publicly circulate anti-Party

articles, to conjure the illusion of a split within the Party & to actually try to split & wreck it from within through an anti-Party campaign closely tailored to the needs of the enemy psywar scheme.

The regime is also using the longrunning "preliminary" to peace negotiations to drum up its line of pacification in an attempt to derail the people's revolutionary armed struggle for a just & lasting peace, induce the progressive legal organizations to assume a "neutral" or "third force" position (together with the representatives of the exploiting classes & even the reactionary government) & whip up capitulationism & splittism in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

The foregoing tactics of the U.S.-Ramos regime have been applied for sometime. In an intelligence briefing to the regime's national unification commission last early November, the military briefing officers boasted of having certain renegades in tow & knowing much about the "split" in the revolutionary movement. This came soon after the avalanche of anti-Party slander articles in October. There are indications that the U.S. State Department & U.S. intelligence have also gotten copies of the same articles soon after production.

The most effective way to counter the total war policy & psywar scheme of the U.S.-Ramos clique is to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically & organizationally, to tighten the security of the Party & heighten vigilance & to expand & intensify the revolutionary armed struggle & the legal democratic mass movement.

C. In the Field of Organization

Since last year, the drafts Constitution & Program have been ready for Party-wide discussion in preparation for the Party Congress. More than ever the Party is resolved to hold the Party Congress. It shall be the democratic instrument of the Party general membership for going up to a new & higher level of unity of genuine communists & for raising the level of revolutionary struggle under the guidance of M-L.

It is the decision of the 10th CC Plenum that the next Party Congress shall be the high point of the ongoing rectification movement & shall not be a place for compromising the proletarian revolutionary line & the bourgeois

reactionary line. In preparation for this congress, all lower Party organs & organizations are required to submit their assessments, criticism & self-criticism within their respective scopes of responsibility & competence so that the central leading & staff organs can improve their own & prepare documents for Partywide study & submission to the Party Congress.

Since the launching of the rectification movement, some of those "Left" opportunists who have been responsible for the worst errors & losses have circulated beyond the proper channels articles against the rectification document & movement. They have promoted & practised the "freedom of criticism" denounced by the great Lenin as a violation of the principles of democratic centralism & as petty bourgeois ultrademocracy & anarchy & have combined with the Right opportunist in doing so.

All Party cadres & members are urged to unite in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, support the CC & resolutely proceed with the rectification movement to raise higher the fighting will & capabilities of the Party & the people against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

We cannot condone the "Left" & Right opportunists who have viciously attacked the central leadership, the 10th Plenum & the rectification movement by issuing & publicly circulating & delivering to the enemy intelligence & psywar services & the bourgeois mass media articles vilifying the Party, the CC & the rectification movement. Among these opportunists are elements who have not only objectively but consciously placed themselves in the service of the U.S.-Ramos scheme to discredit the CC & thereby to decapitate & destroy the Party & the revolutionary movement.

Among these opportunists are a few individuals who publicly claim in their widely circulated slander articles that they continue to be active CC members even while they were incapacitated due to enemy detention &—upon their release—they have not yet undergone processing for reinstatement or have refused to be processed by the duly-authorized officers of the CC. By what reasoning or license from the enemy do they claim in their slander articles that they are still CC members & are in a position to deprive the CC of its policymaking power, nullify the rectification movement & the 10th CC Plenum, oust the CC & call for a new Plenum & new Congress?

Those newly released from enemy detention who are still qualified & who sincerely want to reassume Party work at the level of the CC should promptly submit themselves to the required process of reintegration.

The anti-Party elements sound formidable when they launch their lies & misrepresentations from the dark. If allowed to pass unanswered, they can actually inflict some damage on the Party. But when they are exposed by the floodlight of the truth & countered by the steel of Party unity, they can be seen clearly & repudiated as a motley of "Left" & Right opportunists & renegades. They seem to be able to band together in attacking the Party but they cannot put up anything to replace what they seek to destroy. They can only try in vain to approach & mislead those whom they estimate to be ideologically weak portions of the Party.

The combined "Left" & Right opportunists & renegades have made themselves the principal organizational problem. They have gotten out of the realm of ideological struggle by spreading lies about the CC, the 10th Plenum & rectification movement, by instigating factionalism & supplying anti-Party articles to the enemy.

The IPO struggle must therefore proceed together, with the main emphasis on theoretical & political education & on a narrowing of the target in taking organizational measures. The dividing line between the Party & the anti-Party elements is clearly set by the 10th Plenum of the CC & the rectification movement in particular as well as by the Party Constitution & Program.

In view of the already large losses of the Party & the revolutionary movement before the end of 1991 due to the grave errors, the Party would continue to suffer still bigger losses without the rectification movement. Only the renegades & the enemy are hellbent on stopping or discrediting the rectification movement & threatening to wreak further damage. They do not wish the Party to identify & correct the errors, reverse the grave setbacks & further strengthen the Party & revolutionary movement.

We must be resolute & militant in combating the wrong ideas & the political & organizational maneuvers of those who have exposed themselves as opportunists & renegades. By their own publications & actions, they have exposed clearly their bourgeois reactionary line. We must uphold, defend & promote the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.

Even as the necessary & appropriate organizational measures must be immediately undertaken against those who vehemently oppose the 10th Plenum, the rectification movement, the CC & the entire Party, we must pay attention to & rectify the longrunning major errors in the sphere of

organization with as much vigor as before, especially because the anti-Party elements are trying to take advantage of them.

Ultrademocracy, factionalism & anarchy have been put by the anti-Party elements on top of the longrunning problem of bureaucratism & alienation of some organs, units & members from the people & mass work. The remedies already adopted to cure bureaucratism must proceed. It is a happy development that there are serious efforts to stress painstaking mass work & solid mass organizing & increase the deployment of Party cadres & members from the cities to the countryside for the people's war. Party-led mass organizations in the urban areas are also determined to send larger numbers of activists to participate in the revolutionary work in the countryside.

The 10th CC Plenum has made the decisions to strengthen the central leading organs such as the Executive Committee, Political Bureau & the CC as well as the central staff organs, including the General Secretariat. The territorial commissions have been reverted to the status of central staff

organs with the task of facilitating interregional coordination, strengthening the regional Party committees & ensuring close links between the regions & the central Party leadership. These decisions have been taken in the interest of firm leadership & increased efficiency.

The 10th CC Plenum has made the decisions requiring the strengthening of the system of reports & consultations between higher & lower organs, the faster resolution of longrunning & current problems & the reassignment of cadres for the purpose of upgrading work in certain areas & for securing Party cadres & the Party from enemy threats. Decisions have also been made to counteract the phenomena of independent kingdoms & factionalism.

The 10th CC Plenum has made decisions to streamline the Party organization, combat bureaucratism, stimulate collective Party life from the basic level upwards, develop the closest links with the masses & encourage inner Party democracy characterized by criticism & self-criticism on the basis of the facts & for the purpose of greater unity.

Threats to the security of the Party have increased because certain renegades have in fact or in effect put themselves in the service of the enemy psywar machine & the anti-Party elements are under

close enemy surveillance. We are aware of certain elements who proclaim themselves communists but are in fact anticommunists opposing the basic M-L principles of the Party & who have no other motive & objective but to decapitate, split & wreck the Party.

The renegades endanger the Party organs, units & members by approaching them under the guise of democratic discussion & debates outside of the proper structure & channels of the Party. They do not only violate democratic centralism & inner Party democracy but they also put within the scope of the enemy's surveillance the Party units & members accessible to them. All Party organs, units & members must be vigilant & cut themselves off from these anti-Party elements.

It is the right & duty of the Party to repudiate & disauthorize former Party organs who have removed themselves from the Party structure & democratic centralism by attacking the central leadership & the rectification movement & by waging a campaign to decapitate & wreck the Party. Elements within such groups who sincerely wish to continue serving the revolution must dissociate themselves from all factional & anti-Party activities, submit themselves to the Party rules & processes & rectify their errors.

We should be firm against the few renegades who have sought to discredit the rectification movement since the beginning by caricaturing it as a "bloody Stalinist purge", by seeking to spread anticommunist ideas within the Party & to condone the worst errors of military adventurism & the barbarities of Kampanyang AHOS. So far, only a very few have been put under disciplinary action. It is the few renegades who have publicly threatened to decapitate, disintegrate & destroy the Party.

We must unite firmly to build further our ideological, political & organizational strength on the basis of our accumulated achievements, rectify the errors & shortcomings & march forward. We must take advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system & the world capitalist system & we must unite to raise higher the fighting will & capabilities of the Party & the revolutionary movement against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

II. Raise the AS & Legal Democratic Movement to a New & Higher Level

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial & semifeudal society has worsened from the Marcos regime through the Aquino regime to the Ramos regime. The objective conditions are fluid & volatile & are therefore favorable for raising the revolutionary armed struggle & the legal democratic movement to a new & higher level. The widespread & deepgoing mass discontent & revolutionary mood of the people are the raw material for people's war.

It is up to the subjective forces (the organized forces) of the revolution to take advantage of the favorable objective conditions. They can either succeed or fail to do so. For instance, there was limited success, if not failure, on the part of the subjective forces to intensify armed tactical offensives & carry out sustained mass actions despite the opportunities presented by the critical conditions of 1990, 1991 & 1992.

There is much work to be done by way of revolutionary leadership & rectification when tactical offensives by the people's army & mass actions do not materialize to an extent & manner commensurate to the objective conditions as well as to the claimed strength of the subjective forces in the regions expected to deliver results.

The Party's leadership in the Philippine revolution can be realized only by arousing, organizing & mobilizing the masses along the national democratic line. The effectiveness of this leadership can be most manifested by the armed tactical offensives of the New People's Army & the mass actions of the legal democratic movement. These should result in the further strengthening of the subjective forces & further weakening of the enemy.

There is absolutely no doubt that the political & economic crisis of the ruling system is ever worsening. The rise of General Ramos to the presidency of the neocolonial republic, with only 23.5% of the votes cast, marks the further deterioration of the fractious ruling political system. All the accumulated & worsening problems of the system have fallen on the head of this isolated & desperate but cunning president.

General Ramos is using all kinds of weapons in his strategy & tactics to preserve the oppressive & exploitative system & attack the revolutionary mass movement. But the domestic & foreign resources available for pursuing his counterrevolutionary

work are far less than what was available to Marcos & Aquino & continue to dwindle. General Ramos is toeing the same line drawn by the U.S. & Japanese imperialists & by the local reactionary classes & is carrying out the same policies which drain the social wealth of the country & undermine even the ruling system.

Total War Policy of the U.S.-Ramos Regime

The main line of the U.S.-Ramos regime is to annihilate the revolutionary forces under the so-called total war policy. This is characterized by all the barbarities of the "low-intensity conflict" scheme. Since General Ramos became president, he has ordered the intensification of military campaigns of suppression (Lambat Bitag II) & has sought an unprecedented increase in the budget for the regular military, police & paramilitary forces.

All the combat effectives of the 262,000 total armed personnel of the enemy (Army, 62,000; Navy, 26,000; Air Force, 17,000; PNP, 92,000; & CAFUGs, 65,000) are overstretched nationwide. In suppression campaigns, they can simultaneously concentrate their assault forces on only around a third of the several scores of NPA guerrilla fronts.

The enemy carried out from 1991 to 1992 such major operational plans as the following: Oplan Tarabay-Silawan in Marag Valley, Kalinga-Apayao; Oplan Salidummay/Nakilala in Zinundungan Valley, Cagayan; Oplan White Flower in Abra de Ilog, Occidental Mindoro; Oplan Skylark in Salay, Misamis Oriental; Oplan Ipitan in Sta. Catalina, Negros Oriental; Oplan Rolling Thunder in Andap Valley, Surigao del Sur; Oplan Stronghold in Prosperidad, Agusan del Sur; & Oplan Rainbow in parts of the Zamboanga provinces & Misamis Oriental.

In trying to destroy the revolutionary forces, General Ramos is emboldened by the fact that for several years a militarist line in the Party & the people's army has been playing into the hands of his military forces by concentrating unsustainably large military formations & reducing the number of local guerrilla forces & the cadres for expanding & consolidating the mass base. The war of quick decision (strategic offensive) & gradual constriction, particularly the previous Lambat Bitag I & the current Lambat Bitag II, are being hailed by the enemy as great successes in certain areas.

In fact losses from the enemy campaigns of suppression have been significantly lessened in regions where the revolutionary forces have—at the regional & guerrilla front levels—centers of

gravity in relative concentration when not on an offensive mode, & have far more forces dispersed for mass work on a wide scale. By having a wide & deepgoing mass base, the NPA has a wide room for maneuver & can flexibly concentrate, disperse & shift, according to the demands of the situation. Even when there are large formations on our side, these eventually become isolated & passive if the mass base is lost or drastically reduced.

The enemy in division or brigade strength can indeed concentrate on any area & capture it. But when he does so, he pays a heavy price for taking over the area & leaving wider areas unattended elsewhere. In such areas, the guerrilla forces have more opportunities for mass work & tactical offensives. Thus, at the strategic level, the enemy has the dilemma of concentrating or dispersing his forces. Either way, he loses the war.

Whenever the guerrilla forces are encircled by an overwhelmingly superior force, they can slip out of the encirclement & fight on exterior lines rather than fight on the interior lines of the enemy. Gradual constriction will succeed if in the first place the forces of the people's army go into self-constriction. It is wrong to concede that the best of our experience & studies as well as the teachings of Mao Zedong concerning the theory & strategic line of people's war are inferior to the enemy's war of quick decision & gradual constriction.

As earlier pointed out, the enemy has a total regular force capable of concentrating on & controlling only a small portion of Philippine territory at every given time. The enemy's special operations teams (SOTs) & paramilitary forces are ineffectual bad copies of the NPA armed propaganda teams, the local guerrilla forces & militia because they [the former] have a counterrevolutionary character & seek to destroy both by violence & deception the revolutionary gains of the people.

Compared to Lambat Bitag I, there is now under Lambat Bitag II less use of special operations teams for psywar operations "to win the hearts & minds" of the people at the barrio level. There is an increased use of bombardments, base-denial & massive search-&-destroy operations to wreak havoc on entire communities & force their evacuation in areas believed to be strongholds of the people's army. This is a sign of the enemy's desperation rather than of improved tactics.

At the same time, while seeking in the main to annihilate the

people's army through the bloody campaigns of suppression under the total war policy, General Ramos has laid out a full array of psywar tactics at the national level in a bid to disintegrate the revolutionary forces. General Ramos can make some headway only if we are not alert & prompt at countering these tactics.

Psywar Tactics of the U.S.-Ramos Regime

He has "legalized" the CP by repealing the Anti-Subversion Law (R.A. 1700) in order to induce the revolutionaries to surface & come forward under his terms. But he retains all other oppressive laws for use against those who remain loyal to the armed revolutionary movement.

He has gone farther than Aquino in pretending to be for peace talks with the revolutionary forces through the NDF. In a development amounting to mutual recognition as belligerents, the representatives of the Ramos regime & the NDF have co-signed a joint declaration in The Hague, Netherlands & their principals (General Ramos as GRP president & Manuel Romero as NDF chairman) have reciprocally approved this declaration.

The psywar experts of the Ramos regime have in mind the El Salvador peace negotiations & agreement as the model for liquidating the NPA. The regime is willing to move ahead in exploratory talks or even in peace negotiations only insofar as every step along this course of action is preceded by advantages in other courses of action aimed at undermining, disintegrating & annihilating the NPA.

One of the major schemes of the regime is to use the National Unification Commission in organizing a structure of territorial & sectoral consultations among representatives of the reactionary government, churches, business, the landed gentry, the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) & other sectors. The objective is to create a "peace" climate for promoting the regime's line of pacification, discredit & isolate the revolutionary forces, & dangle the same stale offers of amnesty & rehabilitation made since the time of Marcos. The NUC is nothing more than a revival of the previously frustrated "peace & order councils" scheme of General Ramos under Oplan Mamamayan.

Certain organizations, coopted or financed by agencies of the reactionary government & foreign funding agencies, are pretending to be a "third force" & are trying to induce the progressive

legal organizations to shift from a Left position to a "neutral position" of calling on both the reactionary government & the NDF to negotiate on the false premise that both sides are equally responsible for the violence at the expense of the people. Officials of the reactionary government, conservative institutions & representatives of the exploiting classes also misrepresent themselves as part of the "third force" & claim to speak for the people.

The U.S.-Ramos regime is also developing a very ambitious & very offensive kind of psywar against the revolutionary forces. Certain renegades (previously ranking high in the progressive movement) are acting as dupes if not as outright hirelings in this psywar scheme by producing & publicly circulating statements which are made to appear as those of honest Party members or even of active Party officials. They serve the enemy by publicly announcing their opposition to the CC, the 10th Plenum, the rectification movement, the antirevisionist line, the strategic line of PW & democratic centralism.

Their statements comprehensively attack the principles, policies & line of the Party & slander the Party CC. They started to publicly circulate their statements in late 1991 & escalated the production & public distribution of these statements in 1992. The renegades are being used by the enemy intelligence agencies in the futile attempt to split the revolutionary movement, extract information from the underground & to serve as baits for trapping the underground personnel of the Party.

Related to the anti-CPP & anti-NPA schemes are the efforts of the Ramos regime to reconcile with anti-Ramos factions within the AFP & PNP, including the Marcos-lining SFP, the Enrile-lining RAM & the relatively independent YOU & with their known aboveground political principals or representatives.

The Ramos regime is under orders from the US (especially the State Department & Pentagon) to reconcile & reunify the factions in the military & the national police so that ultimately a counterrevolutionary front can be solidified against the revolutionary forces. But the factional differences remain deep. The anti-Ramos military factions insist that their members who have not reached the age of compulsory retirement should not be simply paid or pensioned off but retained in the military service with higher ranks. Some settlement may be reached. But this can be fragile in view of the ever worsening crisis.

In an effort to make it appear that it is dealing with the question of political prisoners in an even handed way, the Ramos regime has released a few Left political detainees on account of their right to bail but has released far more military detainees who belong to the anti-Ramos factions. The regime has cynically turned a deaf ear to the demands of the people, the human rights organizations & the NDF representative in the exploratory talks for the release of the hundreds of political prisoners.

Despite all its schemes to neutralize its armed & nonarmed political opponents & consolidate its position, the Ramos ruling clique can only aggravate the socioeconomic crisis by pursuing the policies dictated by its foreign masters & the local reactionaries. The ruling clique thereby generates a worse political crisis within the system as well as incites the people to armed revolution.

General Ramos knows the insolubility & gravity of the crisis & the determination of the revolutionary forces to persevere in protracted people's war. Thus, he is preparing for a return to a Marcos-type fascist dictatorship under the guise of amending the Constitution & changing the form of government, from presidential to parliamentary. All the current psywar schemes & efforts of Ramos to neutralize & disintegrate the broad opposition are calculated to prepare the ground for a return to undisguised autocracy & authoritarianism.

The Worsening Crisis of the Ruling System

The agrarian, preindustrial & semifeudal character of the Philippine economy continues to deepen & aggravate. The U.S., Japanese & European multinational firms & banks & the local reactionary classes of big compradors & landlords continue mercilessly to drain the Filipino people's economic lifeblood in the form of superprofits from domestic & foreign trade & from import-dependent manufacturing & far more profusely in the form of debt service.

From 1986 to 1991, the Philippines paid in debt service to its foreign creditors a total of US\$29.3 billion, an amount which is as large as the total accumulated debt, & received a total inflow of new loans amounting to US\$17.7 billion. The net resource outflow is therefore US\$11.5 billion. The total accumulated debt of US\$29

billion has been held down mainly by enormous local public borrowing to cover the rising deficits & to buy foreign exchange for foreign debt servicing.

There is a breakdown in agricultural & industrial production, infrastructure & the basic services. The foreign exchange necessary for importing equipment, fuel & other goods continues to dwindle. & the foreign credit needed to cover the increasing deficits is also tightening. Further domestic & foreign public borrowing is fueling inflation.

The income from the export of raw materials (agricultural & mineral) & from the reexport of low-value added goods continue to dwindle because of the longrunning deterioration of the terms of trade & the ongoing recessionary trend in the world capitalist system. From 1986 to 1991, the \$ 5.8B (or nearly \$1B yearly) total income from the export of contract labor has in part offset the resource outflow & has been greater than the \$4.4B total actual inflow of the much-vaunted official development assistance from Japan, the US & Europe. Under recessionary conditions in the world, even the export of contract labor can be adversely affected.

Debt service continues to eat up around 40% of the Philippine budget. This will rise further as the national government assumes the P300B accumulated debt of the CB. The budget for the military, police & paramilitary forces & for the intelligence, counterintelligence & psywar agencies has been increased. In the course of military operations, even the resources of civilian agencies are being commandeered by the military. Funds for infrastructure building, public education, health services, housing & public utilities are decreasing.

The local government officials are now allowed to tax the people & spend the money according to their own decisions in a wide ranging way. These help to tighten the squeeze of the central reactionary government on the broad masses of the people. Bureaucratic corruption at the central & local levels is scandalously worsening.

The people are suffering from accumulated unemployment of around 50 percent. Out of the total labor force of 27.5 million, 3.6 million are admitted to be unemployed & about 8 million are underemployed. But out of the total employed, only 45.4% are wage & salary workers. The self-employed, own account workers & unpaid family workers are considered employed despite the fact that

the general run do not have regular & sufficient income to afford them a decent level of subsistence. The overwhelming majority of those considered as underemployed are in fact unemployed.

On top of the high rate of unemployment is the soaring rate of inflation which reduces the real income of the employed & exacerbates the misery of the unemployed & underemployed. Statistics of the reactionary regime deliberately present a lower inflation rate by manipulating such parameters as the base year & the content of the basket of basic goods. The cost of living is estimated to be P214 a day for a family of six but the legislated minimum wage (which employers to their own advantage generally violate) is P84.50 to 106.70 in the agricultural sector & P118 in the industrial sector.

80% or 47 M of the people live below the poverty line. The real value of the income of the toiling masses of workers & peasants & the middle social strata keeps on decreasing. At the same time, there is scarcity of goods & services due to the breakdown of production. The quality of life continues to deteriorate due to widespread poverty, the frequent outbreaks of communicable diseases, the lack of health services, the deterioration of the public school system, destruction of the environment & the breakdown of basic urban facilities, including water shortages & the frequent electricity outages.

The imperialists & their big comprador-landlord agents continue to damage the environment in so many ways. What is currently most alarming is the rate of deforestation, which is at 200,000 hectares per year. At this rate, the remaining forest cover of 987,000 hectares is bound to disappear in five years' time. The alternating floods & drought, soil erosion, watershed destruction, loss of biodiversity & the death of 30 percent of the rivers & the rapid decrease of fish catch are already wreaking havoc on the lives of the people.

But those who suffer most are the victims of largescale military campaigns of the enemy. They are subjected to senseless bombardments by airplanes & artillery, search-&-destroy operations, forced mass evacuations, mass detention, torture, massacres & assassinations which far exceed the capability & resources of human rights organizations to document. But what these organizations are able to document are horrendous enough. The widescale violations of human rights add to the acute sense of

oppression that comes from the daily violence of economic exploitation. Since 1986, more than a million people have been forced by the enemy's military operations to leave their homes & farms permanently or for a prolonged period of time.

In both urban & rural areas, the military, police & paramilitary forces use the unbridled power of their guns not only in the official suppression campaigns against the people but also in the course of unofficial criminal activities strictly for their private gain. The officers & men are notorious for their involvement in criminal syndicates engaged in robbery, kidnapping, murder for hire, illegal logging, extortions, gambling, prostitution & other forms of criminality. The tendency of the military, police & paramilitary forces to disintegrate is not only due to inter-service rivalries & political factionalism but also due to the proliferation of competing criminal gangs among them.

Persevere on the Road of Armed Revolution

The CPP is correct in pursuing & persevering on the road of armed revolution. It would be a shame & a catastrophe if at this time there is any wavering about this road. There is no way for the Filipino people to liberate themselves nationally & socially from the intolerably worsening system of oppression & exploitation but to overthrow it & establish a new social system under the leadership of the proletariat & with the full participation of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers & peasants.

Revolutionary AS is the main form of struggle because it smashes the reactionary state & effects the seizure of political power, without which the proletariat & the people cannot make social revolution. There are those who say that there is no more need for AS because the U.S. military bases agreement has come to an end. But the oppression & exploitation of the Filipino people by the US & other imperialists continues.

The US—at a much reduced cost to itself—continues to direct, control, supply & use the Philippine reactionary armed forces & to have access to military facilities in the Philippines. Moreover, under U.S. encouragement & under the pretext of U.N. peacekeeping, the aggressive capability of Japan

has been increased. There is an overall scheme by the US & Japan to suppress armed revolutionary movements of the people in Southeast Asia.

Our AS is within the framework of the NDR. Insofar as it has to be carried out in the countryside for an extended period among the peasant majority of the people, it must take the antifeudal line & must be integrated with land reform & mass-base building (mass organizations & organs of political power).

Eighty percent of the peasant masses are landless. The U.S.-Ramos regime is so cynical about the land problem that it does not pretend anymore to be concerned about it, unlike the previous Marcos & Aquino regimes which made pretenses & empty promises about solving the land problem. The Ramos regime has so far been silent on the question of land reform.

The Party must effect the basic worker-peasant alliance. It must rely mainly on the poor peasants, lower middle peasants & farm workers; win over the middle peasants; neutralize the rich peasants; & take advantage of the split between the enlightened gentry & the despotic ones in order to isolate & destroy the power of the latter.

The minimum land reform program must be carried out on a widescale as the general line. This includes the reduction of land rent, interest rates & fees for irrigation, work animals & farm equipment; raising the wages of farm workers; improving the prices of farm products for the benefit of the peasants; & raising production in agriculture & sideline occupations through individual initiative & rudimentary forms of cooperation. This program beats the false promises of land redistribution by every reactionary regime.

The maximum land reform program of confiscating the land & distributing it free to the peasant tillers, can be done only against the despotic landlords & landgrabbers & also where the people's army & the revolutionary forces are strong enough to carry out such a land reform in an equitable & productive way & frustrate the violent reaction of the enemy. In so many places, we must still recognize & take advantage of the differentiation of the small, middle & big landlords as well as of the enlightened & despotic gentry & prevent the entire landlord class from uniting against the revolution.

The People's War & the NPA

In carrying out the armed struggle, the NPA must follow the absolute leadership of the Party & must implement the theory & strategic line of people's war, which is to encircle the cities from the countryside & accumulate strength until it is possible to seize the cities. The concrete form of people's war at this stage of the strategic defensive is extensive & intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever widening & deepening mass base. The gross reduction of the mass base due to the interplay of the enemy's total war policy & the gross error of militarism must be promptly & vigorously solved.

It may be said even now that the current NPA troop strength with highpowered rifles is equivalent to several scores of companies or at least a score of battalions or several regiments or brigades. It is even possible to designate them as such. But we must never forget that we are still waging guerrilla warfare & we must deploy our forces accordingly.

The current armed strength of the NPA can allow it to control the villages of at least 500 municipalities out of the total 1500 in the Philippines, if the NPA forces are properly deployed. In the drive to expand & consolidate the guerrilla fronts, a small or medium-sized guerrilla front or districts of bigger guerrilla fronts can have a sum total of one company of Red fighters. But the headquarters platoon of such force must be in relative concentration as the center of gravity & the squads in the other platoons must be dispersed for mass work, with each squad capable of controlling & influencing the villages of one municipality as guerrilla zone, especially with the support of the militia & self-defense units of the mass organizations, the local organs of political power & the local Party branches.

At levels of command higher than the guerrilla front, such as the regional, interregional & central levels, the centers of gravity can be company-size or more, depending on the degree of the development of the PW. But these must be in relative concentration, within the necessary radius that allows them to do various types of work, avoid becoming an unbearable logistical burden & yet have the ability to assemble or link up with other units for offensive & other concentrated operations.

The NPA should avoid self-constriction. It should not concentrate

fifty percent or more into a few absolutely concentrated companies & battalions & thereby drastically reduce the number of local guerrilla squads & armed propaganda teams for mass work. Without an ever expanding & consolidated mass base, the larger unsustainable formations will be preoccupied with logistical needs & will eventually fall into passivity & isolation & gross setbacks even after a period of successful military offensives.

The Party & the NPA rely on the support of the people through the local organs of political power, mass organizations, the local branches of the Party, the militia & self-defense units of the mass organizations. We must reiterate that to meet logistical needs, the NPA should rely mainly on contributions of the masses as a percentage of the benefits derived from land reform & other gains of the revolutionary movement, production by & for the people's army, taxes from the enlightened gentry & businessmen & confiscations from the enemy.

The central leadership of the Party & the national command of the NPA are needed to reallocate surpluses from one region to another region in need & from consolidated areas to areas of expansion. It is wrong & disorienting to undertake special operations of a politically objectionable character & to make plans dependent on material assistance from higher levels of the Party or the people's army or from sources abroad, especially in the current international environment.

At its current level of armed strength, the NPA has the capability of assembling forces of various sizes (small team, squad, platoon, company & even battalion) for launching tactical offensives. The guerrilla front command or district command of bigger guerrilla fronts can plan & undertake platoon-size or oversized platoon offensives; & the regional command or command of big guerrilla fronts, company-size offensives. The Party CC, the Military Commission & the NPA national operational command must be guided by the line of centralized leadership & decentralized operations but must work out the guidelines & plans for the people's war & for the correct deployment & redeployment of forces from period to period nationwide & in major battlefields.

The "Left" opportunists have imagined that total victory is possible without developing the people's war & people's army in stages by rapidly organizing large military formations &/or aiming for armed urban insurrections. But there are also the Right

opportunists who have a disdain for the protracted people's war, who wrongly counterpoise the legal struggle as political struggle & the armed struggle as a "nonpolitical" or as a purely military one & who are spreading such erroneous lines as that the entire revolutionary movement has been "marginalized" (relative to the ratrace within the ruling system) because of the armed struggle; that the people are already tired of their own armed resistance to the counterrevolutionary violence of the oppressors & exploiters; & are hopeless because of the international environment of 1989-1991.

As regards the struggle between revolution & counterrevolution, the revolutionary forces & the people led by the Party are at the center of the political stage precisely because of their armed struggle. Without the people's army, the people have nothing. Were the revolutionary forces to give up armed struggle, they will indeed become as marginal within the ruling system as those who pretend to be revolutionary & yet wish the revolutionary forces to give up the armed struggle or lose sight of its crucial importance in the seizure of political power & realization of social revolution.

The successes of the revolutionary movement is measured in terms of building the Party, the people's army, the organs of political power & the mass organizations. We have never sought to measure success simply by asking whether we have already taken over the presidential palace in Manila & how many seats we have in the executive offices, the legislature & the courts of the reactionary government. On the other hand, we have been establishing organs of democratic political power wherever we can in order to destroy the tentacles of the reactionary state & ultimately seize power in the cities.

Relationship Between Armed & Legal Forms of Struggle

There must be a clarification of the relationship between the armed & legal forms of struggle & the various forms of legal struggle. Both the armed & legal or nonarmed forms of struggle are political forms of struggle. It has been often said correctly that war is the continuation of political struggle by another means. The NPA & the people's war have their revolutionary political character & are political instruments of the people.

Relative to the AS, the legal forms of struggle are secondary because these cannot by themselves or in the main effect the seizure of political power by the proletariat & the people. Total victory in the AS is required by the social revolution. But legal forms of struggle are important & are indispensable to the advance of the armed revolution. They have a distinctive character & a distinctive role to play. They are defensive in the face of the overwhelming forces of the enemy police & military but are certainly meant to persuade a great number of people to fight the enemy.

There have been concrete forms of legal struggle. The most important of these consists of the mass education, mass organizing & mass mobilization constantly carried out in accordance with the national democratic program & seen dramatically through strikes, demonstrations, marches & other forms of concerted mass actions on burning class, sectoral & multisectoral issues. The workers' trade unions, the urban poor communities, & the mass organizations of students & other youth, women, teachers & other professionals & various sectors must be expanded & consolidated every day through painstaking work.

Another form of legal struggle involves developing certain personnel & portions of the establishment (conservative organizations & institutions) to make a patriotic & progressive stand on issues & thereby breach, paralyze or disintegrate the ruling system from within in combination with the revolutionary & progressive forces from without. The Party has succeeded in developing progressive fractions within the reactionary government, churches, business organizations, reactionary trade unions & so on.

Still another form of legal struggle is the electoral struggle, which occurs every so many years. So far, this has not yielded the results commensurate to our mass base & has rated lower than the aforesaid forms of legal struggle. The electoral struggle is designed by the politicians of the reactionary classes to create the illusion of democracy & exclude the genuine representatives of the people, especially the toiling masses, from political power. But the legal democratic forces must engage in electoral struggle to propagate the national democratic line & try to put in & develop progressive elements in the reactionary government.

Still another form of legal struggle is the one conducted in legal & political defense of the comrades & allies who are arrested & detained & suffer various forms of persecution by the enemy. Those arrested & detained by the enemy have less initiative than

when they were not in the hands of the enemy. But in pursuing the struggle that is possible, they do not only fight for themselves but they can also inspire people outside of prison to fight more resolutely. The martyrs & the living victims of persecution can inspire the entire people to greater resistance to oppression.

The exploratory talks that have occurred between the Ramos regime & the NDF deserve to be mentioned last here as a form of legal struggle. The talks have not matured yet into formal bilateral peace talks. By these talks, an illegal force like the NDF can succeed in legally propagating its national democratic line as the line for a just & lasting peace & in attaining international recognition for its status of belligerency. But we must guard against the danger of sending the wrong signals to the revolutionary forces, making the enemy appear as tractable & creating false illusions among the people. The revolutionary forces must always be ready to pull out of the exploratory talks or bilateral peace talks if these undermine rather than strengthen the revolutionary forces.

The legal progressive organizations must give the highest priority to their own political education, their own organizational buildup & mass campaigns. They can propagate the national democratic program anywhere in the legal arena. But such a program should not be funneled exclusively or mainly into either the bourgeois electoral game, into lobbying in any institution or branch of the reactionary government or into the frame of peace negotiations between the NDF & the reactionary government. The revolutionary cadres in the legal democratic movement must grasp the correct relationship & coordination between the armed & legal forms of struggle as well as between the various forms of legal struggle.

The Right opportunists exaggerate the importance of all legal forms of struggle or pick out one of these to exaggerate its importance & place the legal struggle on top of the armed revolution. One way of differentiating the revolutionaries from the reformists is their way of evaluating & correlating the armed & legal forms of struggle.

Reformism becomes most obvious when it denies the necessity of armed revolution in the Philippine today. On the other hand, it is "Left" opportunism to deny the necessity & importance of the legal democratic movement & preoccupy oneself with the armed struggle to the point of failing to see the correct relationship

& coordination of the armed struggle & the legal democratic movement.

Those who do not recognize & appreciate the great importance of the organs of political power & mass organizations being created in the countryside in the course of people's war can be disappointed by an already prolonged period of armed revolution. Such persons are usually carried away by the petty bourgeois notion that success in the armed revolution in the Philippines can be measured only by how much political power we have already gained in the cities.

Of course, the end game in the armed revolution is the seizure of the cities. But we might get farther away from this objective if we fall into "Left" opportunism or we allow Right opportunism to discourage the armed revolution. We must develop the people's war in its current stage of the strategic defensive, accumulate strength & on the basis of this we shall be able to proceed to the next stage.

III. Greet the New Period of Revolutionary Struggle in the World

So soon after the gloating of the US & the other major industrial capitalist countries over the fall of "socialism" (in fact bureaucratic capitalism masquerading as socialism), the world capitalist system is conspicuously afflicted by an unprecedentedly severe crisis of overproduction. There are mounting inventories of all kinds of industrial & agricultural products that cannot be sold profitably. There is an epidemic of bankruptcies. & the winning monopolies are driven to do what precisely aggravates the crisis.

In the attempt to raise their rates of profit & improve efficiency & competitiveness through the further adoption of high technology, these monopoly firms have thrown out of job not only great numbers of blue collar workers but also ever greater proportions of white collar workers (whose ranks had been enlarged in previous decades by high technology & neocolonialism). Lines of public service (public utilities & basic services) continue to be privatized so that the monopoly bourgeoisie can increase its profits & cut down the number & the wages of public service employees.

As a result, all capitalist countries are reeling from a prolonged recessionary trend. In fact, conditions of depression have set in,

if we consider that production growth rates (below two percent) involve the further reduction of employment & the further bloating of accounts in the service & military-industrial sectors. The current rate of unemployment is high in most of the advanced industrial capitalist countries, especially if we see through the statistical sleight of hand.

Background to the Current World Capitalist Crisis

From the end of World War II, after several decades of unprecedented & relatively unimpeded international expansion of capital, especially through neocolonial use of finance capital, the United States & other major capitalist powers are now surrounded by an ocean of bad debts & depressed underdeveloped & lesser industrial capitalist countries. The foreign debt of the third world & former Soviet bloc countries is around \$1.8T (of which at least \$1.6T is third world debt) & the effective demand in the world market for their own kind of products, mainly raw materials & some manufactures, have been going down. The result for most of these countries has been the depression of their economies since the early 1980s.

Thus, the major capitalist powers have a tendency to pull back from common global schemes of capital expansion & are increasingly driven to consolidate their national & regional positions & compete with each other. Most industrial capitalist countries have resorted to excessive borrowing to keep their economies going by providing the contracts & financial support to the monopoly firms & by feeding consumer credit. The U.S. economy stands out as the top excessive borrower, with a total debt of \$11T, of which \$5T are federal & state debts -- largely foreign-funded -- & the rest, corporate & consumer credit.

In the 1970s, the industrial capitalist countries seemed to have found a solution to the crisis of overproduction, specifically the problem of stagflation, by financing the global operations of monopoly firms & the consumer credit & welfare measures within their own boundaries & by profuse lending -- under the auspices of global neo-Keynesianism -- to most of the third world & Soviet bloc countries & thereby disposing of surplus goods & capital. But eventually after a decade, it became clear that the overseas borrowers could not pay back their debts due to overconsumption, further distortion of their economies & deteriorating terms of trade. The prices of imported manufactures

kept on rising while those of raw material & agricultural exports kept on falling. Technological advances also allowed the industrial capitalist countries either to substitute imported raw materials or draw more products out of a lesser quantity of these.

In the 1980s, the US attracted foreign funds with its policy of high interest rates & thereby artificially kept itself by financial policy as the single largest country market for the consumer products of Western Europe & Japan & the newly-industrializing or export-oriented economies (like the economic tigers of Asia & some Latin American countries), proceeded to engage in highspeed spending for the hi-tech military buildup & thereby undermined the U.S. manufacturing base for exports. The US became the biggest deficit spender & biggest debtor in the world & fell into industrial decline.

Even as there was a shift from neo-Keynesianism to monetarism & stronger demands for privatization & austerity for the third world, the world capitalist system as directed by the Group of Seven & managed by the IMF & World Bank, was able in the 1980s to pull in the biggest & last possible clients: China, Soviet Union & India, in that chronological order. Notwithstanding the U.S. strategic defeat in the Vietnam war & the Soviet attainment -- under Brezhnev -- of strategic military parity with the United States in hightech military production in the previous decade, the U.S.-led capitalist alliance succeeded with its neocolonial deployment of capital in the third world & Eastern Europe to induce the biggest & last possible clients into accepting full integration into the world capitalist system.

The continuous internal growth of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism in the Soviet Union & in the East European countries since 1956 had made them receptive to being totally integrated into the world capitalist system. West Germany played the key role in drawing them in while the United States used the Cold War to hold down the total amount of economic accommodations to the Soviet Union from the West. In the 1970s, the Soviet bloc countries in Eastern Europe were under neocolonial control not only by the Soviet Union but also by the West. Soviet & Western neocolonialism consisted of delivering overpriced supplies & sucking the lifeblood of the people through loan arrangements. During the time of Gorbachov, the Soviet Union itself was already very much within the web of the world capitalist system. By then, it had become a beggar of hard currency for paying for vital imports & for servicing their debts, especially from West Germany.

It is now clearer than ever that there were concurrent & related developments since 1989. The political disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties & the collapse of the Soviet Union were so drastic & dramatic that the socioeconomic crisis of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism in Eastern Europe & the former Soviet Union was obscured & was not seen by many as a part of the global crisis of overproduction afflicting the biggest capitalist economies.

Since 1989, the monopoly bourgeoisie has so effectively used hightech media, with the collaboration of the unremoulded & coopted petty bourgeoisie, to carry out an ideological offensive against the theory & practice of M-L & to misrepresent bureaucrat capitalism as socialism & Stalinism. The antisocialist ideas of the big bourgeoisie & petty bourgeoisie have been decked out as new ideas superior to M-L.

Even those with no or with very little understanding of M-L theory & practice have presumed to be able to explain away the 1989-1991 developments in Eastern Europe & the Soviet Union by simply citing Stalin as having been the one responsible for these rather than the process of capitalist restoration since 1956.

Within the same year of 1992 the industrial capitalist countries were so gravely wracked by the crisis of overproduction that they passed from triumphalism to gloom so soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe, the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie & the few privileged private entrepreneurs have continued to exploit the people after scrapping the "socialist" signboard. The broad masses of the people, including the petty bourgeoisie are suffering an economic hell worse than ever before.

The U.S. Strategic Decline & the Drive to Reverse It

The U.S. strategic decline is due to overconsumption & military overspending. The US can go on a serious drive to reverse the decline only by inflicting further harm on its own people & curtailing the accommodations it had previously made to its industrial capitalist allies. The US has to funnel more funds to its own monopoly bourgeoisie in order to make its own industry more efficient & more competitive. But it can do this only at the expense of the American people whose jobs are now being drastically reduced by the accelerated adoption of high technology. Those countries that have high export surpluses from the U.S. market have to contend with the U.S. plan to cut these surpluses down.

So long as U.S. resources are allocated in favor of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the American people suffer exploitation. The U.S. prosperity in the last decade has resulted in the impoverishment of the people. The U.S. social structure demonstrates the greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the people. The wealthiest of the monopoly bourgeoisie or the top one percent of the population controls more wealth than the bottom 90 percent; & directly owns 46 percent of the wealth. The top 20 percent of the population controls 100 percent of the stock corporations.

On the other hand, 50% of the people have no wealth or are in debt. 70% have no money left after paying for basic necessities (housing, food, utilities & sundries). A full 75M people (larger than the entire Philippine population) live in abject poverty. 70% of them are white & 30%, nonwhite.

The U.S. economic crisis has been so severe that Bush failed to get himself reelected, despite his attempt to present himself as the personification of victory in the Cold War & in the Gulf War. The recession, the unemployment, the extremely skewed income structure, the conspicuousness of poverty, the ever growing trade & budgetary deficits, the colossal debt, the faltering trade offensive & the deteriorating quality of life (including homelessness, dilapidation of the basic infrastructure, blighting of cities, pollution & criminality) have worked against the reelection bid of Bush.

The president-elect Clinton has benefited from a protest vote. He has promised to revive the U.S. economy & generate more jobs, raise industrial productivity & competitiveness through high technology, attend to social problems at home, go into infrastructure building, provide basic social services, reduce military expenditures, & tax U.S. companies abroad.

Were Clinton to try carrying out what he has promised, the American people will have to suffer more exploitation & joblessness. The U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie is merely being assured of further opportunities to amass profits & cannot be expected to share these with the rest of the American people. Despite all the naïve liberal prattle that Clinton will draw the US inward, the nature of U.S. imperialism requires the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie to aggravate the exploitation & oppression of peoples abroad, shift the U.S. capitalist crisis to other countries & sharpen contradictions with other industrial capitalist countries.

1. U.S. Contradictions with Western Europe

There are growing economic contradictions between the United States & Western Europe. These currently include investment, trade, currency & credit problems in the relations between the two sides, in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe & the former Soviet Union & elsewhere in the world.

After all the hosannas to economic union, the European Community (Western Europe) is in a state of economic & social turbulence due to the world capitalist crisis of overproduction. The recession, high rates of unemployment, social cutbacks & inflationary pressures are taking their toll.

There are tensions among the EEC members as a result of the questions about sovereignty, the currency turmoil, the German high interest rates, the protracted Uruguay Round of the GATT, the assignment of economic functions to the EEC members, the questions about major & minor members of the community, & the question of dividing the spoils in the Soviet Union & Eastern Europe.

Germany is the economic giant at the core of the European economic union. It is expected to resent any substantial reduction of U.S. importation of German surplus goods. At the same time, it is the chief exploiter of Eastern Europe & the former Soviet Union. It is using the Czech part of Czechoslovakia (now being dissolved) as the manufacturing & commercial base for exploiting the consumer market in Eastern Europe. It is also pouring investments into Russia in the bid to get the lion's share in the exploitation of natural resources & the consumer market there.

The United States continues to seek the reduction of its own military expenditures, especially overseas, & get its allies in Western Europe to share the military expenses. Thus, opportunities are there for the revival of German nationalism & militarism through intermediate arrangements, like the formation of a European force, initially a German-French force under the auspices of the Conference of Security & Cooperation in Europe. But at the same time, the United States wants to remain in overall command & control through the NATO.

2. U.S. Contradictions with Japan & the Situation in East Asia

The US is also increasingly at odds with Japan over a comprehensive range of economic issues. There is growing U.S. resentment over accommodations for Japanese investments & goods in the U.S. market & over Japan's supposed nonreciprocation by refusing to open up its domestic market. The US can bully Japan because the latter is dependent on the former for technology agreements & access to the markets & to sources of fuel & other raw materials which are still under U.S. political hegemony & economic manipulation. The US also wants Japan to yield more market share to U.S. goods in East Asia & elsewhere & to become dependent on U.S. rice & other food imports.

The US has encouraged Japan to share military expenses, increase its military strength & expenditures, purchase U.S. hi-tech military equipment & raise its aggressive capabilities. Thus, Japanese nationalism & militarism have been revived under the slogan of regional security in East Asia & UN peacekeeping. Japanese troops are initially deployed as a security force in Cambodia. But the US is wary over Japan's economic prowess & its current position as No. 1 investor & creditor in East Asia, over its ability to produce its own hi-tech weapons as well as reproduce those bought from the US & over its high potential as an allround rival in East Asia.

The contradictions between the US & Japan are likely to sharpen within the decade because each—in the drive to fix problems—will have to do so at the expense of the other. For one, Japan with its serious economic problems is further driven to have its own way, independent of the US, in East Asia.

The Japanese bubble economy has burst. Profit rates on all major lines of production have drastically fallen. Consumer demand is low & inventories are fast piling up. It has become obvious that the Japanese banks have overextended themselves in speculation. Stock values have fallen by 50 percent within the year. Bankruptcies are leading to further concentration of monopoly capital.

Let us consider the possibilities for the East Asian economies that have benefited from previous accommodations in the U.S. market should the United States succeed by any significant degree in reviving its production of tradable goods, in consolidating the U.S. market & the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) & in pushing a trade offensive on a wider scale.

The Japanese economy, which is already on a downswing, will go through further paroxysms. The so-called economic tigers of Asia, including the Chinese provinces of Guangdong & Fujian, will be in serious economic trouble. Social turmoil is likely to erupt in a number of countries in East Asia. However, China can for a certain period of time try to work out internal social arrangements & external arrangements with the countries of East Asia & the former Soviet republics in anticipation of further U.S. attempts to consolidate & go on an economic offensive.

China is under pressure from the US to gradually make the Chinese political system correspond openly to the growth of capitalism in the Chinese economy & society. As Washington policymakers put it, China must "respect human rights" or else suffer such consequences as withdrawal of the most-favored-nation status, more restraints on trade, increased military sales to Taiwan & so on. They assert that liberalization of the Chinese economy must be accompanied by liberalization of the Chinese political system.

However, China would rapidly go the way of the former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe in the final stage of capitalist restoration were it now to drop its avowed four cardinal principles. Thus China is banking on closer relations with Japan & other neighboring countries in order to counter U.S. pressures & threats. On the balance, the US is not pushing too hard because its strategy planners fear the adverse consequences of political turmoil in China. They prefer a process of peaceful evolution from socialism to capitalism, as anticipated even by John Foster Dulles & proven in the Soviet bloc countries since 1956.

3. China & Other Less Developed Industrial Economies

In East Asia, China looms large as a third factor in the growing contradictions between the US & Japan. Whatever social character it assumes, China has an industrial base & a large natural resource base & is the largest market in the world. It has gained economic access to the US, Japan, the rest of East Asia, Western Europe, the Central Asian republics, Russia, Ukraine & the whole Eastern Europe.

Other than China, there are large countries or economies in the world whose industrial base is less developed than that of the major capitalist powers. These are India, Russia, Ukraine, Brazil

& South Korea. All these countries or economies are threatened by industrial decline & compradorization as economic competition intensifies among the major industrial capitalist countries. Either the industrial bourgeoisie of the lesser industrial economies manage to grow further or social degradation continues & eventually social upheavals will occur.

The monopoly bureaucrat capitalists of the former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe are now divided into two contending factions, one is for the revival of the industries & the other is for the phased closure of these & for the compradorization of the economy. The revival & growth of the industrial base are prevented by the general policy of the major capitalist powers to dump their surplus goods, conserve their capital & acquire only the most profitable assets & by such domestic factors as unbridled bureaucratic corruption, the further impoverishment of the people & the dearth of private entrepreneurial capital & expertise.

The monopoly bureaucrat capitalists are being compelled to maintain the outmoded state enterprises or close them. There is widespread social misery & growing social turmoil. This is generating nationalism, ethnic conflicts, civil wars & military fascism. At the same time, there are indications of rising revolutionary forces. There are calls for social revolution.

Notwithstanding the decades of misrepresentation of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism as socialism, in ways most detrimental to the proletariat & people in the former Soviet bloc countries, the historical & theoretical legacy of Lenin & Stalin remains an ineradicable ideological & political resource for the proletariat & people to draw from as the social conditions worsen. In so short a time, the capitalists & the fake democrats in the former Soviet bloc countries have been discredited. The broad masses of the people are disgusted with the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie & the favored private entrepreneurs & are angered by their impoverished condition.

Four Major Contradictions & Social Turmoil

The neocolonial deployment of financial capital, under the slogan of development, has further distorted the economies of the client states & further impoverished the people. The share of 75% (3rd world peoples) of the world population in the global GNP was 23% in the 1980s & fell to 19% in the 1990s. This is poverty worsening in the third world. With the

impoverishment of the people in the former Soviet bloc countries, 80% of the world population are now living a life of poverty & misery due to oppression & exploitation.

It is simply impossible that these oppressed & exploited people can allow themselves to suffer the ever worsening crisis without resistance. In the new period of revolutionary struggle that has arisen in the world, there are some subjective forces of the revolution to begin with. The people themselves demand social revolution in the face of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

Some elements tend to forget that the world capitalist system is in crisis & that the oppressed peoples are bound to fight back. Such elements are people dazzled & befuddled by the integration of veritably all countries into the world capitalist system, the disintegration of revisionist ruling parties & regimes, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the defeat of this military superpower in the cold war, the use of U.S. hi-tech military might in the Gulf war & the ruthless U.S. drive to isolate & disintegrate the social systems in Cuba & North Korea.

Let us look at the world comprehensively. The preindustrial underdeveloped countries & some countries with an industrial base in the third world & the former Soviet bloc countries have been in a state of depression for a long period of time. These countries have earlier been integrated into the world capitalist system & have been unable to earn enough hard currency to pay for supplies & service their debt from the industrial capitalist countries. They have been unable to sell profitably in the world market the raw materials & some manufactures that they have excess capacity to produce. Thus, they have fallen into depression. & this depression is now recoiling upon the major industrial capitalist countries themselves.

As of now, the world is wracked by four major contradictions. These are:

First is the contradiction between the major industrial capitalist powers & the neocolonial client-states on the one hand & the proletariat & people on the other hand in the underdeveloped & bureaucrat-capitalist controlled countries;

Second is the contradiction among the major capitalist powers which have consolidated themselves as the 3 most powerful capitalist centers, the US, Western Europe & Japan;

Third is the contradiction in all the industrial capitalist countries between the monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand & the proletariat & people; &

Fourth is the contradiction between the major industrial capitalist powers & the lesser industrial capitalist countries, including those ruled by bureaucrat capitalist regimes.

The foregoing contradictions are running at the same time at a pace dictated by the aggravation of the crisis of overproduction, now accelerated by the application of high technology. Social turbulence & social upheavals can occur within national boundaries but on a scale so wide that they span several countries & several continents at the same time & that no single capitalist power nor group of capitalist powers can stop social revolution in all those countries.

In its war of aggression against Iraq in 1991, the US could not go it alone in bearing the cost of the war & had to pool the financial resources of several countries. Since then, the multipolarization & contradictions among the major capitalist powers have gone further. In years to come, contradictions are likely to arise among the major capitalist powers regarding the sharing of costs & the division of the spoils in common aggressive actions against other countries.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, categorically marking the end of the cold war, the level of political violence has risen. The former Soviet republics, Yugoslavia & other East European countries have become hot beds of armed ethnic conflicts & civil war. The limits to the capacity of the major capitalist powers to intervene militarily are showing, even as they instigate the outbreak of violence.

The major capitalist powers have deployed troops in other countries in the name of U.N. peacekeeping & humanitarian aid. Among the most recent interventions are in Cambodia, Croatia, Bosnia & Somalia. At the rate that the civil wars are arising or continuing, the attention & resources of the major capitalist powers & the UN are already overstrained.

The bourgeois "democratization" (putting up front civilian officials & putting the military behind them to serve the same

exploiting classes) pushed by the Reagan administration in Latin America & the Philippines in the 1980s is already overstrained by the ever worsening economic & social crisis. As exemplified by coups in Haiti, Peru & other countries, there is a trend back towards undisguised authoritarian & military junta rule. These will incite the people to armed revolution.

The "peaceful resolution of regional armed conflicts" promoted by the United States & the Soviet Union in Iraq & Iran, Central Asia (particularly in Afghanistan), southern Africa (particularly South Africa & Angola), Central America (particularly Nicaragua & El Salvador) & Indochina (particularly Cambodia) is either under severe strain or is already in shambles. Armed conflict has either continued, resumed or is likely to break out in these areas.

There are the longrunning revolutionary armed struggles for national liberation & democracy, like those of the peoples of the Philippines, Burma, Palestine, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Turkey, Kurdistan & other countries. The conditions for revolutionary armed struggle exist in many countries in the third world & the former Soviet bloc. So long as the revolutionary forces & the people are determined to wage armed revolution, no single capitalist power or combination of capitalist powers can stop or defeat them.

The longrunning depression & austerity measures imposed by the IMF & the WB in the 3rd world have caused social unrest. The protest actions of the organized masses of the workers, peasants & other people are rising, despite the brutal attempts of the reactionary states to suppress them. There are also the spontaneous actions of the impoverished masses such as food riots & raids on stores & warehouses in several extremely impoverished countries.

There are the cycles of coups d'etat, the civil wars & ethnic conflicts which result from the social & economic crisis in the third world & the former Soviet bloc countries. These are occurring on a widening scale & these can stimulate the rise of revolutionary movements in due time.

The US & the U.S.-led capitalist alliance have imposed economic blockades & repeatedly threatened several countries with aggression, such as Cuba, NK, Libya, Iraq & Yugoslavia.

Such countries ward off the threats & aggressive acts of the U.S. & other imperialists by asserting their national sovereignty, mobilizing their own people & availing themselves of breaches in

the apparent single superpower hegemony of the US over the entire world.

At the centers of industrial capitalism, industrywide strikes of workers are occurring. They are opposing massive layoffs, the wage freeze & other forms of exploitation. There are also large & widespread mass actions & various forms of resistance to the brutality of state forces, the rise of racism & neofascism & imperialist acts of intervention & aggression.

In the US, there have been popular outrage against poverty, hunger & homelessness & street resistance to police brutality in many cities. In capitalist countries, especially in Germany & several West European countries, the broad masses of the people are demonstrating in great numbers against the depredations of neofascist & racist groups, which are directed against migrant workers from the 3rd world & refugees from Eastern Europe & other parts of the world.

How the World Situation Affects the Philippine Situation

The crisis of the world capitalist system is producing turmoil on a widescale. It is completely a passing illusion that capitalism has created a new world order at the end of the cold war. On the contrary, there is a new world disorder. It is on an ever widening scale. & it can be the ground for the resurgence of M-L parties & the anti-imperialist movement for social revolution.

How is the Philippines affected by the current world situation?

There is no relief from but aggravation of the crisis of the ruling system. The U.S.-Ramos regime cannot hope to attract enough foreign investments or borrow enough funds to cover the increasing trade & budgetary deficits, service the accumulated debt, satisfy the troops, police & paramilitary forces, repair the broken down infrastructure & turn the Philippines into one more "economic tiger" in Asia.

The kind of investments being attracted to the Philippines is that which whets the appetite of the exploiting classes for conspicuous consumption & real estate speculation. These mop up whatever is left of the foreign exchange from the export income after debt service & dollar-salting. The level of austerity & misery for the broad masses of the people is further going down.

The U.S. scheme is to reduce "economic aid" & military expenditures in the Philippines & yet to continue having access

to military facilities & using them under the U.S.-R.P. military assistance & mutual defense agreements at a great cost to the client state. It is a cheapskate's scheme. The Philippine reactionary government is compelled more & more to draw from domestic resources what it needs to pursue the total war policy which the US itself has pushed in the first place.

The crisis of the world capitalist system ensures the worsening of the crisis of the ruling system. It aggravates the domestic crisis & creates increasingly more favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The Philippine revolutionary movement may not be able to secure any significant material assistance from abroad at the moment but factors objectively favorable to & politically supportive of our revolution can increasingly arise from the crisis & turmoil of the world capitalist system itself & from the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement abroad. At any rate, the Philippine revolutionary forces have never depended on foreign material assistance.

The anti-imperialist parties, organizations & movements which were favored in the past by the Soviet & East European ruling parties in the course of the cold war have either found themselves in a difficult situation, have fallen into disarray or have even disintegrated or become openly social democratic.

But the unprecedented & seemingly unchallengable dominance of U.S. imperialism & the world capitalist system is offset by the rapid worsening of the crisis, by the increased understanding that peoples can liberate themselves in a self-reliant way & by the elimination of modern revisionism, monopoly bureaucrat capitalism & social imperialism as sources of ideological & political confusion. The way is wide open for the Marxist-Leninist parties & genuine revolutionary forces to come forward.

The CPP & Other Working Class Parties

At the moment, the Korean Workers' Party & the Cuban CP continue to stand prominently & vigorously for the anti-imperialist & socialist cause & speak boldly for proletarian internationalism. The Chinese & Vietnamese CPs still avow themselves to be following the road of socialism. They are preoccupied with economic construction & promoting their own economic & trade relations with foreign countries.

The Cuban CP continues to issue the call, socialism or

death, in order to inspire the Cuban people. It stands heroically in defense of Cuban national sovereignty & has mobilized the Cuban people in the face of the growing threats of U.S. imperialism. The Korean Workers' Party has initiated & propagated the 1992 Pyongyang Declaration, signed by scores of parties, in order to uphold & defend the cause of socialism & national independence.

The biggest communist parties which have denounced the Gorbachovite phenomenon & made a critique of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union & Eastern Europe in varying degrees of comprehensiveness & profundity include the following: CP of India (Marxist), Bangladesh Workers' Party, CP of Portugal, CP of Greece & CP of France.

The CPP is one of the M-L parties which appreciate Mao Zedong Thought, up to the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, combating modern revisionism & preventing the restoration of capitalism. In accordance with the basic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin & Mao regarding scientific socialism & revisionism, the Party has made & issued a critique of what has occurred in the former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe from 1956 to 1992. This is meant to strengthen the M-L stand of the Party rank & file, counter the ongoing imperialist ideological offensive & contribute to the worldwide study of scientific socialism & the revisionist betrayal. This has been well received by all the communist parties that are seriously studying the degeneration & disintegration of the ruling parties & regimes in the former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe.

The Party is taking an active role in bilateral relations & in multilateral seminars & conferences (short of agreeing to the formation of a new International) in order to promote M-L understanding of the drastically new situation as well as mutual support & cooperation. The purpose is to consolidate & expand the ranks of the genuine M-L parties & organizations & advance the anti-imperialist & socialist cause.

In its relations with other working class parties abroad, the Party is guided by the overall principle of proletarian internationalism & by the principles of national integrity, independence, equality, noninterference & mutual support & cooperation. In

participating in the broad anti-imperialist movement in the world, the Party wishes to be at the proletarian revolutionary core but is ever willing to join with all anti-imperialist forces, irrespective of differences in ideology & social conditions.

The Party enjoys a high standing among the revolutionary forces in the world today because of its firm adherence to M-L principles, is deeply rooted among the masses of workers & peasants & has been waging the armed revolution self-reliantly for twenty four years.

The proletariat & people of the world are entering into a new period of revolutionary struggle. The Party has the basic strength & confidence to pass from the old to the new period. The advent of the new period is characterized by a wider & deeper crisis of the world capitalist system, the disintegration of revisionist parties & regimes & the initial gradual resurgence of the forces of anti-imperialism & socialism on a global scale.

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