# CELEBRATE 27 YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE STRIVE ALL-OUT TO FULFILL THE TASKS SET FOR 1996

By Armando Liwanag Chairman, Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines December 26, 1995

On behalf of the Central Committee, I wish to convey the warmest greetings to all the Party cadres and members on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the reestablishment of our beloved Party under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

We congratulate you for the overwhelming and resounding victory of the second great rectification movement. The very act of launching and sustaining the rectification movement since 1992 constitutes a great victory. We have brought the unity and capabilities of the Party and the people to a new and higher level of waging revolutionary struggle in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and along the general line of new-democratic revolution.

We have won brilliant victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields in the course of carrying out the critical and constructive tasks of the rectification movement. As a result of the rectification movement, our Party is revitalized and further strengthened to perform all the fundamental tasks in the national democratic revolution and to take advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

We have reaffirmed the basic revolutionary principles of the Party as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and identified, criticized, repudiated and defeated the major errors of revisionism, subjectivism and opportunism that have undermined and weakened the Party and the revolutionary mass movement.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Filipino people and all the revolutionary forces are more than ever determined to fight the U.S.-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system of comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class which are in the service of the U.S., Japanese and other imperialists. We are determined to carry out the rectification movement through to the end. In the forthcoming year, we shall be making still greater strides in carrying out the tasks of the rectification movement. The Central Committee enjoins the entire Party to be guided by the assessment and the tasks defined last July. Since then, the Party has made advances.

# Resounding Victories of the Rectification Movement

The Party has won a great ideological victory by upholding, defending and promoting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical weapon to combat revisionism and various forms of subjectivism and opportunism within the Party and to frustrate the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their special agents.

As a result of the rectification movement, a high level of ideological unity in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been attained. There is common understanding among Party cadres and members that a strong ideological foundation guarantees the victory of the new-democratic revolution and consequently the socialist revolution until communism is reached.

The process of ideological building has proceeded vigorously through the summing-up and analysis of revolutionary practice, the criticism and repudiation of revisionist and subjectivist currents previously circulated by the renegades.

The Party is now increasingly putting the stress on criticizing the remaining influences of erroneous currents and conducting social investigations, summing up and analysis of current work and comradely criticism and self-criticism. The long-running major errors of the renegades and incorrigible opportunists have been amply identified, criticized and repudiated and the worst of the renegades have been thoroughly defeated through criticism and repudiation as well as through their own self-exposure.

Under the guidance of the rectification documents issued by the Central Committee, lower Party organs and units within their respective scope have undertaken collective summing-up and analysis of experience and have conducted criticism and self-criticism. The Central Committee has circulated for study a number of the rectification documents drawn up by organs lower than itself and some of these have been published in *Rebolusyon*.

At various levels, the Party is in the process of deepening and raising to a new and higher level the study of its revolutionary experience. Those who lag behind are encouraged to catch up. Those who are ahead are advised not to become complacent. There is no end to the process of study and further study. It is a constant process of widening and deepening knowledge on the basis of revolutionary practice.

The Central Committee is urging lower organs and units to look into internal causes of errors and damage even as the rectification documents it has issued look into the causes of major errors at higher levels. There is a dialectical relationship between the responsibility of higher and lower Party organs.

The living study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought through the summing-up and analysis of our revolutionary experience and through the study of the rectification documents have appropriately run ahead of the formal study courses. In fact this living study must enrich and enliven the formal study courses.

The primary study course of the Party is earnestly being propagated in combination with the special courses in the line of work of the Party members. The works of the great communists and other study materials are being translated, reproduced and distributed and are being read by Party cadres and members. All Party cadres and members are encouraged to read and study these materials even before taking a higher formal Party course. Some Party organs and units have run ahead with the intermediate and advanced study courses. In due time, these courses shall be undertaken more widely.

The organs concerned are working hard to overcome previous delays in the training of instructors and preparation of study materials for the Party courses. We are determined to accelerate work in this regard. We commend the regional Party committees and the Party units among the youth and women for taking initiative in conducting study courses at various levels.

The Party has frustrated the ideological offensive of imperialism and the local reactionaries and has carried out a counteroffensive. Through a resolute two-line ideological struggle, the Party has ferreted out and swept off the revisionists and incorrigible opportunists. Furthermore, the ideological struggle has been extended to one against anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets which have long been in cahoots with the incorrigible opportunists and revisionist renegades. The Party has brilliantly proven the need for the vanguard role of the proletariat in the ever raging anti-imperialist and class struggle. It has continued to integrate in its program the solutions to problems about human rights, development, environment, women, youth, ethnic minorities, peace, civil society and the like which anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets wish to turn against the Party and the new-democratic revolution. These grouplets have been instigated and financed by imperialist funding agencies to wage an anticommunist campaign.

In the international communist movement, the Party enjoys a high standing because of its resolute stand for Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, its achievements in the revolutionary struggle and its current rectification movement. In the international arena, the Party has taken an outstanding role in upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the socialist cause and is combating modern revisionism and the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism it modestly offers its revolutionary practice and ideas in exchanges and critically learns from other parties and movements.

The Party learns from the full scope of the basic teachings and experience of such great communist thinkers and leaders as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and puts the main stress on learning the basic principles and the basic achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the past and studying how to bring about the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist movement.

We have integrated more firmly the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines and our concrete revolutionary practice. The Party has won a great political victory reaffirming and sharpening the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and resolutely carrying out the new type of national-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat and with a socialist perspective.

The Party has defeated the "Left" and Right opportunist lines that have originated from a misinterpretation of the character of Philippine society, especially that of the economy. It has successfully warded off various kinds of imperialist-inspired and antiquated petty-bourgeois notions for derailing the revolution and capitulating to and collaborating with the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

The Party is requiring Party cadres and members to conduct social investigation as the basis of revolutionary work on varying scales. We are thereby deepening and sharpening our analysis of Philippine society and revolution. Both the "Left" and Right opportunists have dogmatically and uncritically adopted models and ideas from abroad.

In their obsession to rationalize their urban-basing, the "Left" and Right opportunists have respectively espoused urban insurrectionism and reformism as the leading factor in th revolution and in common ascribed to the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos regime the achievement of having industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to such an extent as to "invalidate" the protracted people's war.

In fact, the fascist dictatorship aggravated and deepened the semifeudal and preindustrial character of the economy. And the population of Metro Manila and the provincial cities moved up from 19.8 percent in 1960 to only 21 percent in 1990. Employment in the import-dependent industrial sector has fluctuated around 15 percent. In the manufacturing sector in particular, it has dropped from 12.1 percent in 1960 to 9.7 percent in 1990.

The revolutionary class line of the Party in the new-democratic revolution entails upholding and realizing the class leadership of the proletariat, relying mainly on the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force and the national bourgeoisie as an additional positive force and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the enemy, now the U.S.-Ramos regime.

The Party firmly wields armed struggle and the united front as weapons of the revolutionary struggle. armed struggle is the principal form of revolutionary struggle. It is the weapon for overthrowing the counterrevolutionary state. The legal struggle is the secondary form of struggle but it is important and indispensable for advancing the revolutionary armed struggle.

The Party resolutely adheres to the strategic line of protracted people's war. It is the line of encircling the cities from the countryside and accumulating strength in the countryside until it is possible to seize the cities. The New People's Army has been reoriented, retrained and redeployed in order to create an ever widening and deepening mass base for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare within the stage of strategic defensive in the people's war. In every guerrilla front, the center of gravity has no more than 30 percent of the Red fighters and dispersed units comprise no less than 70 percent, with squads typically covering entire municipalities and subdividing into armed propaganda teams.

The typical guerrilla front now covers a congressional district or its equivalent and has a total force of a company of the NPA. The center of gravity is a platoon, serving as the headquarters force or rallying point of the Party and the NPA. The rest of the company of the guerrilla front is dispersed more widely than the components of the center of gravity in order to carry out mass work.

Some guerrilla fronts have expanded beyond their size in 1992 and in varying scope have recovered the mass base and areas previously lost as a result of the "Left" opportunist line of premature regularization, urban insurrectionism and militarism, previously promoted by the central leadership's line of "strategic counteroffensive" and the Mindanao Commission's "Red Area-White Area" line. Other guerrilla fronts have decelerated the decline of their mass base. At the same time, new guerrilla fronts have arisen for the first time or reemerged from areas lost previously for more than five or even ten years.

To expand the mass base, the armed propaganda teams engage in a series of activities like utilizing contacts, conducting social investigation, forming people's organizing groups and appointing the barrio organizing committees. To consolidate the mass base, the armed propaganda teams form the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists; guide the representatives of mass organizations to elect the barrio revolutionary committees and form the working committees to undertake various functions of government; encourage mass campaigns and train the militia and the self-defense units.

The number and frequency of NPA tactical offensives are gradually increasing. For some time, the long-running damage on the mass base and consequently the stress on mass-base building in the rectification movement have tended to decelerate tactical offensives. But rebuilding the mass base is the prerequisite to launching tactical offensives that we can win and sustain. For this reason, the NPA has deliberately let the enemy forces punch the air in certain areas and at certain times. At the same time, the reactionary regime and bourgeois mass media have blacked out information about our successful tactical offensives in order to conjure the illusion that the revolutionary forces are waning.

An outstanding politico-military campaign waged by the NPA, which cannot be ignored by the reactionary press, is the implementation of the policy of the Party to ban logging for export in Mindanao and other areas. But generally, the reactionary press has ignored the NPA actions related to the suppression of bad elements in the course of expanding and consolidating the mass base and carrying out the land reform campaign.

In the urban areas, the legal democratic mass movement is surging forward. The mass organizations of workers, urban poor, women, youth, teachers, cultural workers, human rights activists, health workers and other sectors have revitalized and further strengthened themselves. Their multisectoral and sectoral alliances have launched mass campaigns along the national democratic line against the ruling system of the U.S.-Ramos regime.

Mass protest actions are expanding and intensifying. These take up the basic issues against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and the specific policies that aggravate the oppression and exploitation of the people. As in the revolutionary armed struggle, the tactics of the united front are employed in the legal democratic movement and are utilized in order to mobilize the broad masses of the people.

The patriotic and progressive forces are prepared to celebrate the centennial of the old democratic revolution of 1896 up to the revolutionary resistance against the U.S. war of aggression starting in 1899. They put the stress on the revolutionary essence of the old democratic revolution and its continuity with the anti-imperialist and antifeudal new-democratic revolution in opposition to the reactionary stress on June 12, 1898 proclamation of "independence" under the "noble protection" of the United States.

The economic and political crisis of the ruling system is so grave that any specific issue is likely to arise and galvanize the people into mass actions at any time. The outrage over the execution of Flor Contemplacion and the general plight of overseas Filipino workers have brought out hundreds of thousands of people to the streets in Metro Manila and other cities in order to condemn and isolate the U.S.-Ramos regime. The broad masses of the people in Metro Manila and more than twenty provincial cities have repeatedly conducted mass actions on such issues as the impositions of U.S.-controlled international agencies (IMF, World Bank and WTO), the repression and exploitation of the working people, the increase in taxes in the form of the expanded value-added tax, the rising price of fuel, the shortage of rice and other staple food and so on. The mass protest actions in Negros island have been outstanding.

There is an increasingly effective coordination between the urban and rural mass movement and the legal and illegal forms of struggle. From the urban-based legal mass movement the Party is generating a great number of advanced mass activists, developing an increasing number of them to become Party members and encouraging a significant number of the workers and educated youth to join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

The most important development in the legal democratic movement is that the Party cadres and mass activists are in the main working at the grassroots level and are engaged in solid mass organizing as the basis of mass campaigns. In turn, the mass campaigns serve to draw in the spontaneous masses for solid organizing.

The practice of absorbing the Party cadres and the most advanced mass activists in urban-based bureaucratic offices and becoming dependent on resources from above or from funding agencies has been vigorously criticized and repudiated. The legal democratic movement relies on the masses. The imperialists and local reactionaries are unwittingly aiding the revolutionary movement by financing and further corrupting their special anti-communist petty-bourgeois agents who are in turn being exposed as negative example and being driven off from local areas by the revolutionary forces.

The Party has deliberately reduced the existence and operations of armed city partisans in Metro Manila and some other cities to stress the need for the development of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and to prevent the revisionist renegades who have become enemy spies from jeopardizing their security. In the redeployment and operation of armed city partisans, they shall be directed by responsible command based in the countryside and priority shall be given to assignment of armed personnel who cannot be easily identified by the enemy. The Party has won a great organizational victory in the course of the rectification movement by upholding the principle of democratic centralism, combating bureaucratism and ultrademocracy, recruiting the Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists in the urban and rural mass movement and tempering the Party and the masses in revolutionary mass struggles.

The Party is solidly national in scale and is more than ever deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants. Both the legal mass movement and the armed revolutionary movement manifest and sustain the strength of the Party. The revolutionary mass activists augment the strength of the Party cadres and members.

The Party is determined to increase the proportion of Party members who are of worker and peasant status. This is in line with the revolutionary character of the Party. It is in response to a great need. The incorrigible opportunists and revisionists in the past sabotaged the Party's line of recruiting members mainly from the working people.

At the same time, there is a great need to attract the educated youth to the Party. An increasing number of them have joined the worker cadres in responding to the call for educated youth to serve in the people's army and do rural work. The Party is always open to individuals from the urban petty bourgeoisie who wish to remould themselves and become communists.

The Party has successfully streamlined the organization of its cadres and members and put them closer to the masses. Unnecessary layers of organization have been done away with. The leading organs of the Party outside Manila-Rizal are now required to closely link with the appropriate command of people's army. The Central Committee is redeploying Party cadres and resources from relatively strong Party organizations to those lagging behind or previously damaged by the long-running opportunist currents and wrecking operations of the revisionist renegades.

All the fourteen regional Party organizations are financially self-reliant and many of them can deliver a part of their surplus to the Central Committee for general purposes and for assisting the regional Party committees in two regions where the counterrevolutionary opportunists did some serious damage. In all regions, mass work is basically self-reliant and is laying down the basis for the revitalization and reinforcement of the cadre personnel and armed strength.

The Party has become far more healthy and strong after the removal of the handful of incorrigible revisionists, opportunists and renegades as well as the few centrists who maliciously muddled right and wrong and espoused the unity of proletarian revolutionaries with the renegades. These few anti-Party elements have exposed their counterrevolutionary character and have followed the path of anticommunism, treason and criminal degeneration.

They have formed one grouplet that is flagrantly Trotskyite and attached to reactionary politicians. Its armed gangsters have misappropriated the name, ABB and is engaged in extortion, union-busting, kidnap-for-ransom, killing for hire and intelligence work for the enemy. Another smaller grouplet also harps on anti-Stalinism and bourgeois democracy. It is directed by the principal criminals in Kampanyang Ahos and by enemy agents. Both grouplets are directed and manipulated by intelligence agencies of the U.S. and Manila governments and collaborate with earlier anticommunist petty bourgeois grouplets.

If the revisionist renegades and liquidationists had their way, the Party would have changed its character and disintegrated as in the case of many parties abroad. But the Party has been able to repel their malicious scheme and has used them as negative example in the course of the rectification movement. Unwittingly, they have helped the Party to reaffirm basic revolutionary principles and further strengthen all revolutionary forces.

Discipline and inner democracy are both flourishing within the Party. The summing-up and analysis of revolutionary experience and the concomitant comradely criticism and self-criticism lead to the definition of tasks to be carried out. Within the organs and units, the Party cadres and members begin their comradely discussions with the desire for unity, engage in the struggle of ideas on the basis of the facts and proceed to a new and higher level of revolutionary unity.

#### Taking Advantage of the Domestic Crisis

The new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war can take full advantage of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, especially because this crisis is further taking a downward course. The U.S.-Ramos regime is the instrument of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and is utterly subservient to the foreign monopolies both directly and through multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and the WTO. The ever worsening crisis of the ruling system is inextricably connected with the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Medium-Term Development Plan (Philippines 2000) of the U.S.-Ramos regime is not going to change the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy. So many parts of the country have been declared as industrial zones, yet no basic industries are being established. Only in a few enclaves are there some enterprises engaged in labor-intensive fringe-processing of semiconductors, garments, shoes, toys and the like for reexport.

Under the policy of import-liberalization, the earlier enterprises of repackaging and reassembling foreign manufactures for domestic consumption are in the process of being wiped out. In fact, in terms of output and employment, manufacturing is decreasing. As during the Marcos regime, there is a flurry of energy projects and infrastructure-building. But this is on a smaller scale despite the rapid deterioration of existing energy facilities and infrastructures during the last 15 years.

There is certainly no land reform. There is merely a proliferation of signboards, declaring certain areas as agrarian reform communities. In fact, the process of land concentration in the hands of the few has accelerated. The most exploitative forms of tenancy are rampant. In the frontier areas, the corporate, bureaucratic and military landgrabbers continue to forcibly deprive the poor and middle peasants and indigenous people of what is left of their land.

The current reactionary regime makes scarce pretense for land reform. It has confiscated or canceled a great number of the certificates of land transfer (CLTs) and emancipation patents distributed by previous regimes. It has encouraged landlords to convert their rice and corn lands into other types of crop land exempted from its bogus agrarian reform program.

The socioeconomic crisis is rapidly worsening. And yet the U.S.-Ramos regime is poised to claim a growth rate of more than 6 percent in the gross domestic product. This includes estimates of consumption, investment, government expenditures and exports as well as pure fabrications of production increases (including that in agricultural production despite the scandalous shortage and large importation of rice, sugar and fish). Agricultural production for domestic consumption and export and mineral ore production for export are the main productive activities of the Philippine economy. The industrial sector is import-dependent, consumption-driven and lacks a foundation in heavy and basic industries. The economic value of import-dependent and low-value added manufacturing is exaggerated. It employs less workers than the old import-substitution manufacturing, pays far lower wages and yields a low net export income.

Foreign trade and budgetary deficits are ever growing. The reactionary government continues to beg for foreign loans. Foreign debt is now admitted to be more than US\$40 billion. In the worsening of the financial crisis, the reactionary government has rapidly increased the tax burden on the people, local public borrowing and foreign borrowing. It has gone so far as to become dependent on the most speculative type of foreign capital and on the sale of state assets, including prime land, major enterprises and public utilities to the foreign monopolists.

The funds flow into the hands of foreign monopoly capitalists, big compradors, landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists at the expense of the working people and the middle social strata. At the expense of social services, like education and health, such coercive apparatuses of the state as the military, police and paramilitary forces also continue to enlarge their share of the reactionary government's annual budget.

The problem of unemployment is worsening and is concealed by the statistics of the reactionary government. In the system of random sampling, one who says that he has worked for one day is now considered employed for the entire year. The unemployed and underemployed are mostly classified as workers in "elementary forms" of occupation in the service sector. By overestimating the proportions of the service and industrial sectors, the reactionary government minimizes the share of the agricultural sector in terms of output and employment.

Some five to six million of the unemployed in the domestic economy have been exported as cheap labor. The foreign exchange income from this, now estimated at US\$6 to US\$7 billion, is officially regarded as a major component of the gross national product. The export of cheap labor has scored higher foreign exchange income than that of any of the fringe-processed reexports, agricultural crops or mineral ores. But nearly all of this income goes into consumption of the families of the migrant workers. The actual high inflation rate is cutting down the income of the people. Prices are rising fast due to the breakdown of production and the scarcity of rice and other basic goods, the rising cost of importing producer and consumer goods and the corporate and bureaucratic upward manipulation of fuel prices. There is no escape for anyone from the inflation and the expanded value-added tax built into the prices of all commodities.

The most serious and credible estimates of those who fall below the poverty line range from 75 to 80 percent. The impoverished have no way out of poverty and misery as the economy continues to deteriorate. The land frontier which traditionally absorbed the surplus labor has disappeared since the late '60s. Thus, there has been a large buildup of rural and urban odd-jobbers.

The U.S.-Ramos regime is intensifying exploitation and oppression through a deliberate policy of favoring the imperialists and local reactionaries and unleashing the military, police and paramilitary forces against the working people.

The workers are being forced to accept lower wage and living conditions. Unions are being busted. Strikes are banned and labor leaders and strikers are physically attacked and killed. Existing collective bargaining agreements are being violated on a wide scale. Foreign and domestic employers are encouraged to prevent unionization and relocate to so-called industrial zones where the "no-union, no-strike" policy is brazenly implemented. The shanties of workers, oddjobbers and other urban poor are often the target of military-police zoning operations and demolition campaigns.

In the countryside, brutal military campaigns are conducted, whether the people's army is there or not. The objective is to grab the land from the peasants and the ethnic communities. The land is grabbed for corporate farming, integrated forest management, mining concessions and so on. The enemy onslaughts include aerial bombardments, artillery fire, rifle fire and arson. In the course of these, the peasants and indigenous people become the victims of looting, torture, rape and massacre.

The barbarities of the U.S.-Ramos ruling clique can only incite more people to join the revolutionary armed struggle and to overthrow the entire ruling system. In the urban areas, the legal democratic movement is also surging forward to denounce the system and make demands for revolutionary change.

U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries have claimed that there is democratization after the fall of Marcos and the reestablishment of the pre-1972 reactionary institutions and processes. It was precisely after the fall of Marcos that military campaigns of suppression like Lambat Bitag I, II and III, far more brutal than any under the Marcos regime, were launched by the post-Marcos regimes. Fascism has persisted but has been camouflaged since the fall of Marcos.

General Fidel Ramos has been the chief puppet of U.S. imperialism, the chief representative of the local reactionaries and the pivot in the continuity of fascist repression, even under the figurehead presidency of Aquino. The joint class dictatorship of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class continues. The political descendants of the Marcos dictatorship are still colluding and competing in ruling the Philippines and have coopted or marginalized most of the anti-Marcos reactionaries.

It is clear that under the low-intensity conflict scheme of U.S. imperialism, the brutal military campaigns of suppression against the revolutionary movement have been complemented by psychological warfare. The most dangerous of this psywar is not the deployment of "special operation teams" (SOT) and death squads but the operations of those special ideological and political agents assigned to destroy the Party and revolutionary movement from within.

One set of these agents spread the line that after the fall of Marcos there is democratization, at first by the forces of "elite democracy" and then by those of "popular democracy" through a legal struggle for reforms. They have harped on the line that human rights violations are on a decline and that these are committed by both the counterrevolutionary and revolutionary forces. They claim all would be well if the revolutionary armed struggle were "de-emphasized" or stopped.

Another set of agents spread the line that the revolutionary forces had better win within a short period of time through urban insurrectionism and militarism and by securing foreign military assistance or else the armed revolution would stagnate, retrogress or become futile. They were awed by the enemy's strategic offensive and tactics of "gradual constriction". And yet they played into the hands of the enemy as they damaged the mass base, went into self-constriction and pushed the NPA units into a purely military situation.

The two sets of enemy agents have been directed by U.S. and Philippine psy-war agencies. This is well verified by the fact that the principal agents have sought to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within and have openly and shamelessly continued to engage in the grossest and most vicious type of anticommunist propaganda.

Unfortunately for these renegades and traitors, the Party has frustrated, exposed and repudiated them. They have chosen to openly betray and attack the Party at the time that General Ramos is president. In contrast, the revolutionary unity of the Party and the masses in political consciousness and militancy shines resplendently against the crisis-ridden and grievously factionalized ruling system.

Due to the worsening socioeconomic crisis, there is the worsening political crisis of the ruling system. The contradictions among the reactionaries are intensifying. Even as the reactionary factions unite against the people, they compete among themselves for political power and the spoils of office.

In the 1995 elections for legislative and local executive offices, the National Union of Christian Democrats (NUCD)-Laban and Lakas ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) united in order to beat their opponents. They even colluded in electoral cheating under Oplan Dagdag-Bawas. But soon after the elections, the leaders of both political formations betrayed each other.

Ramos of NUCD-Laban engineered the ouster of Sen. Edgardo Angara of LDP as Senate President in order to pave the way for legislative actions aimed at realizing the autocratic ambitions of Ramos. Ramos wishes to amend the 1987 constitution in order to extend his rule as president beyond the limit of six years and eliminate certain guarantees formally provided by the bill of rights of said constitution.

Aside from pushing for constitutional amendments that may be made by a congress acting as a constituent assembly, the Ramos regime is pushing the so-called Antiterrorism Bill, which is far more antidemocratic and repressive than the Antisubversion Law. It seeks to curtail the freedom of expression, regard publications against the regime as criminal, restore the death penalty for political offenses and seize the properties of those accused of terrorism. Ramos is hellbent on accumulating emergency powers without having to declare martial law. He used the fuel crisis in the past to get the emergency power allowing him to dispense with the public bidding for contracts with state corporations and to enrich himself through secret negotiations with big business. He has encouraged the worst of business practices and he seeks emergency powers under the guise of trying to control such practices. But in fact his objective is to suppress workers' rights. He has also allowed the criminal syndicates to flourish under the direction of police and military officers. And yet he is poised to use the issue of rampant criminality to justify emergency power and the suspension of democratic rights.

At the beginning of his presidential term, Ramos appointed Vice-President Joseph Estrada as chairman of the Presidential Anti-Crime Commission (PACC) in order to make him responsible for an impossible task, coopt him and choose the time and method for eliminating him as a political rival. The most brazen criminal syndicates are run by the reactionary military and police officers, including those in the PACC. Military and police officers also handle the criminal gangs headed by Conrado Balweg, Filemon Lagman, Arturo Tabara and "businessman" Romulo Kintanar.

While the most outrageous crimes of murder, robbery and kidnapping outrage the entire nation, both Ramos and Estrada cover up the responsibility of military and police officers and at the same time they maneuver and countermaneuver as they blame each other for the failure to solve the crime problem. The generals who were flagrantly involved in the massacre of the Kuratong Baleleng gang and the disappearance of the loot have been exculpated.

As social turmoil is raging, Ramos wishes to misrepresent himself as desirous of peace and stability. Upon the prompting of U.S. imperialism, he has sought to reconcile with anti-Ramos factions in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, like the ones bearing the names Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP) and Young Officers' Union (YOU).

The reconciliation among factions of the same counterrevolutionary force is carried out under the long running "Armacost formula" for reuniting the AFP after the split necessitated by the overthrow of Marcos. But more significant than the so-called general peace agreement, which condones and amnesties the criminal responsibilities of the coup plotters, is the defection of Brig. Gen. Raymundo Jarque to the NDF and NPA by way of exposing the rottenness of the reactionary state and the continuing tendency of the AFP to disintegrate.

The Ramos regime is also drumming up its peace negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front. So far, there has been no settlement because such make-or-break questions as the process of composing a provisional autonomous government, integration of armed forces, sharing of tax revenues and the like remain unresolved.

In case the MNLF completely capitulates to the Ramos regime, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and such groups as those of Abu Sayyaf are poised to seize the initiative to fight the Manila government. The MILF is now reputed to be better armed and better organized than the MNLF. The Manila government has shifted 20,000 troops to the areas of the Moro people in reaction to the MILF show of strength and in anticipation of the MNLF refusing to follow the baton of the U.S.-Ramos regime.

The peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front and the Manila government formally opened in Brussels last June 26, with the Belgian government as host. But these have been unilaterally suspended by the Manila government after violating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees by continuing to detain NDF consultant Sotero Llamas. The broad masses of the people see clearly the unjust and unreasonable position of the Manila government. the NDF is fully justified in letting the talks remain unresumed.

So as not to create false illusions and confuse the people, the NDF and the revolutionary forces which it represents have always made it clear that they resolutely pursue the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against the imperialists and the local reactionaries and that the peace negotiations are but one more form of legal struggle that is subordinate to the revolutionary armed struggle and to the legal mass movement.

It is only in one respect that the peace negotiations conducted by the NDF negotiating panel is superior to other forms of legal struggle: that these allow the revolutionary forces and organs of political power to face up to the Manila government as an equal across the table under international norms and to accumulate points for the international recognition of the status of belligerency of the revolutionary movement under the laws of war.

Irrespective of the progress of the peace negotiations or the lack of it, the revolutionary forces and the people are building a new revolutionary state in more and more areas in the countryside to supplant the old reactionary state even as this is still entrenched in the cities. The revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement against the U.S.-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system must ceaselessly progress.

So long as social conditions remain semicolonial and semifeudal there is fertile ground for the protracted people's war along the general line of the national democratic revolution. The need for people's war is more urgent because of the ceaseless anticommunist military onslaughts in the countryside and the repressive policy and measures being taken against the people in both urban and rural areas.

Had it not been for the "Left" and Right opportunist errors for so long, the armed revolutionary movement would have made solidly founded and steady advances. However, even defense secretary General Renato de Villa has had to admit before a senate committee hearing in July 1995 that the NPA has recovered many areas in the countryside since 1993 as a result of the rectification movement.

In the long past, not even the relatively more stable position of the ruling system before 1972, the persistence of U.S. military bases and heavy doses of military aid, the Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1972-86 and colossal amounts of foreign loans could deter or cause the defeat of the self-reliant revolutionary movement.

The position of the domestic ruling system is far more unstable and weak than ever before. It is beset by a crisis arising from its distinct nature and from its dependence on the world capitalist system which is also stricken by crisis. The imperialists are preoccupied by domestic, regional and global problems.

Foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism themselves weaken the domestic ruling system to the core. The broad masses of the people resist the intensifying exploitation and oppression. The pouring of more billions of pesos into the coercive apparatuses of the state serves only to further weaken the system.

The reactionary military and police remain factionalized and are plunging into a vortex of corruption and criminality. The armed movements for self-determination of the Moro people are now larger than ever before. Most important of all, the

rectification movement has made the New People's Army and other revolutionary forces led by the CPP more consolidated and stronger for protracted people's war. The subjective forces of the revolution are in a good position to take full advantage of the favorable objective conditions.

## Taking Advantage of the World Disorder

The new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines can take full advantage of the ever-worsening crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder raging on an ever widening scale in the wake of the end of the cold war between U.S. imperialism and the now defunct Soviet social-imperialism.

The objective conditions in the world tend to favor the waging of the protracted people's war in the Philippines. So desperate is the U.S.-Ramos regime about the crisis of the domestic ruling system that it readily welcomed the U.S. demand for "access rights" of U.S. military forces in the Philippines and is now maneuvering to pave the way for the return of the U.S. military bases by making provocations in the Spratly island group and drumming up China as the threat to the Philippines and the ASEAN region.

The U.S. and other imperialists are preoccupied with worsening domestic problems, with the growing contradictions among them and with various civil wars and other armed conflicts flaring up simultaneously in the world. Rather than the self-reliant armed revolutionary movement, it is the domestic ruling system that is in dire straits because of its constant dependence on foreign military and other assistance from the imperialists.

The concentration and centralization of capital by the supermonopolies are proceeding at an unprecedentedly high speed. Under the cover of the slogans of privatization and corporate retooling, the supermonopolies are using state monopoly capitalism and high technology to accelerate the concentration and centralization of capital in their hands.

The result is massive destruction of productive forces in entire national economies. These include the economies of industrial capitalist countries, those of the former revisionist-ruled countries and those of the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The much-touted East Asian economies, engaged in low-wage sweatshop production for export, are adversely affected by the current crisis in the industrial capitalist countries which are their principal markets.

Social turmoil is on an unprecedentedly wide scale. Civil wars and other types of armed conflict have been raging in Europe, particularly in the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia, and the former Soviet Union, as in Chechnya, in Central Asia, in South Asia, in East Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. Well-organized and spontaneous mass protests are intensifying and spreading in the industrial capitalist countries and elsewhere in the world.

The national economies of all the industrial capitalist countries have plunged to a new level of stagnation and are expected to stagnate further in the forthcoming year. The centers of world capitalism, the United States, Japan and the European Union are currently registering growth rates lower than those of last year (1994). As usual, the downward growth rates are bloated by the most nonproductive accounts in the service sector. The lesser industrial capitalist countries are falling deeper into a state of depression.

The United States is straining to retain its position as the economic and military leader of the world capitalist system. As it tries to solve its colossal debt and deficit problems without drastically reducing military expenditures, it does so at the expense of domestic social programs and causes social unrest among the workers, the people of color, women, youth and pensioners. The high-tech retooling of the industries is killing jobs, causing large inventories of unsold goods and forcing losing firms into bankruptcy, mergers and sellout. And yet the unemployed are misrepresented as parasites unwilling to work and feeding on social welfare. As in the rest of the industrial capitalist countries, the migrant workers are blamed for taking jobs away from the local workers.

The United States is upsetting the balance of its relations with other capitalist powers as it tries to reverse its industrial decline, improve its export competitiveness and spread the burden of expenditures in security alliances and military "peacekeeping" operations, in furtherance of its hegemonic schemes. At the same time, it unites with its imperialist allies in utilizing the U.S.-led international agencies (U.N., IMF, World Bank, WTO, OECD, G-7, etc.) to exploit and oppress the proletariat and people of the world.

The United States is consolidating its own national market and its nearest

regional markets, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the whole of Latin America. These threaten to undercut in the U.S. market the export-oriented economies in East Asia. At the same time, the United States is pushing its exports everywhere in the world. It has spearheaded the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum to further ensure that the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) stay within U.S. control and preempt the Japan-instigated East Asia Economic Cooperation (EAEC) proposed by Malaysia. It leaps over its West European trade rivals in dumping goods in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The United States has used the devaluation of the dollar as weapon for promoting its exports and putting Japan and the European Union at a disadvan tage. At the same time, it has maneuvered itself into taking the main burden and risks -- in the name of NATO, instead of the U.N.-- in Bosnia and picking up seemingly advantageous bilateral security agreements with as many as six states, including some successor states of the former Yugoslavia and former Warsaw Pact members, Hungary and Rumania, as "partners for peace". The Russian contingent is under the command of the NATO and in effect the United States.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and the United Nations, it is appropriate to observe that Japan and Germany have won in economic terms through the cold war and through the U.N. what they failed to win by aggression in World War II. However, after 50 years of overconsumption and footing the military bill, the United States is trying to revive its industrial production for export and spread the costs of policing the world in the interest of monopoly capitalism.

Like the United States, Japan and Germany are trying to consolidate their national and regional markets and are utilizing very much the same strategy and tactics to solve the domestic problems of monopoly capitalism at the expense of the proletariat and in favor of their supermonopolies. They are taking advantage of the U.S. need for sharing the military burden by strengthening their own military forces and demanding permanent seats in the U.S. security council.

Japan has not reversed its downward course since the burst of its economic bubble in 1991. In so short a time, it is moving into heavy public borrowing to revive its economy. But what remains most apparent problem is the abuse of the private banks long plagued by bad debts. Germany is still under the obvious strain of rising taxes and other costs of reunification. The industries of West Germany previously found some relief by dumping surplus goods into East Germany and farther East. But plant closures and unemployment in East Germany and the unceaseing economic deterioration of the former Soviet-bloc countries have limited the market for German surplus goods.

As in the United States, the fundamental problem in Japan and the European Union is the rapidly rising organic composition of capital and the disemployment of workers. This is exacerbated by shifting labor-intensive processes to countries where labor is far cheaper and importing what is more cheaply produced there. The shift of certain processes to other countries does not result in their development nor solve unemployment there.

In all the industrial capitalist countries, the thrust of state monopoly capitalism is to deliver to the private supermonopolies the profitable state enterprises, bloated contracts, bailouts, tax breaks, subsidies, guarantees for investments and exports and so on. At the same time, social programs are cut back for the benefit of big business in the attempt to cut down budgetary deficits. The tax burden is increasingly imposed on the working people, while unemployment is rising in the general trend of adopting high technology and raising the organic composition of capital.

The political parties of the big bourgeoisie are discredited, especially by corruption scandals and their failure to solve the economic and social crisis. To obscure its responsibility for the rapidly rising organic composition of capital and for the resultant crisis, the big bourgeoisie is whipping up nationalism, neofascism and racism and is spreading the lie that migrant workers and low-wage countries are taking away jobs from the workers of the industrial capitalist countries.

The proletariat and people in the industrial capitalist countries have scarcely begun to fight back against the monopoly bourgeoisie. There is yet no single revolutionary party of the proletariat politically and organizationally strong enough to challenge the capitalist ruling system anywhere. Unionization of workers has either decreased or has been coopted by the big bourgeoisie over the decades. So far, the general strikes in France, combining the workers, students and other people this December, are the most telling protest action against the capitalist ruling system.

The biggest destruction of productive forces in the last five years is seen in

the successor states of the former revisionist-ruled countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The flagrant privatization of state assets has aggravated the state of depression which has run since the latter half of the '70s. In many enterprises, production has either been stopped or has plummeted. Unemployment runs rampant. The impoverishment of the people has been scandalously drastic. Even the average lifespan in the former Soviet Union has plummeted from 65 to 57 years.

The breakdown of the economies makes even Soviet neocolonialism and prolonged depression in the Brezhnev period look good. The continuing economic deterioration is due to unrestrained rapacity of an extremely criminal new bourgeoisie long nurtured by monopoly bureaucrat capitalism since 1956. The monopoly bourgeoisie have legitimized their accumulated private assets, accelerated further privatization of the most profitable state assets and welcomed the dumping of the surplus consumer goods from the West.

The inflow of investments from the West is highly selective, limited and intended to dominate the market. Even the highly speculative portfolio investments from the West have been scared off by the arbitrariness and deceptiveness of the new monopoly bourgeoisie and the rapid impoverishment of the people. At any rate, the foreign exchange inflow from this type of investments is used by the bankrupt government for importing consumer goods.

Many of the former revisionist-ruled countries entirely or partly have retrogressed to third world socioeconomic conditions. Conditions of civil war and criminal warfare are seething among the bureaucratic cliques. The blatant anticommunist regimes have been discredited in so short a time. The revisionist renegades are making a comeback with an admixture of social-democratic, neoliberal and nationalist slogans. Even then, the conditions are ever worsening and are conducive to the rise of bourgeois nationalism and military fascism. The same objective conditions are conducive to the reemergence of proletarian revolutionary parties. But these parties have to reckon with decades of revisionist deception and the current powerful forces of capitalism.

The overwhelming majority of the nation states in Asia, Africa and Latin America remain grossly underdeveloped, agrarian and raw-material producing. They are still the worst victims of imperialism and neocolonialism. Since the '70s, they have suffered from the overproduction of raw materials, economic depression, massive unemployment, deteriorating terms of trade, mounting debt burden and a growing net outflow of capital. The overwhelming majority of the population is peasant and impoverished. Even in such large countries as China, India and Brazil, which have acquired either an industrial foundation or some heavy and basic industries, there is a large population of peasants and rural odd-jobbers in the hinterlands.

In the last 50 years, the workings of imperialism have kept most third world countries backward and have de-industrialized some. The imperialists [These] have allowed only a few economies (like those of Taiwan, South Korea and Brazil) to develop from an agrarian character and acquire an industrial foundation or a significant amount of basic industries. More countries have acquired an industrial foundation or basic industries due to socialism (China, North Korea and the like) principally and due to bourgeois nationalism (India, Egypt and the like) secondarily. The industrialization of eight or so countries in Asia and Latin America since World War II does not mean the industrialization of the rest of the more than 150 third world countries whose economies remain backward.

Countries dependent on raw-material production for export have been ruined since the '70s due to the overproduction of raw materials induced by large amounts of foreign loans for their production and infrastructure. After oil production went in full swing in the North Atlantic, even the OPEC lost much of its bargaining power with the industrial capitalist countries and even the Soviet Union could no longer get enough from its oil exports to finance its new monopoly bourgeoisie, its arms race and the vestiges of social welfare.

The socioeconomic conditions of the third world countries limited to raw-material production for export have continuously deteriorated. The fall of export incomes and the adoption of austerity measures have generated widespread political turbulence, including civil wars and coups and counter-coups between rival bureaucratic cliques. The imperialists and the corrupt bureaucratic cliques use bourgeois nationalism and ethnic, racial and religious differences to mislead the masses and keep them from taking the revolutionary road.

Outside the major industrial capitalist countries, the top 10 percent of the population in lesser capitalist countries and the thin upper crust of third world countries are the market for cars, the latest consumer electronic consumer products and other new glossy articles of consumption. But such a market is already being saturated and the potential market farther afield is constricted by the bitter consequences of the current crisis of overproduction, by the earlier

crisis of overproduction in raw materials, by the overextended abuses of state monopoly capitalism, finance capital and neocolonialism and, of course, by the rising level of underutilized productive capacity and global unemployment.

For quite sometime already, the supermonopolies have been rapidly destroying productive forces and de-industrializing the overwhelming majority of countries in the world. It is not correct to say that imperialism has industrialized the entire world and has made the proletariat the biggest class in all or most of the third world countries. Such a notion is factually false, counterrevolutionary and even racist, especially when the oppressed nations and peoples are blamed as taking jobs away from the workers in the industrial capitalist countries. The Philippine situation is typical rather than unique relative to the general run of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in terms of the socioeconomic and political depredations of imperialism and local reaction.

In the wake of tighter integration in the world capitalist system, such huge countries as China and India, which owe their industrial base or heavy and basic industries either to socialism or bourgeois nationalism have been subjected to lopsided investments, compradorization and refeudalization. The majority of the people who are in the hinterlands of these countries are in far worse conditions of oppression and exploitation than before the unabashed integration into the world capitalist system. Even the export-oriented sweatshop manufacturing in China's coastal provinces and in the other East Asian economies is now threatened with reduced orders from the industrial capitalist countries.

The porfolio funds from the imperialist countries which have financed high consumption and covered budgetary and trade deficits in East Asia and Latin America since 1983 have flown back to the industrial capitalist countries since the mid-1994 and the collapse of the Mexican peso in 1994, respectively. Those countries, dependent on this revolving type of investments and much ballyhooed as "emergent markets", are left with serious damage to their economies and with a foreign debt that has been enlarged faster by the sale of public securities than by the official and commercial loans before 1982. The flight of the speculative capital back to the industrial capitalist countries have aggravated the overconcentration of capital in these countries.

Lenin's critique of modern imperialism and theory of uneven development remains valid. Neither Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism, the fallacies of "post-industrial society" nor Immanuel Wallerstein's world system has rendered Lenin outdated. The world is still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. So far, socialism has never prevailed over capitalism on a global scale. Worse, the revisionist ruling cliques have betrayed socialism since 1956 and thrown away the revolutionary advances made by the proletariat and the people in the first and second stages in the general crisis of capitalism, which resulted in World Wars I and II but which respectively brought about the first socialist state and then several socialist states.

Even as the global victory of socialism over capitalism -- foretold by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 as the main fruit of what was conceived to be the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism -- has not materialized as a result of revisionist betrayal, the crisis of overproduction of the world capitalist system has aggravated and deepened from the level of relatively mild recessions in the '50s and '60s to the increasingly more severe ones since the '70s, which have resulted in higher and long-lasting levels of unemployment and steady reduction of real income from the proletariat.

From the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe to the 1995 celebration of the victories of the Allied Powers, the U.S. and other imperialist countries have spoken of socialism as the worst plague that has ever afflicted mankind as if monopoly capitalism were not the one that has unleashed World Wars I and II as well as countless acts of bloody wars of aggression and intervention in the course of the cold war.

The the world has moved into the worst period of the chronic crisis of moribund capitalism since the end of World war II and imperialism is in the process of unleashing horrors on the people worse than those during the cold war. But the death of capitalism anywhere in the world can only be effected by the revolutionary forces of the people led by the proletariat and by its party. To make revolution, the party of the proletariat makes concrete analysis of concrete conditions in the world and the country where it is based.

The Communist Party of the Philippines regards it as an internationalist duty to wage the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It is thus that the Party and the Filipino people are among those currently at the forefront of the global anti-imperialist struggle for socialism. They are eagerly awaiting and encouraging the proletariat and people of the world to raise to a new and higher level their revolutionary consciousness and struggle in their respective countries. The Party cadres and members who are assigned to international work and who are either based at home or abroad are guided by proletarian internationalism in accordance with the principles of independence, equality, mutual benefit and cooperation in developing relations with communist and workers' parties and revolutionary movements. They develop relations on the basis of varying scales of mutual understanding in ideology and politics. They encourage Filipino compatriots abroad to organize themselves and to participate in and support the Philippine revolution as well as the workers' struggle in the host country.

In bilateral relations with parties and organizations abroad, the Party engages in exchange of ideas and experience. It attends multilateral forums and seminars for the purpose of discussing ideological and international issues, seeking to develop mutual understanding through consensus and striving to rebuild the international communist movement as well as strengthening further anti-imperialist solidarity.

We uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and therefore criticize modern revisionism and capitalist restoration. But at the same time, we are for developing the anti-imperialist united front in order to take advantage of the growing contradictions between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalist countries and in the entire world, between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the old and the new capitalist countries and among the imperialists.

Our Party supports and cooperates with the countries, nations, peoples, parties and movements to the extent that they stand up against the oppressive and exploitative practices of the imperialist states. We recognize the distinction and dialectics between the ideological integrity of the CPP as a Marxist-Leninist party and the necessary political practice of anti-imperialist solidarity. The proletarian revolutionaries must link up with the majority of the people in the world who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism.

### Our Tasks

In conclusion, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines urges all the Party cadres and members to unite more than ever before and raise ever higher the revolutionary capabilities of the Party and the people in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, carry the rectification movement through to the end and accomplish the tasks for 1996 as laid down by the July 1995 assessment.

Let us further strengthen the Party ideologically. Let us integrate the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete conditions of our country and with our concrete revolutionary practice. Let us repudiate revisionism and subjectivism. Let us use the rectification movement to enliven and revitalize our ideological study and work.

Even if we have already carried out rectification in our respective Party organs and units, let us continue to deepen the summing-up and analysis of our long experience and current work, engage in comradely criticism and self-criticism and clarify to ourselves our general and specific tasks. Let us relentlessly trace, identify, criticize and repudiate the erroneous ideological currents coming from higher levels as well as those arising from our own level of work.

Let us use the rectification documents to enliven and enrich our formal Party study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels. Let us accelerate the holding of these courses and the concomitant the translation, reproduction and distribution of the study materials. Let us pay serious attention to Party education among our cadres and members from the ranks of the workers and peasants. All Party organs, units and individual Party members are encouraged to read and study these materials in accordance with the course outlines and syllabi ahead of the formal study courses.

We must forge ahead in criticizing and repudiating the counterrevolutionary ideas masquerading as progressive and emanating from the outside. We must counter the ideological offensive of the imperialists. In the international communist movement, let us continue to be guided by proletarian internationalism and stand for socialism against modern revisionism.

Let us further strengthen the Party politically. Let us continue to heighten and sharpen our understanding of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. Let us conduct social research and investigation and wage the revolutionary struggle accordingly.

We must resolutely and militantly wage the revolutionary struggle against the

U.S.-Ramos regime and the entire ruling system. The Party must lead the people in resisting the ever escalating oppression and exploitation. We must take advantage of the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

Revolutionary politics must be in command of all our work. We must pursue the revolutionary class line and the mass line. The Party must lead the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle and must develop the united front in order to broaden participation in the armed struggle and the legal mass movement.

In the current phase of the strategic defensive stage of our protracted people's war, let us carry out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base. Let us expand and consolidate our mass base. Let us continue to integrate the armed struggle, land reform and mass base building and develop all these stage by stage.

Let us carry out the legal democratic mass movement more resolutely and more vigorously than ever before. Let us continue to expose and condemn the greedy and brutal depredations on the people by foreign monopoly capitalists and the local reactionaries. Let us continue to raise the people's basic demands for national liberation and democracy. We must engage in solid mass organizing as the basis of mass campaigns. In turn the mass campaigns must lead to solid mass organizing through painstaking mass work.

Let us strengthen the Party organizationally. Under the principle of democratic centralism. let strengthen unity in accordance with us our Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of the new-democratic revolution. Under the principle of democratic centralism, let us promote discipline and inner democracy. We must recognize the uneven development of our Party members and from this recognition help each other to raise our revolutionary consciousness and capabilities and our general level of development continually.

We must promptly recruit Party candidate-members from the ranks of the advanced revolutionary mass activists and promptly raise them to full Party membership. Let us fulfill the target of recruiting 10,000 new Party members before the end of 1996.

In the process, let us raise the proportion of Party members from the ranks of the working class and peasantry. Let us also continue to recruit more Party members from the ranks of the educated youth. We must deploy to the countryside more Party members and candidate-members from the ranks of the workers and educated youth.

We must promote self-reliance among all the regional Party organizations and in the entire revolutionary movement. At the same time, the Central Committee must draw personnel and resources from relatively stronger regional Party organizations to strengthen the Party organizations which are relatively weaker or are under intense enemy onslaught.

We are confident that at the end of the forthcoming year, we shall have won greater victories in the ideological, political and organizational fields in order to reach a new and higher level of allround development in our revolutionary struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!