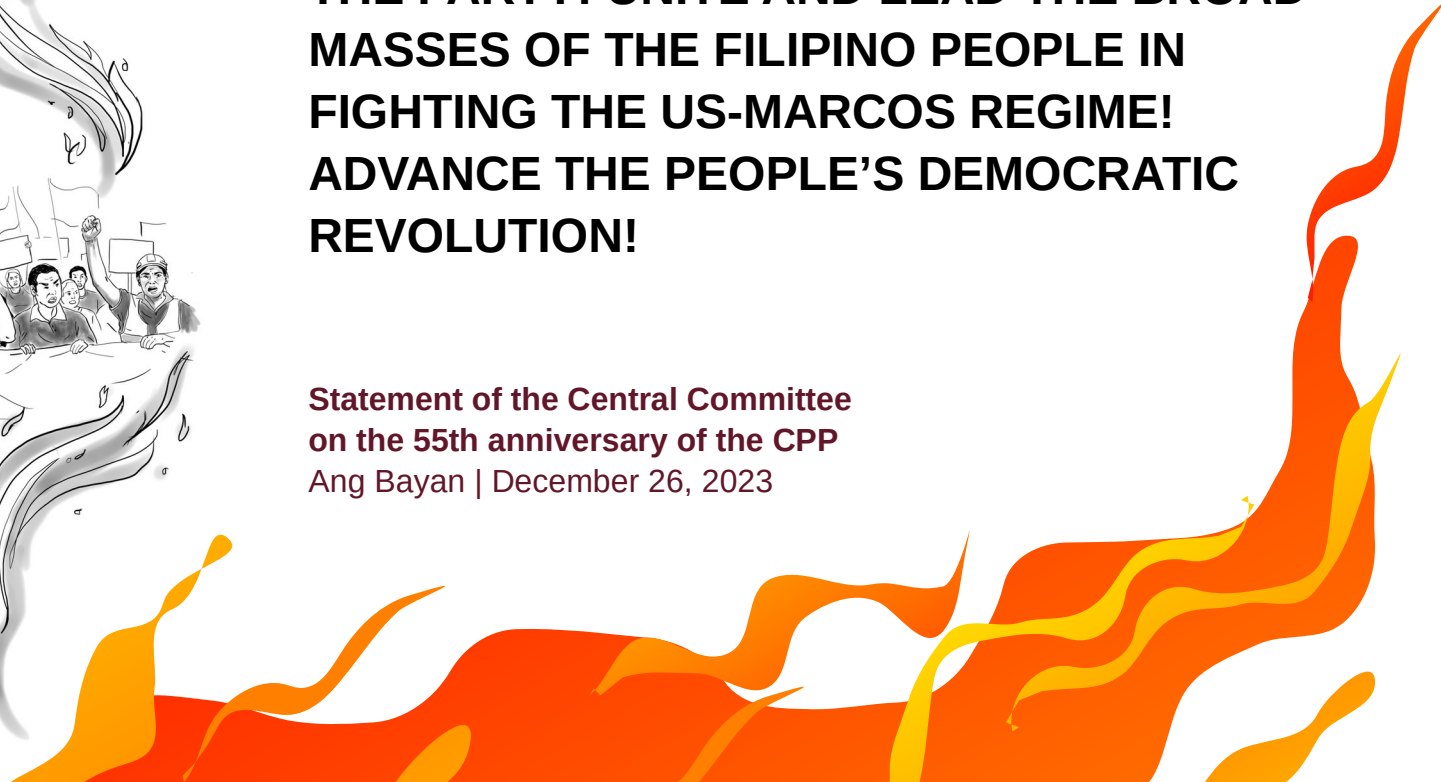


## DISCUSSION GUIDE

**RECTIFY ERRORS AND STRENGTHEN  
THE PARTY! UNITE AND LEAD THE BROAD  
MASSES OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE IN  
FIGHTING THE US-MARCOS REGIME!  
ADVANCE THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC  
REVOLUTION!**

**Statement of the Central Committee  
on the 55th anniversary of the CPP**  
Ang Bayan | December 26, 2023

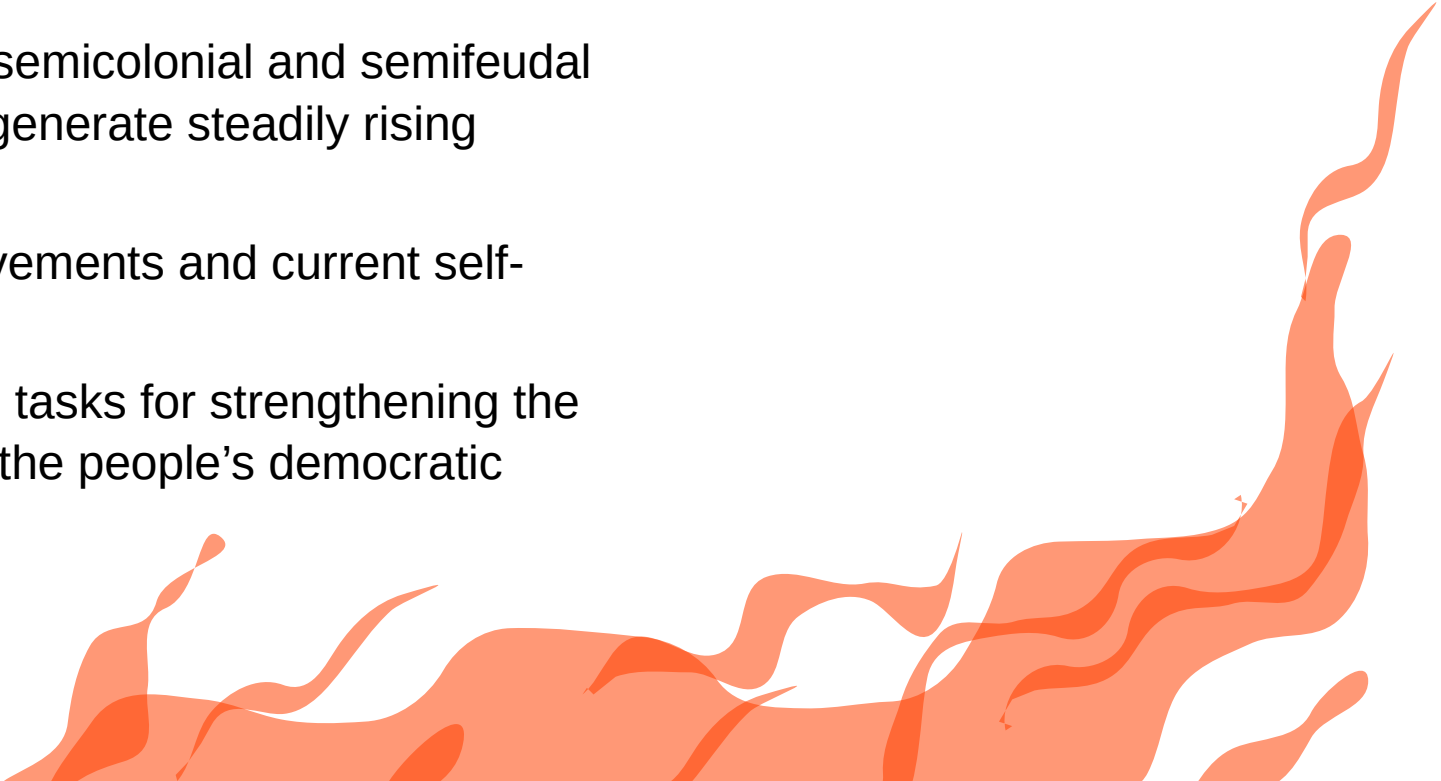


**While the Party celebrates its achievements, it is critically aware of its errors, weaknesses and shortcomings in the ideological, political and organizational fields which have persisted through many years.**

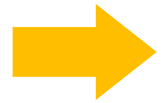


## Outline:

### Introduction

- I. Imperialist crisis leading to deteriorating conditions and wars
  - II. Acute crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to generate steadily rising resistance
  - III. The Party's achievements and current self-critical assessment
  - IV. Urgent and critical tasks for strengthening the Party and advancing the people's democratic revolution
- 

Primary task



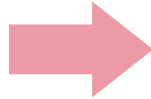
**Carry out the rectification movement  
to strengthen the Party!**



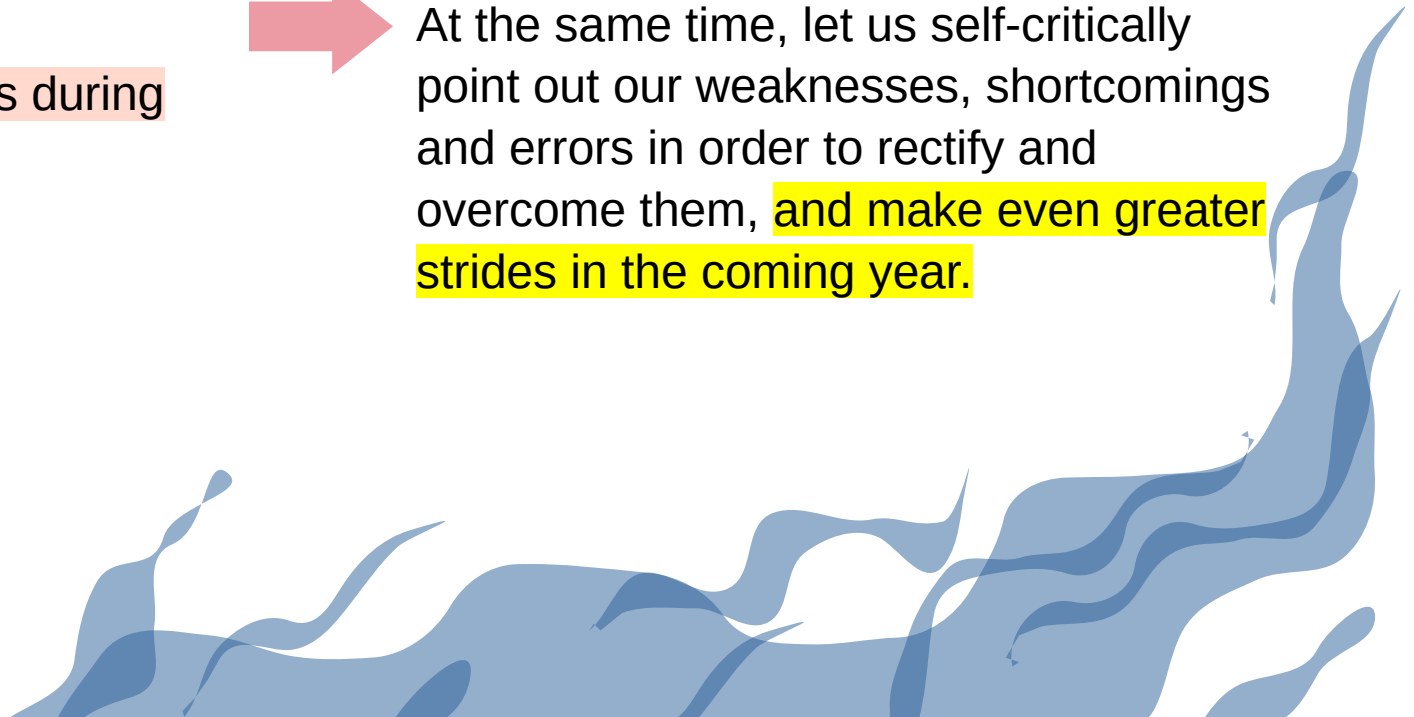
# INTRODUCTION

1

Celebrate the achievements  
of the Party and all  
revolutionary forces during  
the past year

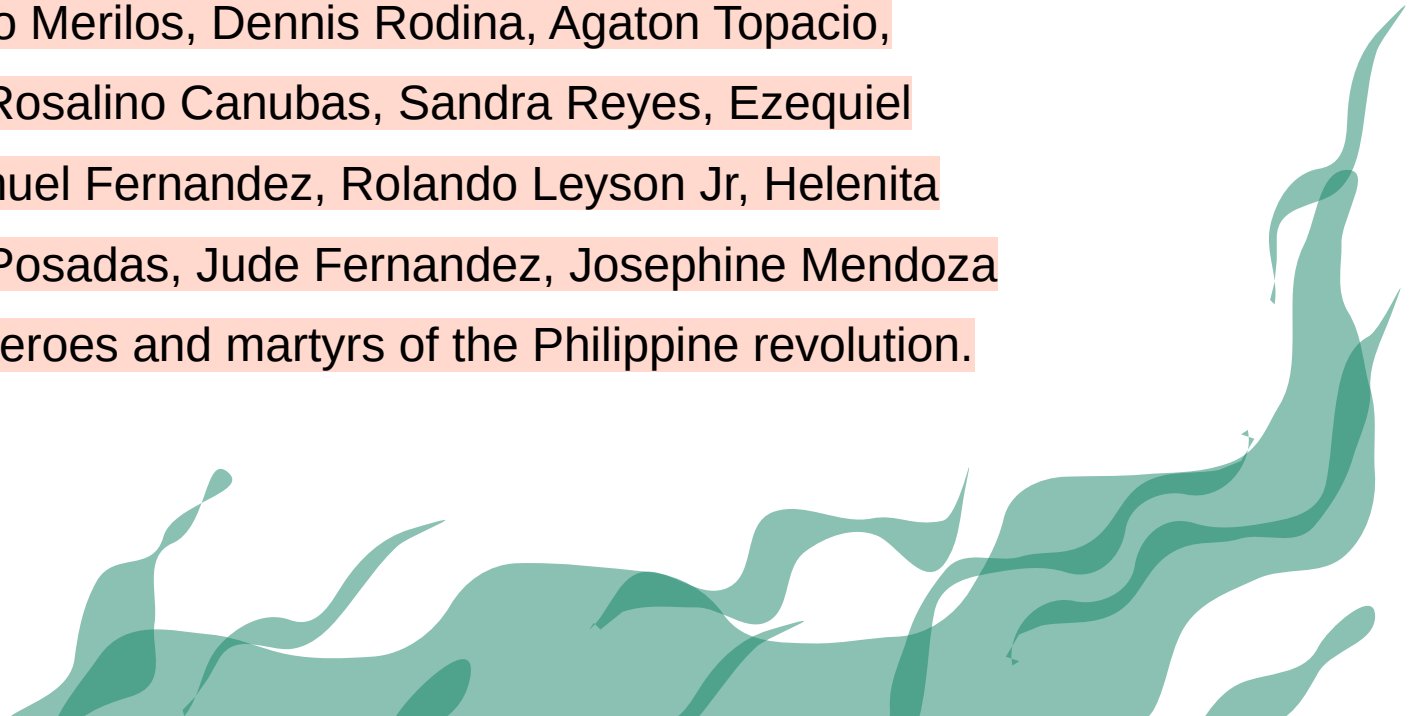


At the same time, let us self-critically  
point out our weaknesses, shortcomings  
and errors in order to rectify and  
overcome them, and make even greater  
strides in the coming year.



2

Let us pay tribute to Ka Jose Maria Sison, Benito Tiamzon, Wilma Tiamzon, Julius Giron, Mariano Adlao, Jorge Madlos, Menandro Villanueva, Antonio Cabanatan, Dionisio Micabalo, Eugenia Magpantay, Alfredo Merilos, Dennis Rodina, Agaton Topacio, Randall Echanis, Rosalino Canubas, Sandra Reyes, Ezequiel Daguman, Emmanuel Fernandez, Rolando Leyson Jr, Helenita Pardalis, Rogelio Posadas, Jude Fernandez, Josephine Mendoza and all the many heroes and martyrs of the Philippine revolution.



3

greetings to the thousands of young cadres who joined the ranks of the Party during the past few years, and who are injecting immense energy to our protracted struggle



4

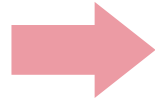
solidarity with all anti-imperialist,  
progressive and democratic forces  
around the globe



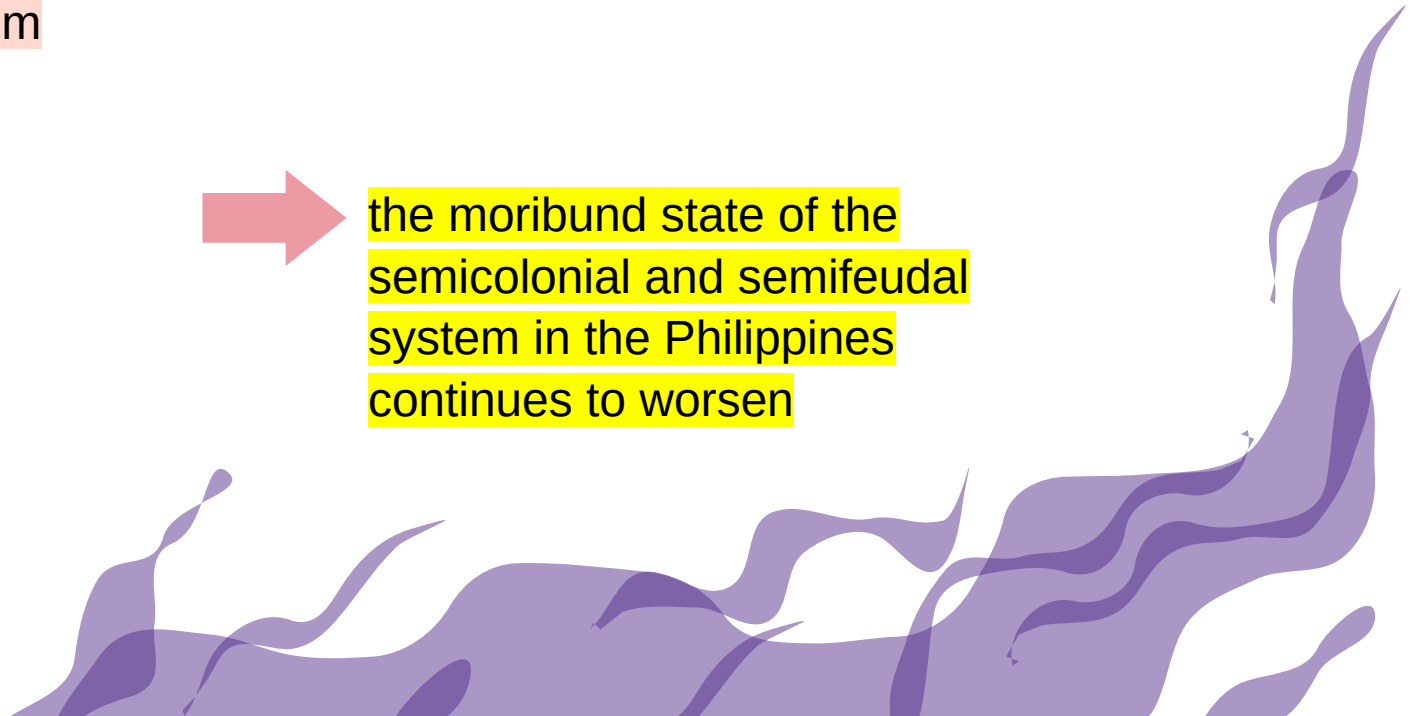


5

continuing crisis of the global capitalist  
system, worsening forms of  
oppression and exploitation of  
monopoly capitalism

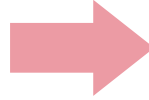


the moribund state of the  
semicolonial and semifeudal  
system in the Philippines  
continues to worsen



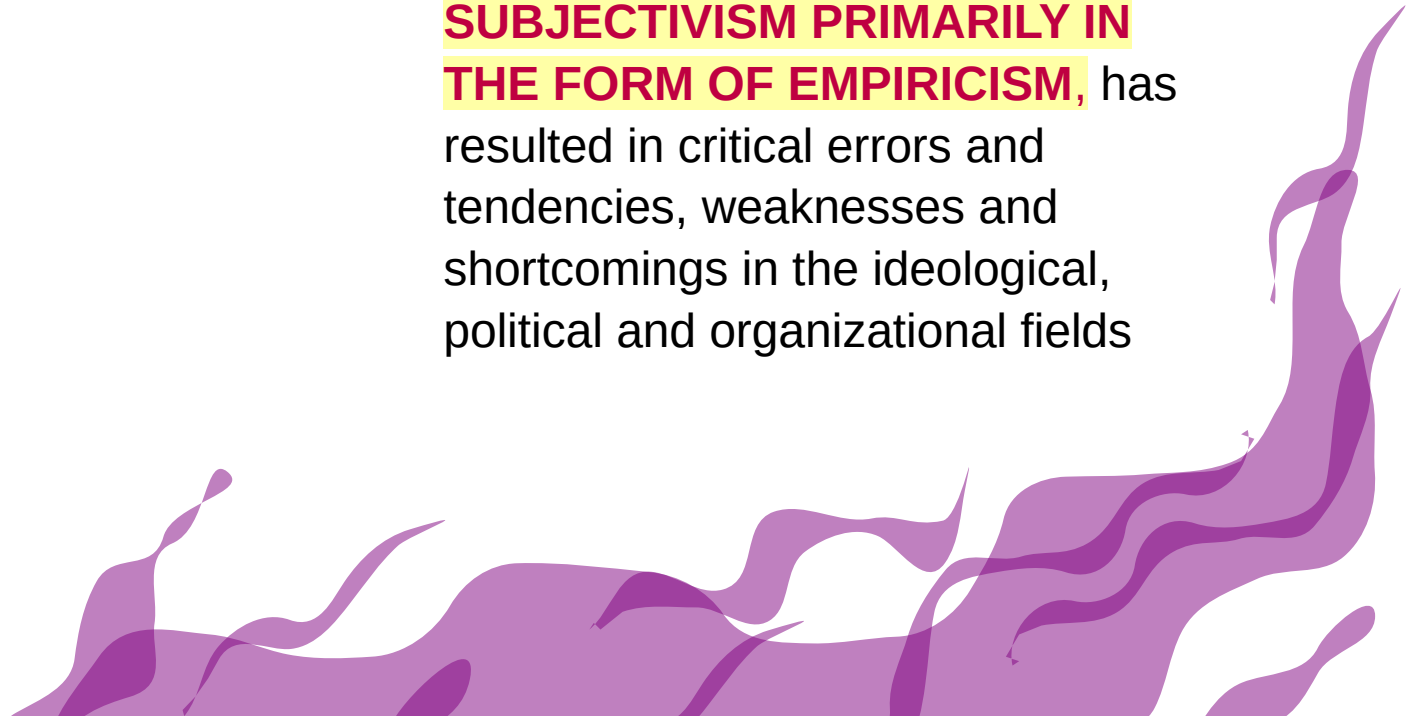
6

The CPP is determined to lead the workers and broad masses of the Filipino people.



while the Party builds on all its revolutionary accomplishments, it also recognizes that

**SUBJECTIVISM PRIMARILY IN THE FORM OF EMPIRICISM,** has resulted in critical errors and tendencies, weaknesses and shortcomings in the ideological, political and organizational fields





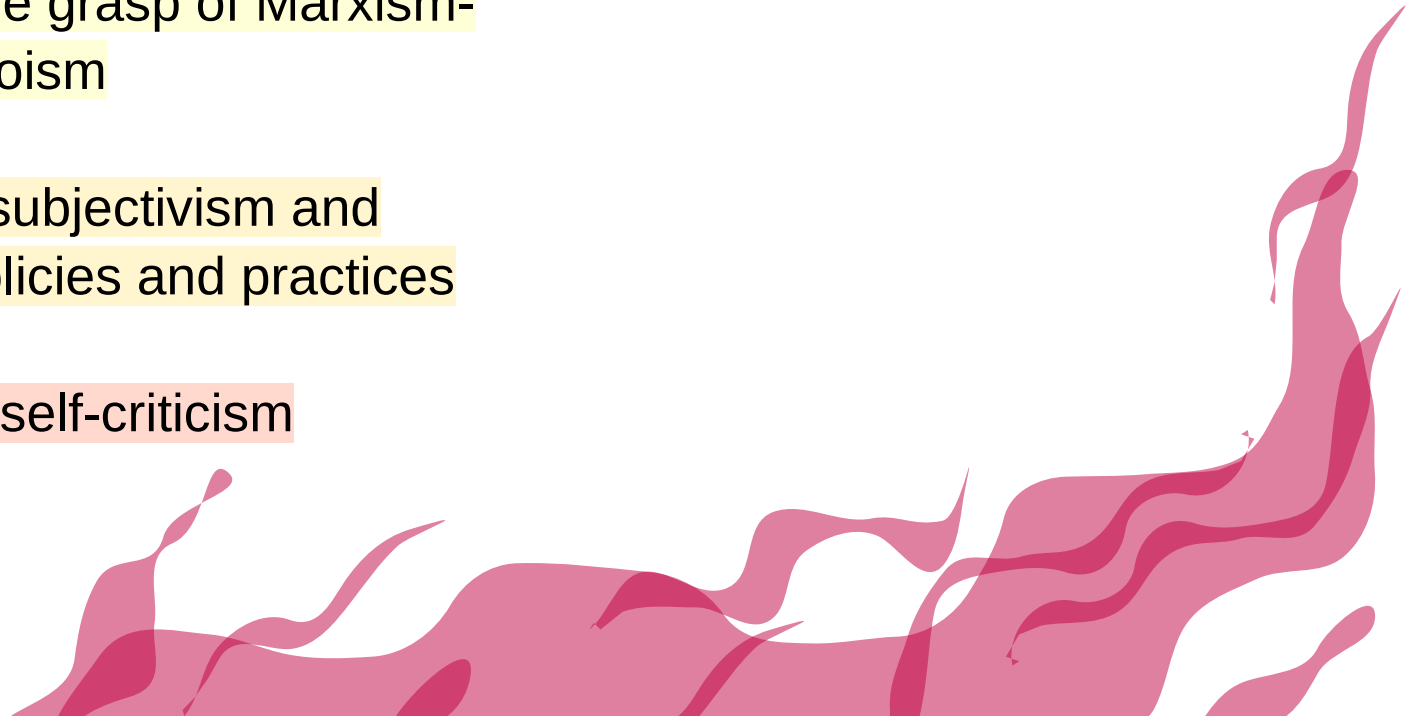
the rectification movement aims to:

a) further strengthen the Party

b) strength the grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

c) repudiate subjectivism and erroneous policies and practices

d) engage in self-criticism

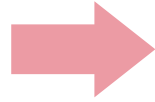


# **I. IMPERIALIST CRISIS LEADING TO DETERIORATING CONDITIONS AND WARS**



1

the world capitalist system is in turmoil,  
exacerbating the four major contradictions of  
the world

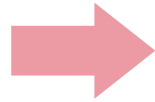


it continues to falter after  
the global lockdown of  
2020

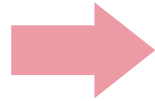


# 2

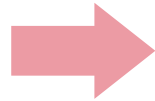
despite sputterings of growth last year, it has returned to the path of protracted stagnation and decline



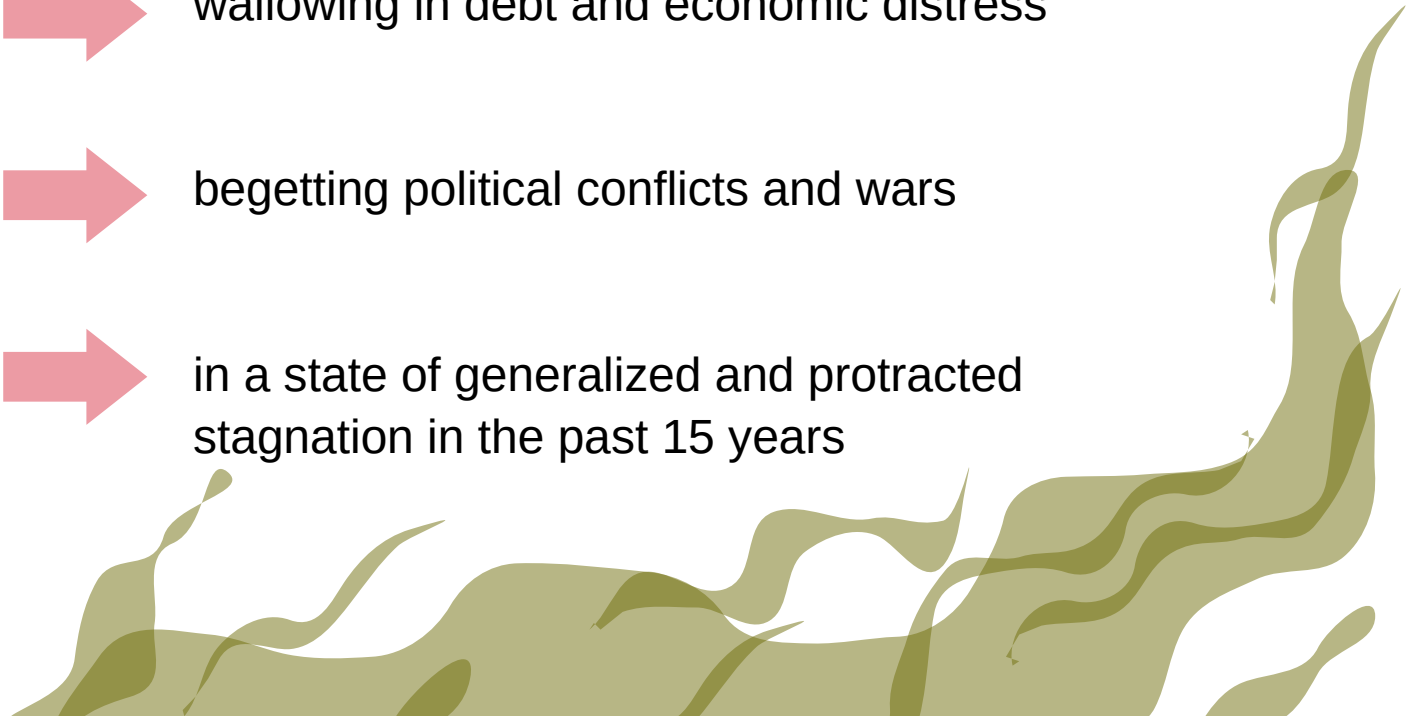
wallowing in debt and economic distress



begetting political conflicts and wars

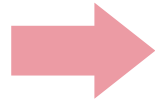


in a state of generalized and protracted stagnation in the past 15 years



3

financial and economic crisis of  
2008-2009

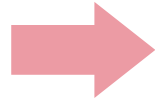


marked the exhaustion of  
monopoly capitalist efforts in a  
previous period

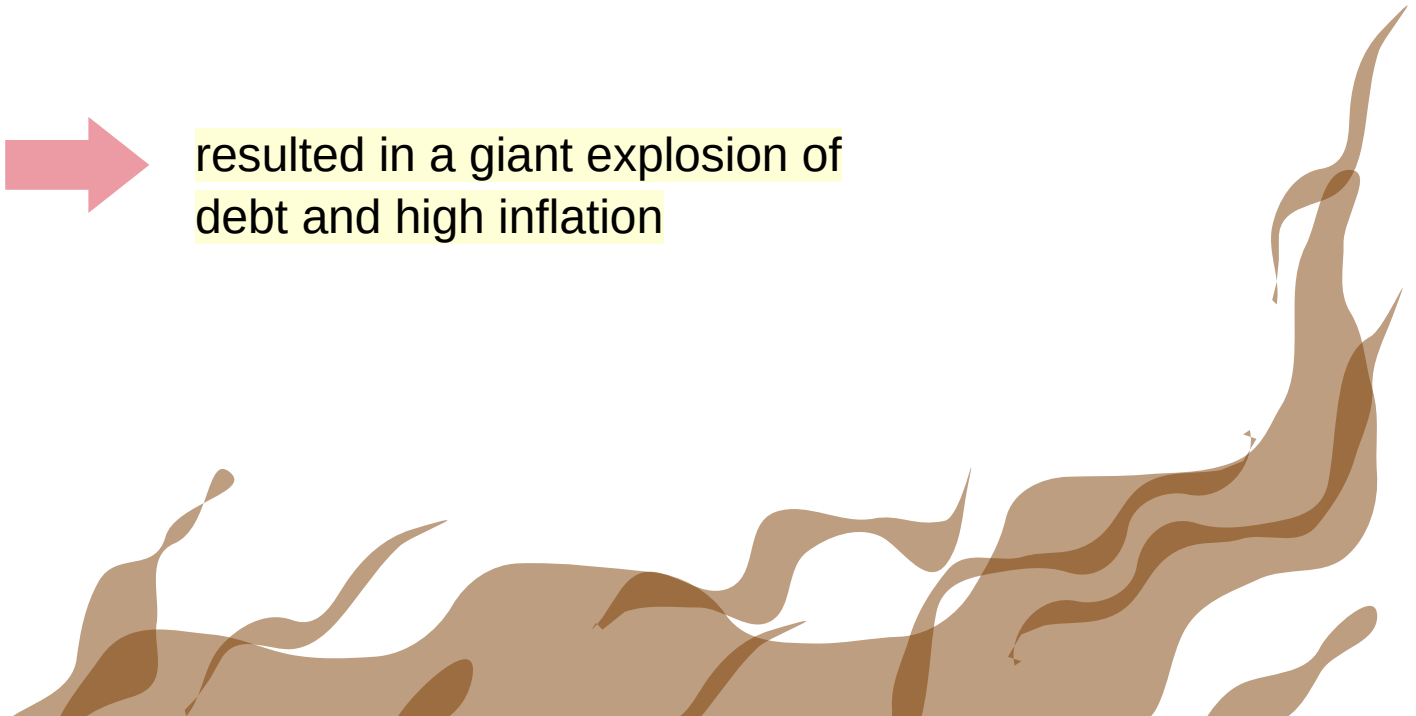


4

massive interruptions in the  
supply, production and  
commercial chains of  
transnational corporations



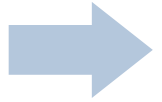
resulted in a giant explosion of  
debt and high inflation



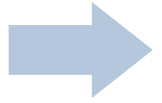


5

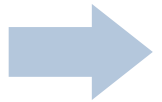
slow growth of the the US  
economy over the past 15 years



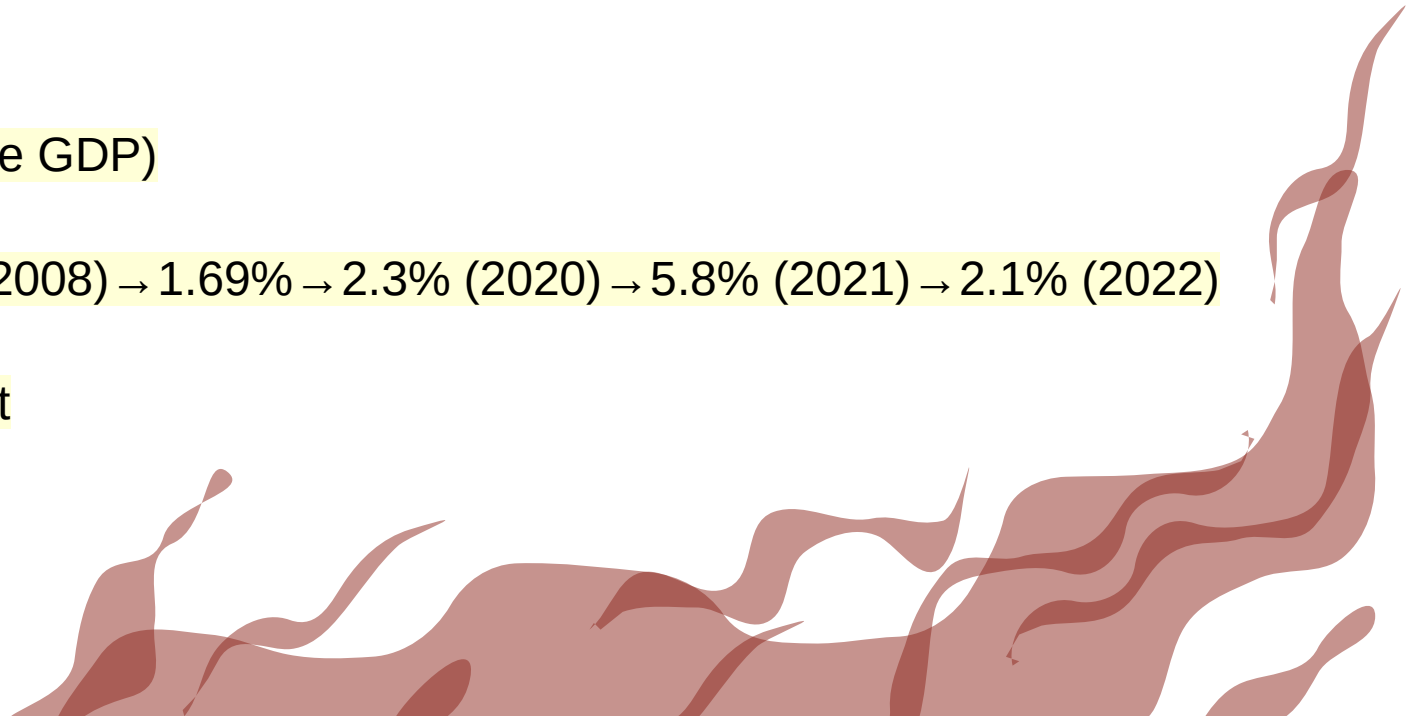
3.62% (average GDP)



2.99% (1991-2008) → 1.69% → 2.3% (2020) → 5.8% (2021) → 2.1% (2022)



\$33 trillion debt



# 6

## other capitalist centers

### Germany

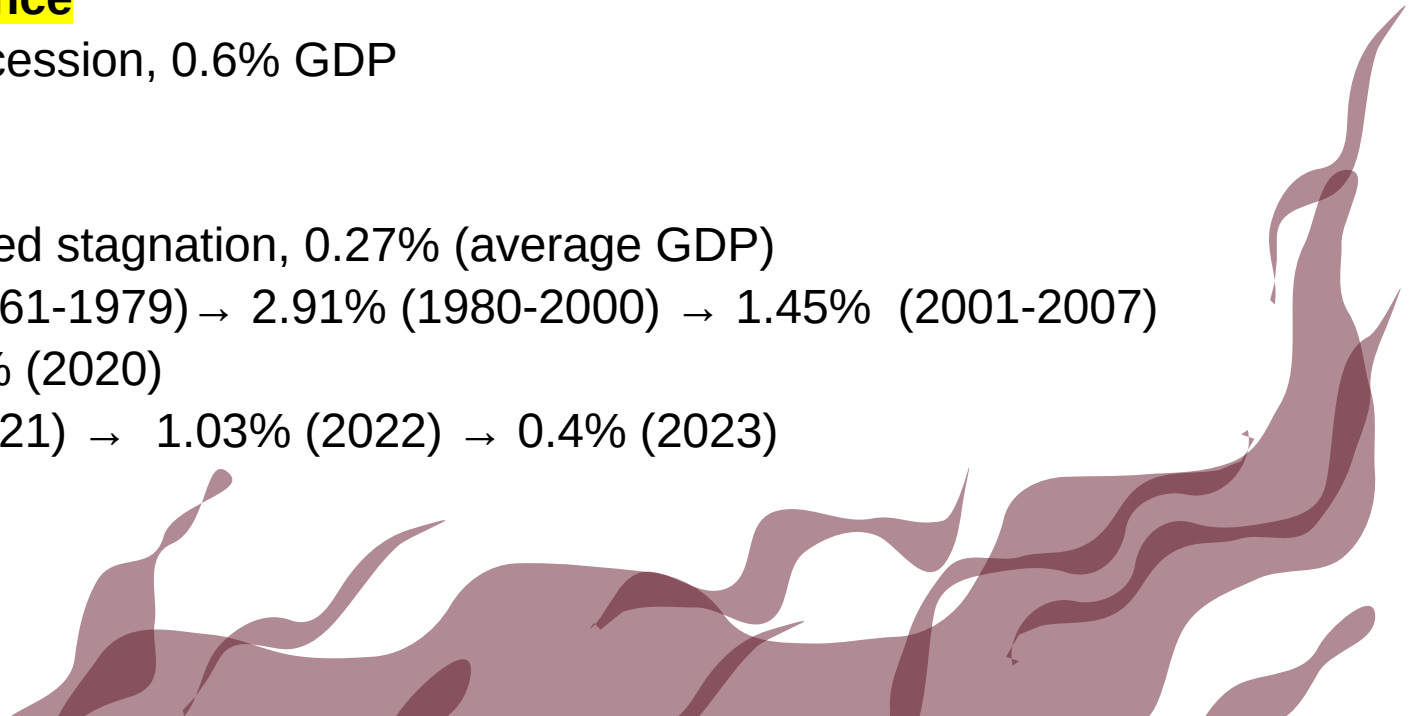
- fell back to recession in May, up to 2024; 0.3% GDP, 2023

### UK and France

- in near recession, 0.6% GDP

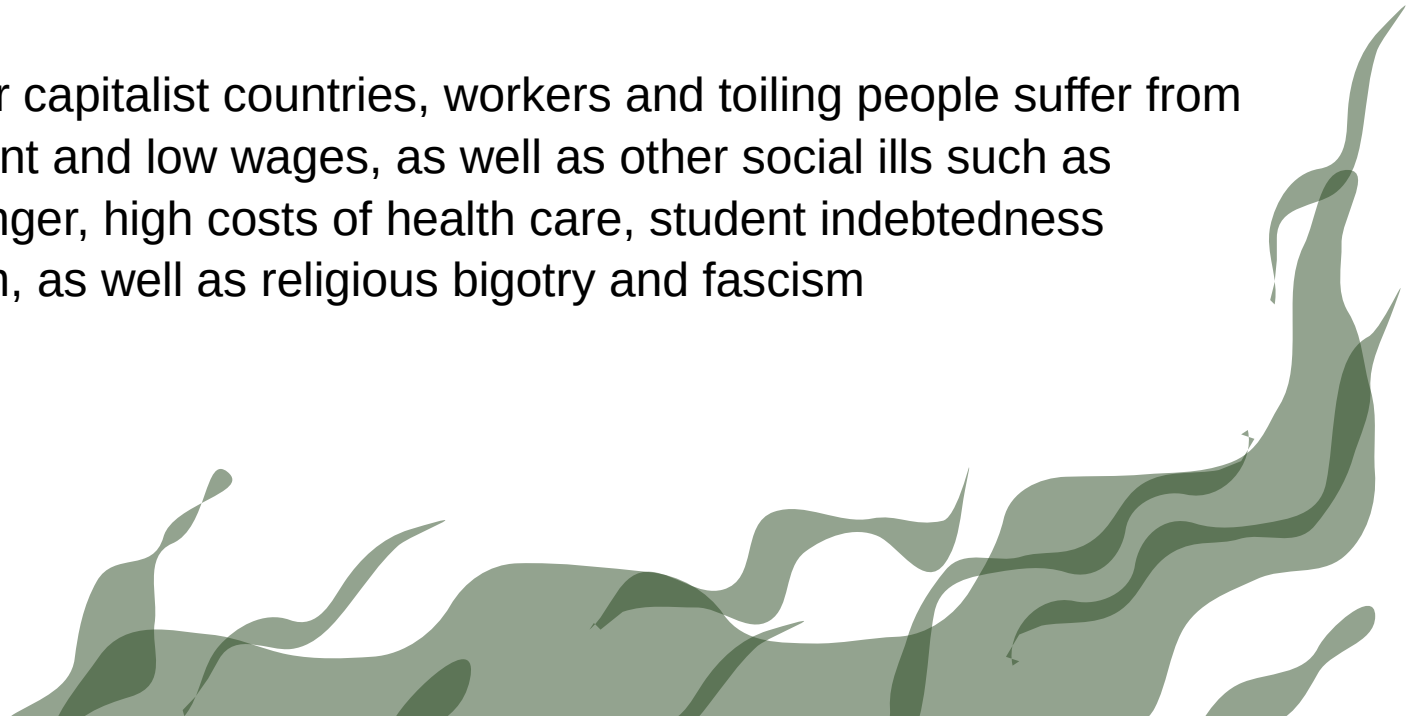
### Japan

- in prolonged stagnation, 0.27% (average GDP)
- 7.29% (1961-1979) → 2.91% (1980-2000) → 1.45% (2001-2007)  
→ (-)4.28% (2020)
- 2.14% (2021) → 1.03% (2022) → 0.4% (2023)



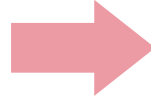
## China

- average growth – 9% (2000-2019) → 2.99% (2022)
- being weighed down by threats of an explosion of the real estate bubble (ex: Evergrande Group)
- faces threats of massive debt defaults by countries that owe it hundreds of billions of dollars
- in the US and other capitalist countries, workers and toiling people suffer from mass unemployment and low wages, as well as other social ills such as homelessness, hunger, high costs of health care, student indebtedness
- migrants → racism, as well as religious bigotry and fascism



7

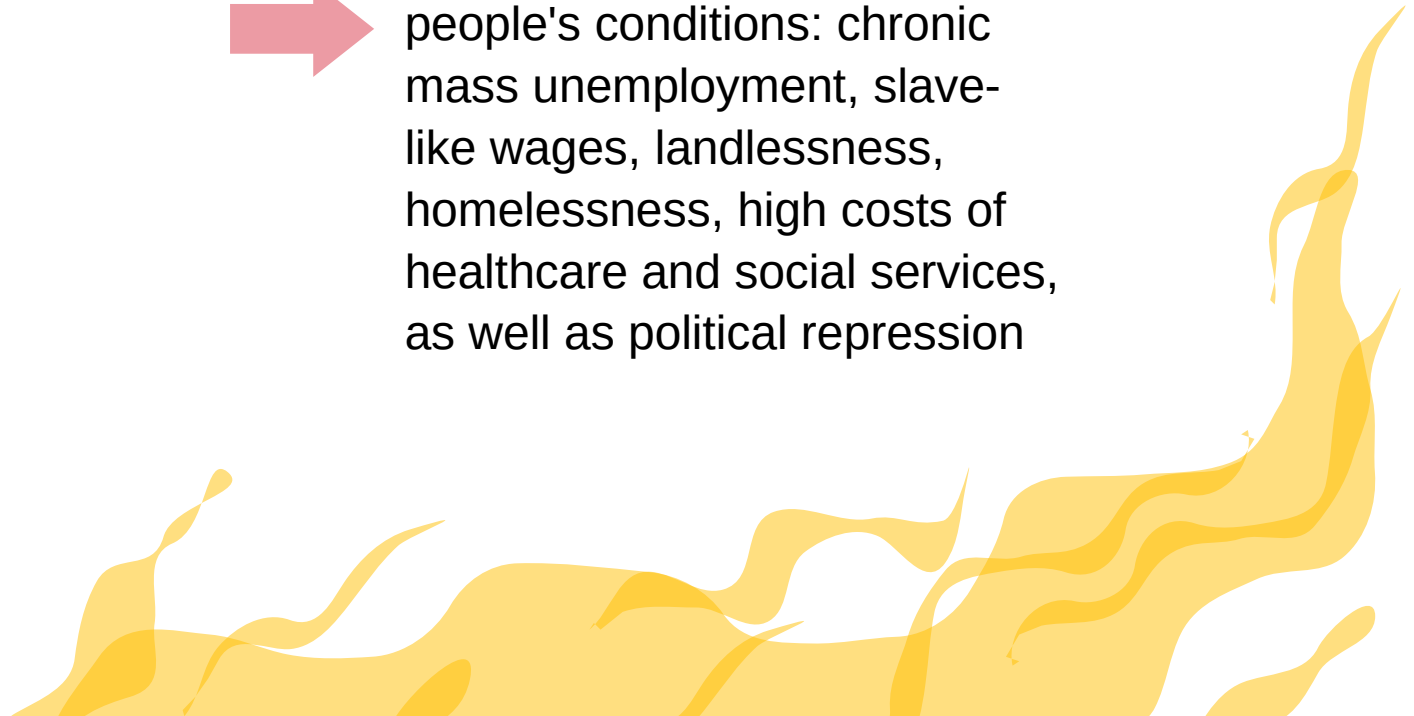
in backward/semicolonial  
and semifeudal countries



public debts continue to rise as  
governments seek to service  
trade deficits

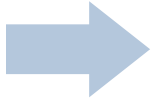


people's conditions: chronic  
mass unemployment, slave-  
like wages, landlessness,  
homelessness, high costs of  
healthcare and social services,  
as well as political repression

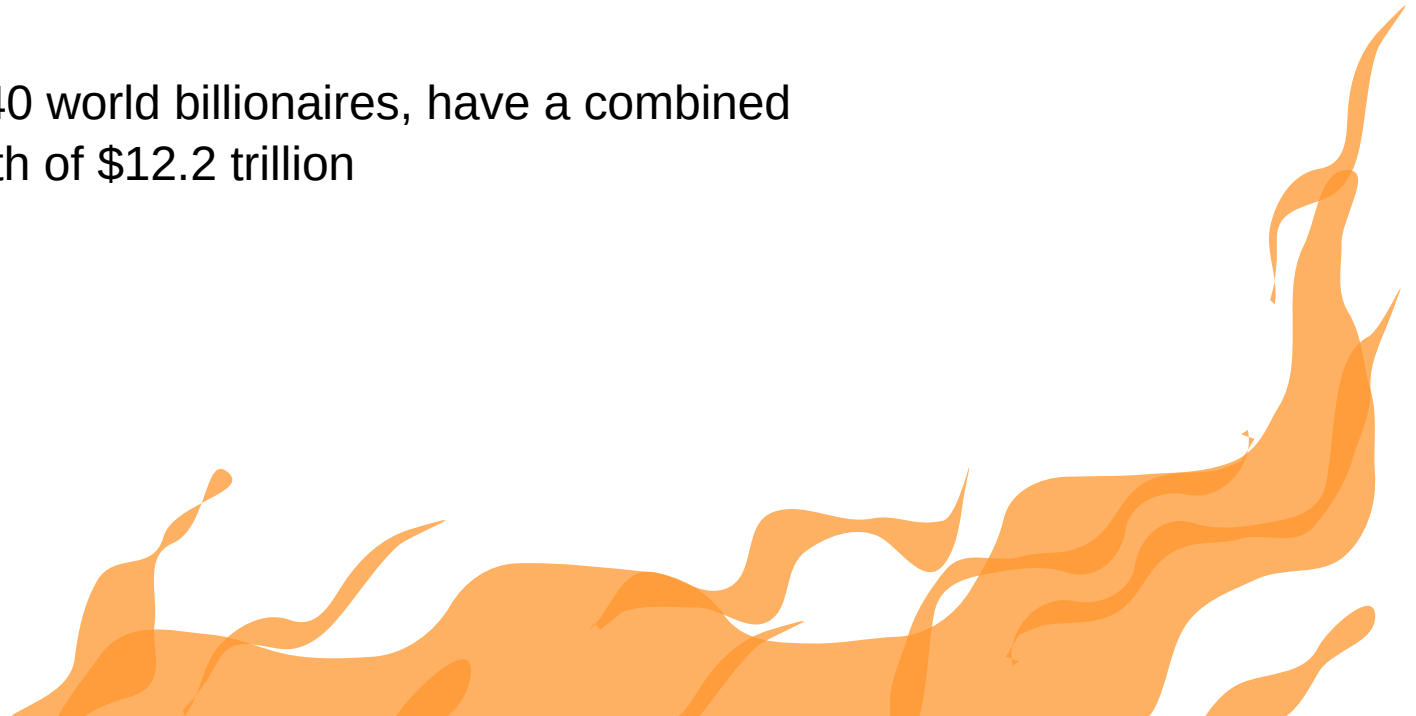


8

worsening social  
inequality



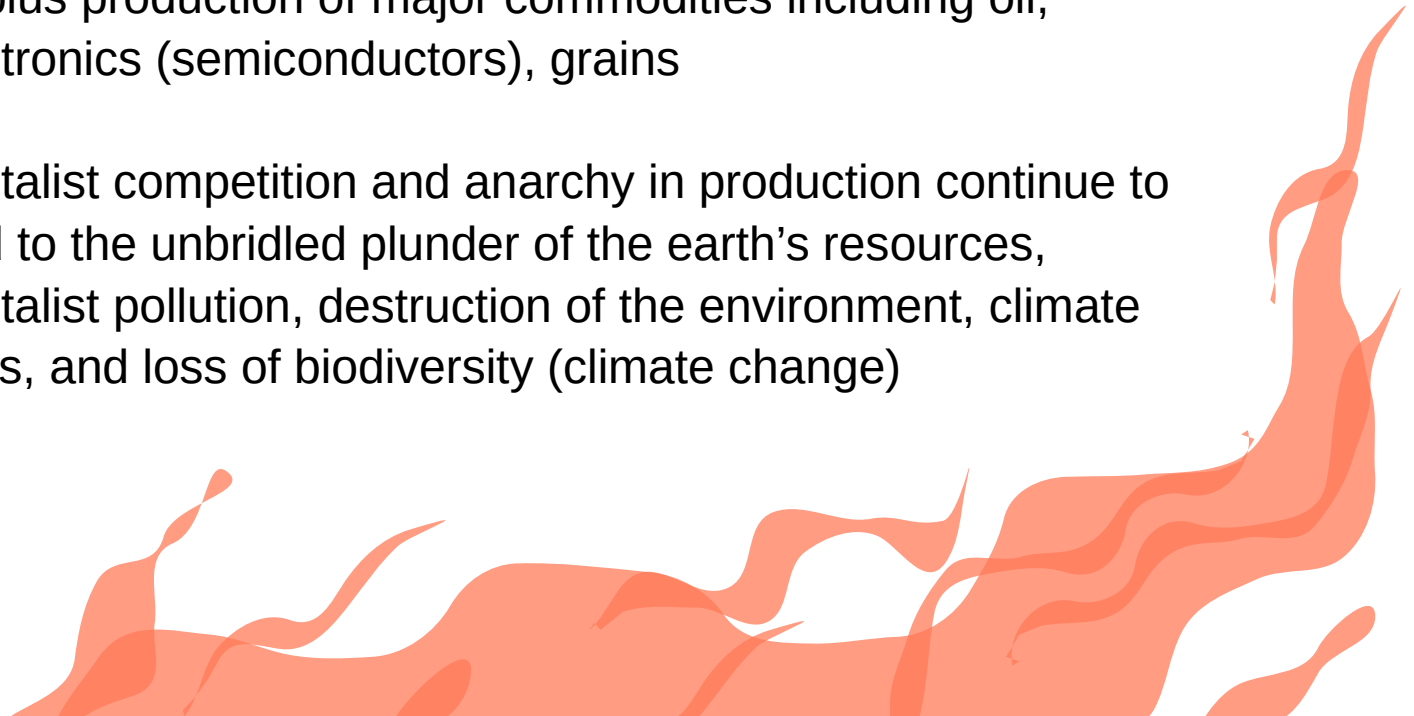
2,640 world billionaires, have a combined  
worth of \$12.2 trillion



# 9

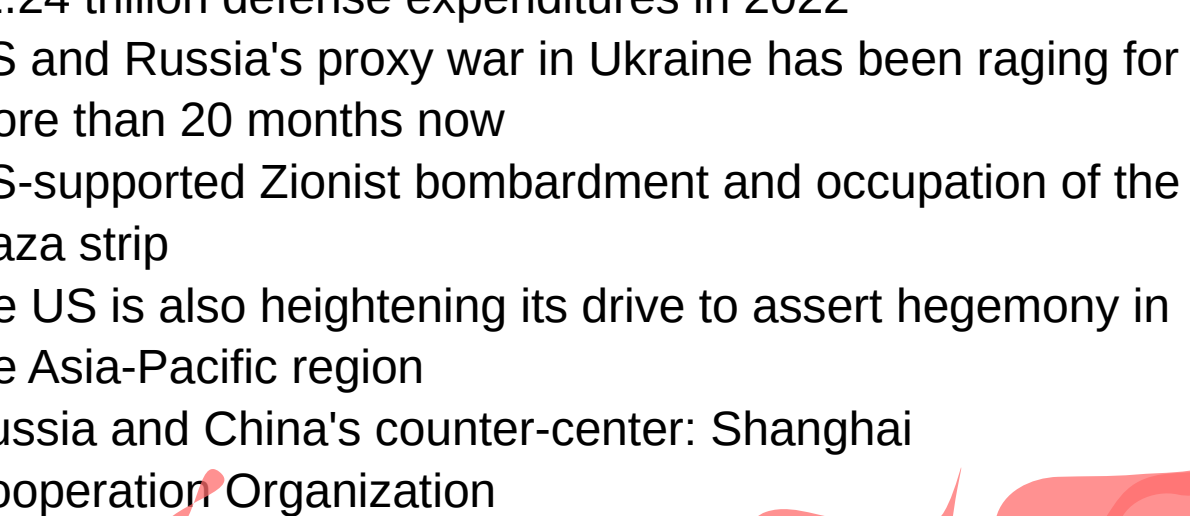
irresoluble crisis of overproduction and  
falling rates of profit

- ➡ surplus production of major commodities including oil, electronics (semiconductors), grains
- ➡ capitalist competition and anarchy in production continue to lead to the unbridled plunder of the earth's resources, capitalist pollution, destruction of the environment, climate crisis, and loss of biodiversity (climate change)



# 10

intensifying threats of war between  
major imperialist powers

- \$2.24 trillion defense expenditures in 2022
  - US and Russia's proxy war in Ukraine has been raging for more than 20 months now
  - US-supported Zionist bombardment and occupation of the Gaza strip
  - the US is also heightening its drive to assert hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region
  - Russia and China's counter-center: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- 
- A large, abstract, wavy red graphic that resembles a stylized flame or a liquid splash, extending from the bottom right towards the center of the slide.

# 11

imperialist crisis and conflict favorable for the steady rise and advance of workers struggle and anti-imperialist movements, democratic mass struggles and revolutionary resistance

- strikes in the US and Europe (Italy, Spain at UK)
- demonstrations and marches of millions of people to support Palestine

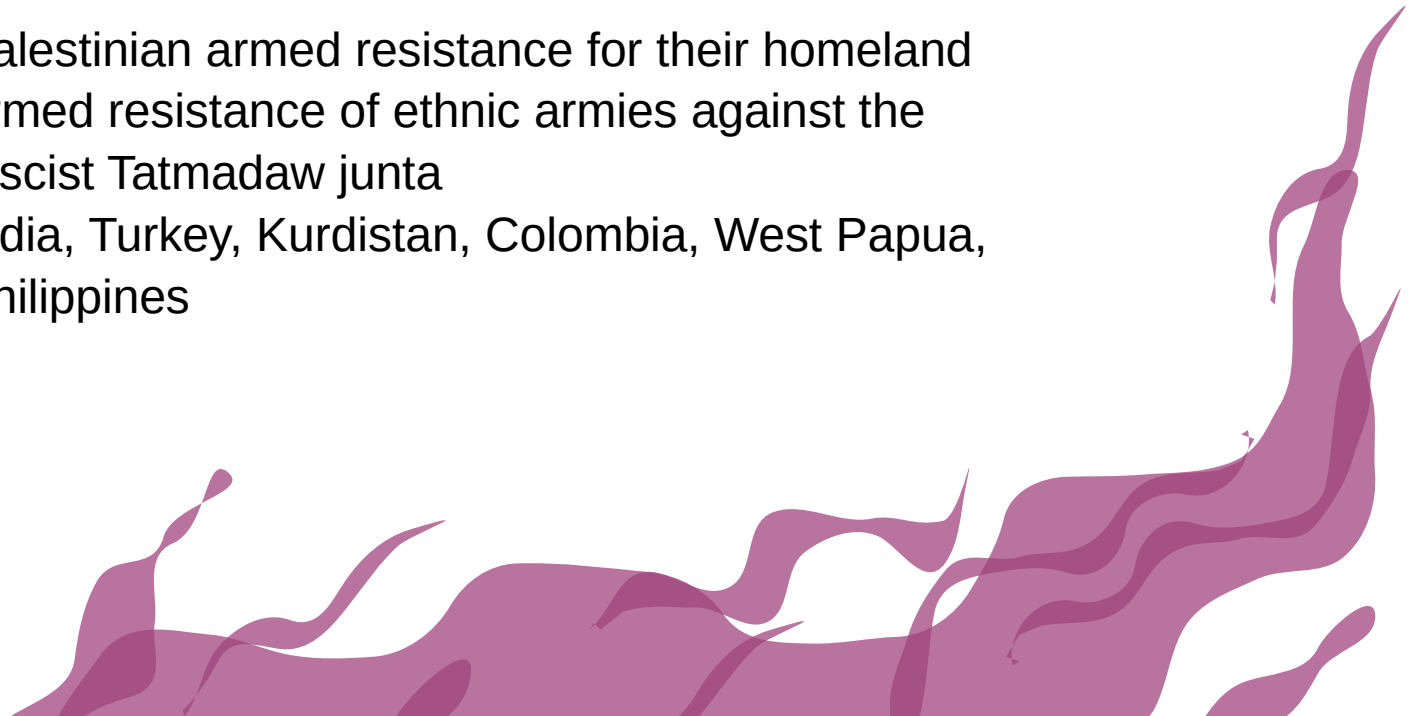




# 12

revolutionary armed  
struggles across the  
different parts of the world

- Palestinian armed resistance for their homeland
- armed resistance of ethnic armies against the fascist Tatmadaw junta
- India, Turkey, Kurdistan, Colombia, West Papua, Philippines

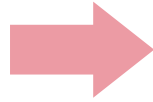


## **II. ACUTE CRISIS OF THE SEMICOLONIAL AND SEMIFEUDAL SYSTEM CONTINUES TO GENERATE STEADILY RISING RESISTANCE**

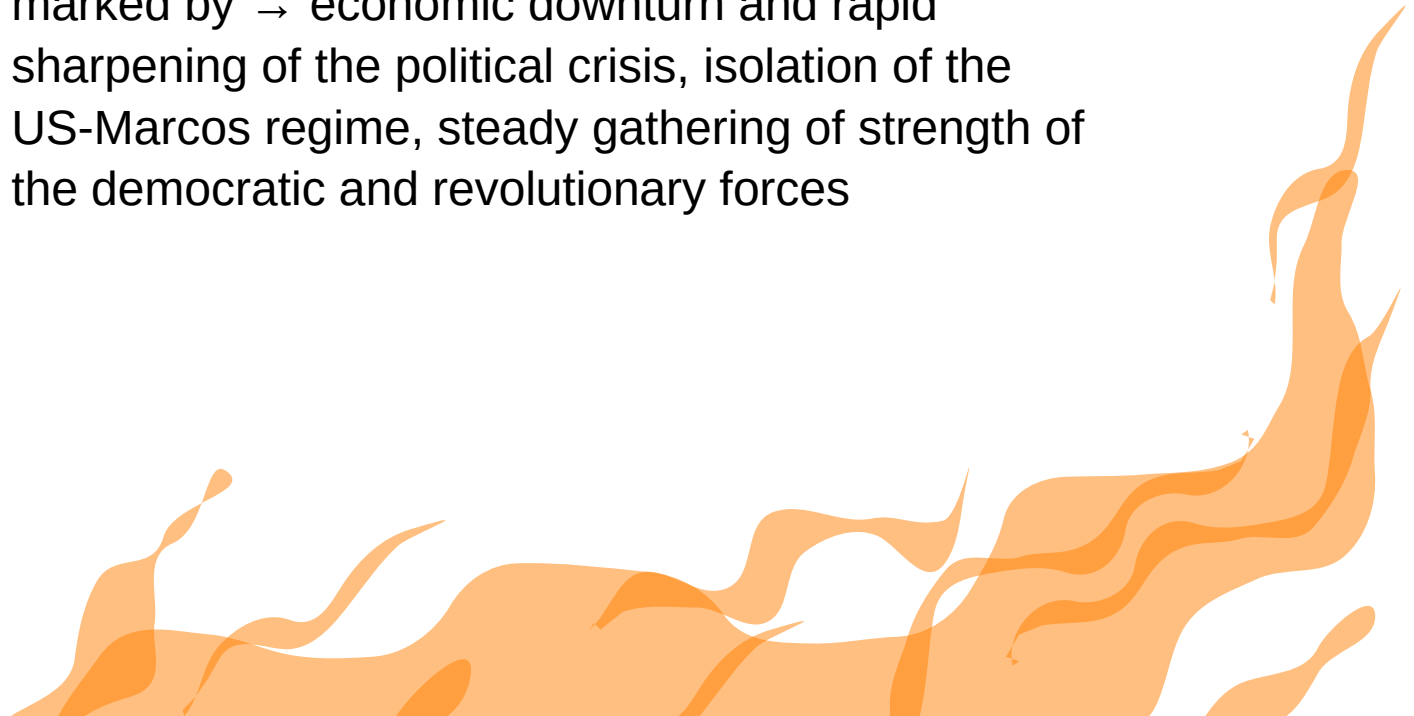


1

worsening crisis of the ruling semicolonial and  
semifeudal system



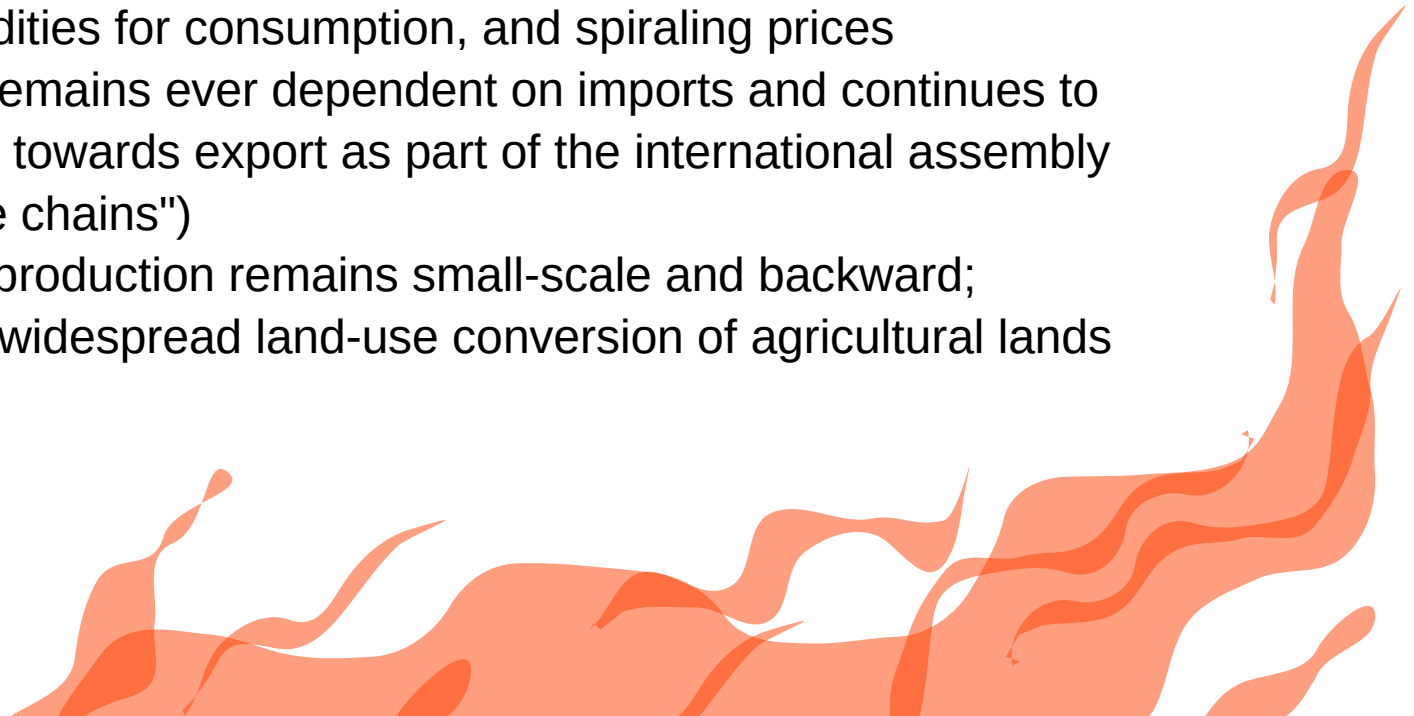
marked by → economic downturn and rapid  
sharpening of the political crisis, isolation of the  
US-Marcos regime, steady gathering of strength of  
the democratic and revolutionary forces



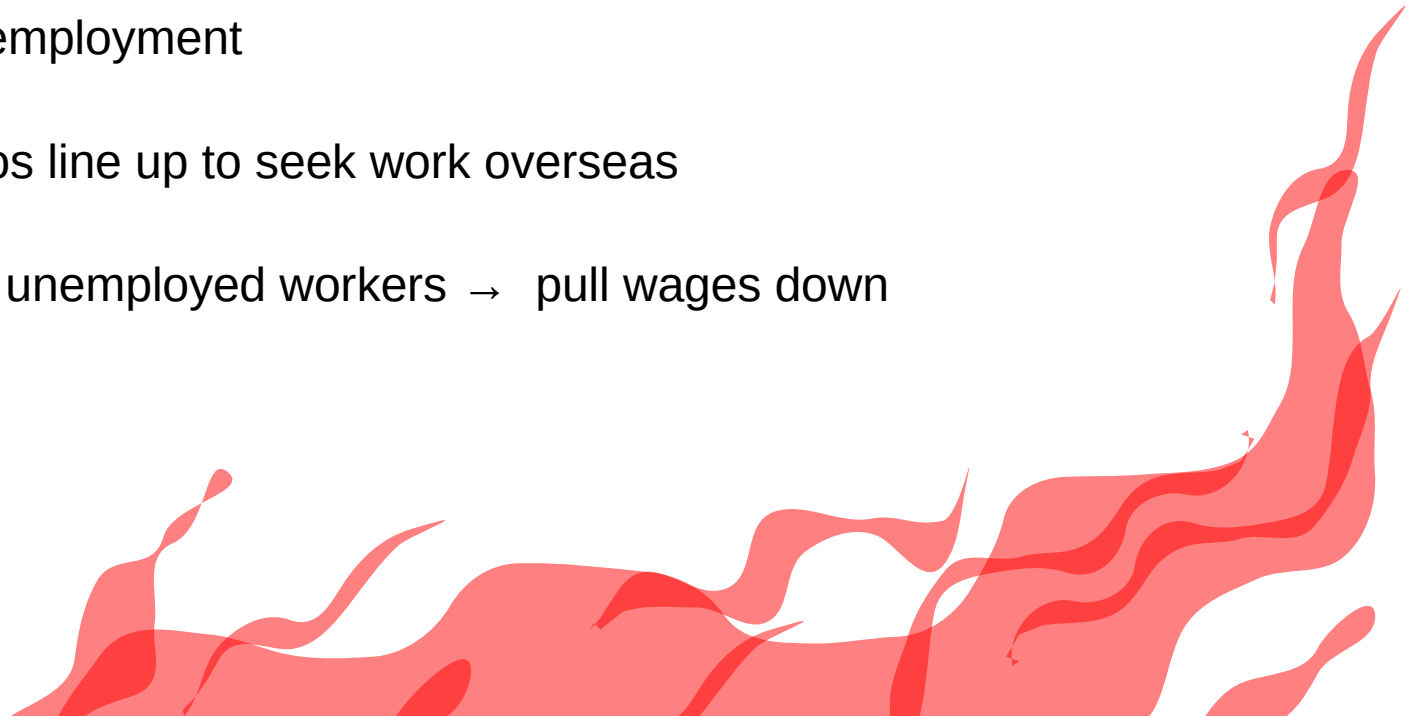
# 2

widespread destruction of local productive  
forces/slowdown in production

- resulting in widespread unemployment, further dependence on imported commodities for consumption, and spiraling prices
- local production remains ever dependent on imports and continues to be mainly geared towards export as part of the international assembly line ("global value chains")
- local agricultural production remains small-scale and backward; worsened by the widespread land-use conversion of agricultural lands



- even more dependent on debt to pay for trade and government spending
- chronic mass unemployment
- millions of Filipinos line up to seek work overseas
- large army of the unemployed workers → pull wages down



# 3

Marcos Jr is isolated from the broad masses  
of the Filipino people

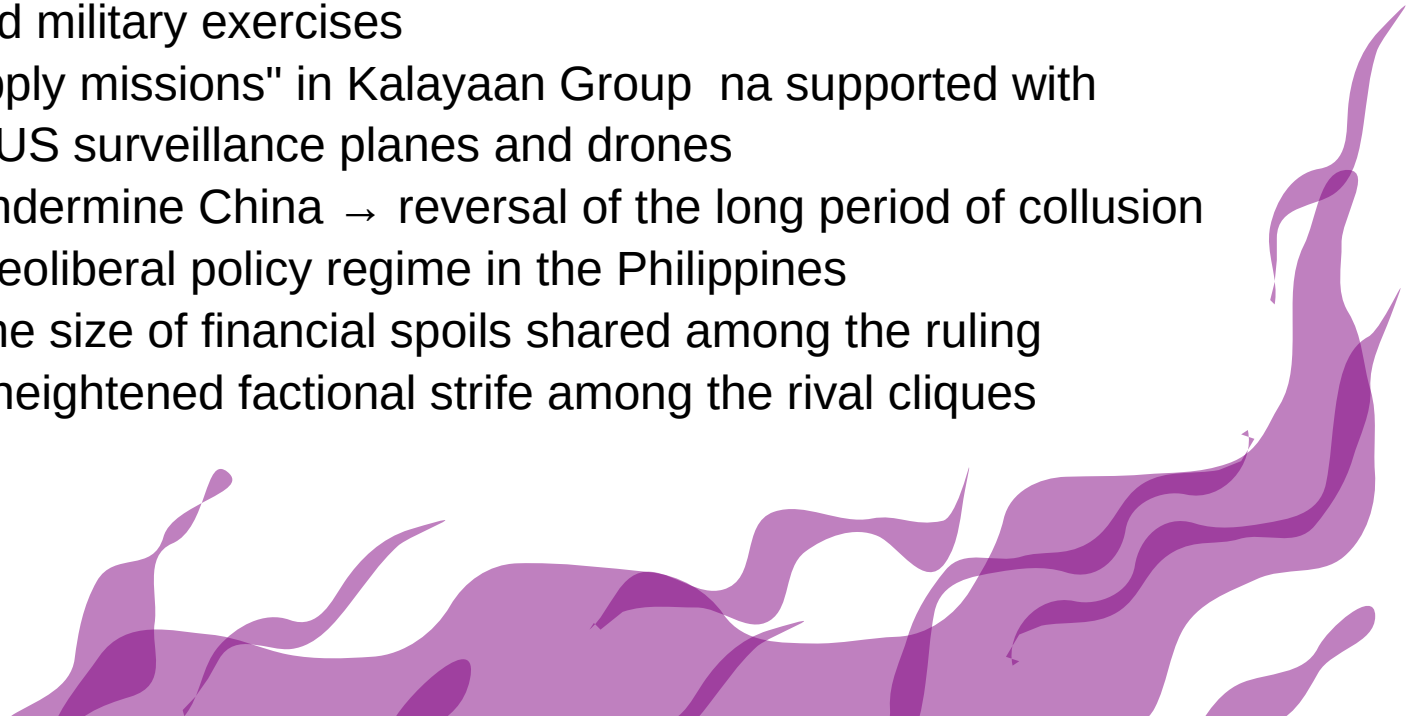
- poverty and hunger
- detest him for inheriting the \$10 billion plundered wealth by Marcos Sr during the martial law
- jet-setting overseas and high living, and brazen corruption (MIF)
- subservience to US imperialism and kowtowing to China



# 4

the Philippines is increasingly being dragged into the vortex of the rising military conflict between the US and China

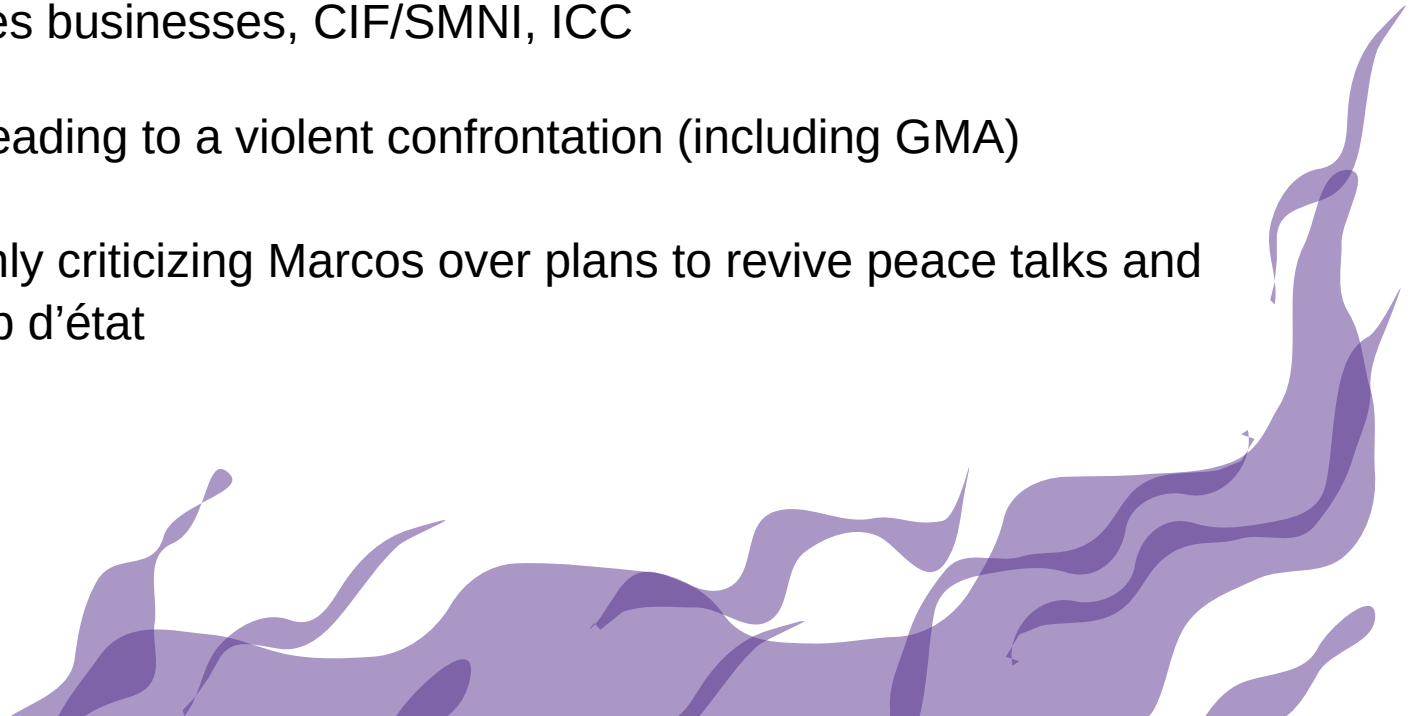
- construction of four more military facilities (in addition to previous five)
- military interventionism by the US in the Philippines heightened → 500 wargames and military exercises
- repeated "supply missions" in Kalayaan Group na supported with overflights of US surveillance planes and drones
- US drive to undermine China → reversal of the long period of collusion to impose a neoliberal policy regime in the Philippines
- reduction in the size of financial spoils shared among the ruling classes, and heightened factional strife among the rival cliques



# 5

rifts between the ruling class factions have come out into the open and are becoming virulent

- the Marcoses' consolidation of economic and political power against the Dutertes → cancellation of Chinese contracts, divestment of Duterte cronies businesses, CIF/SMNI, ICC
- increasingly leading to a violent confrontation (including GMA)
- Dutertes openly criticizing Marcos over plans to revive peace talks and inciting a coup d'état

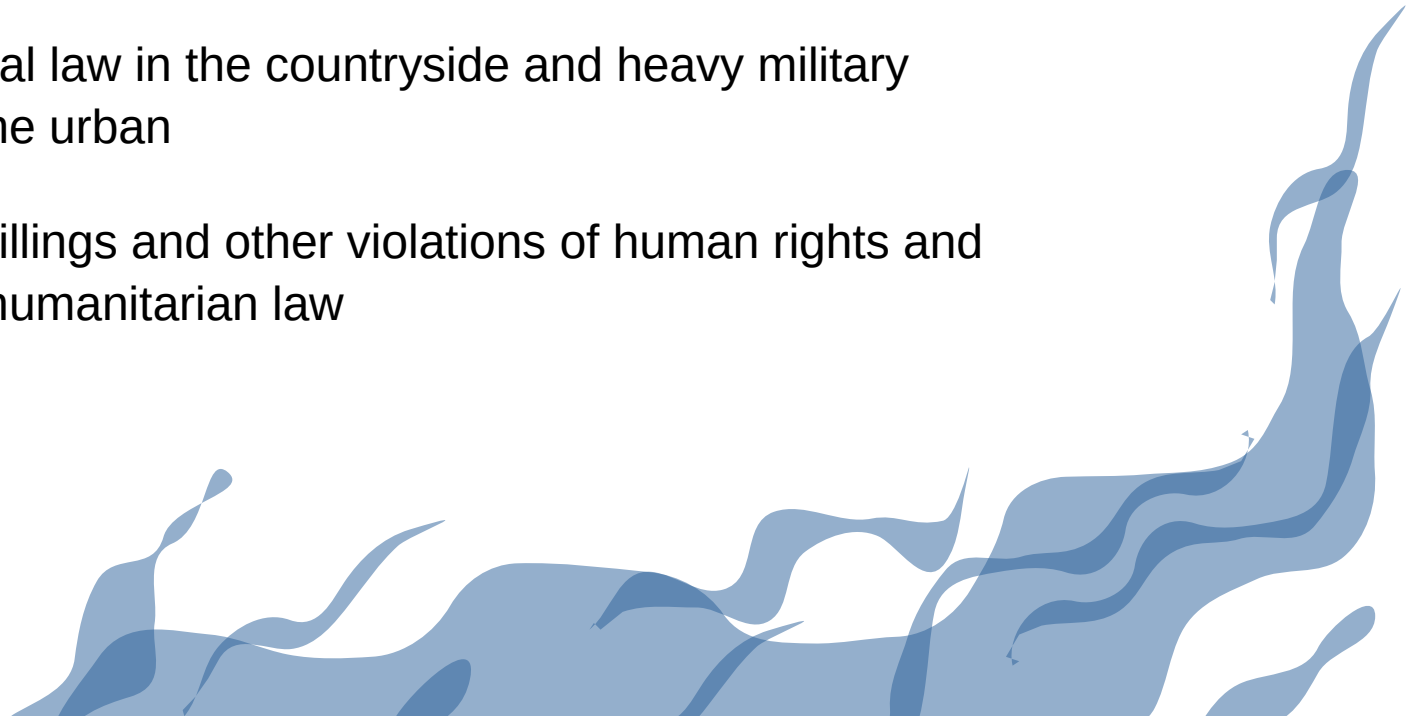




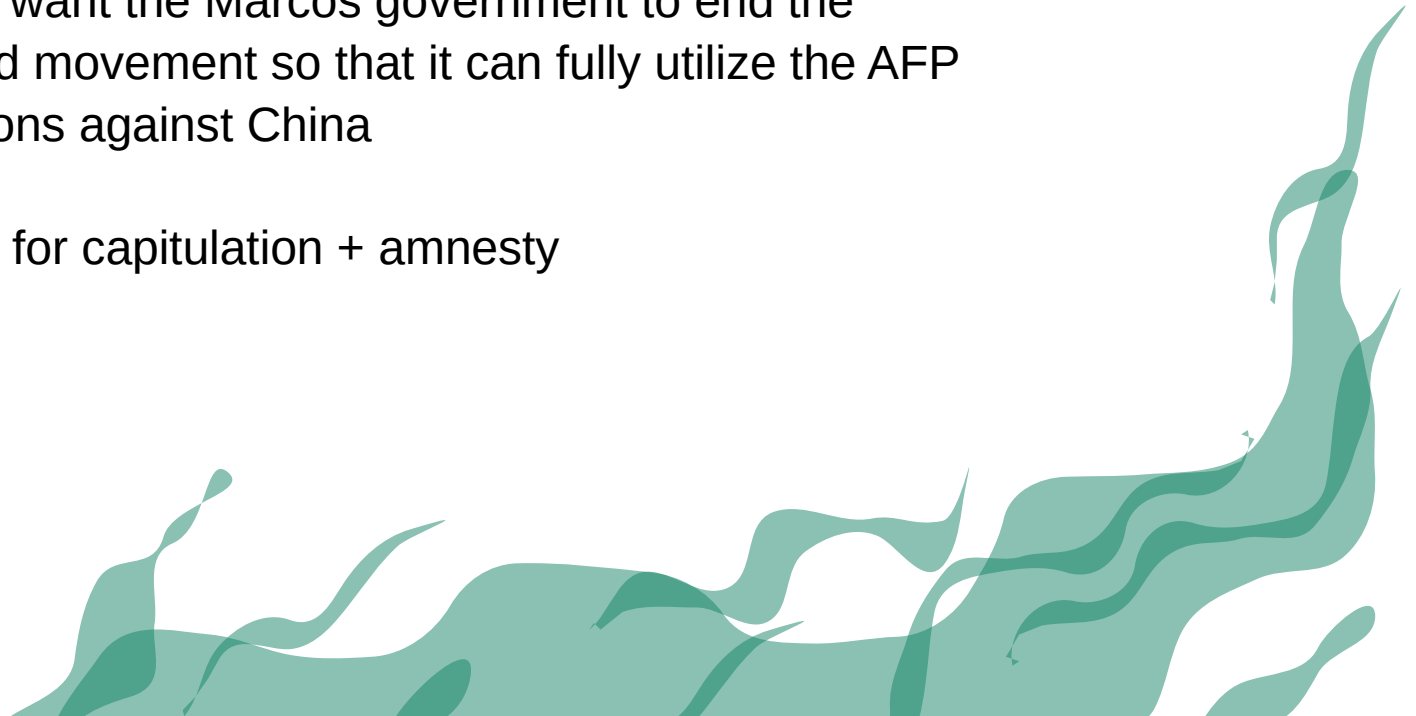
# 6

the Marcos regime is tightening control of the military to consolidate political power with US support through state terrorism and carried out fascist attacks against national democratic forces

- *de facto* martial law in the countryside and heavy military presence in the urban
- extrajudicial killings and other violations of human rights and international humanitarian law



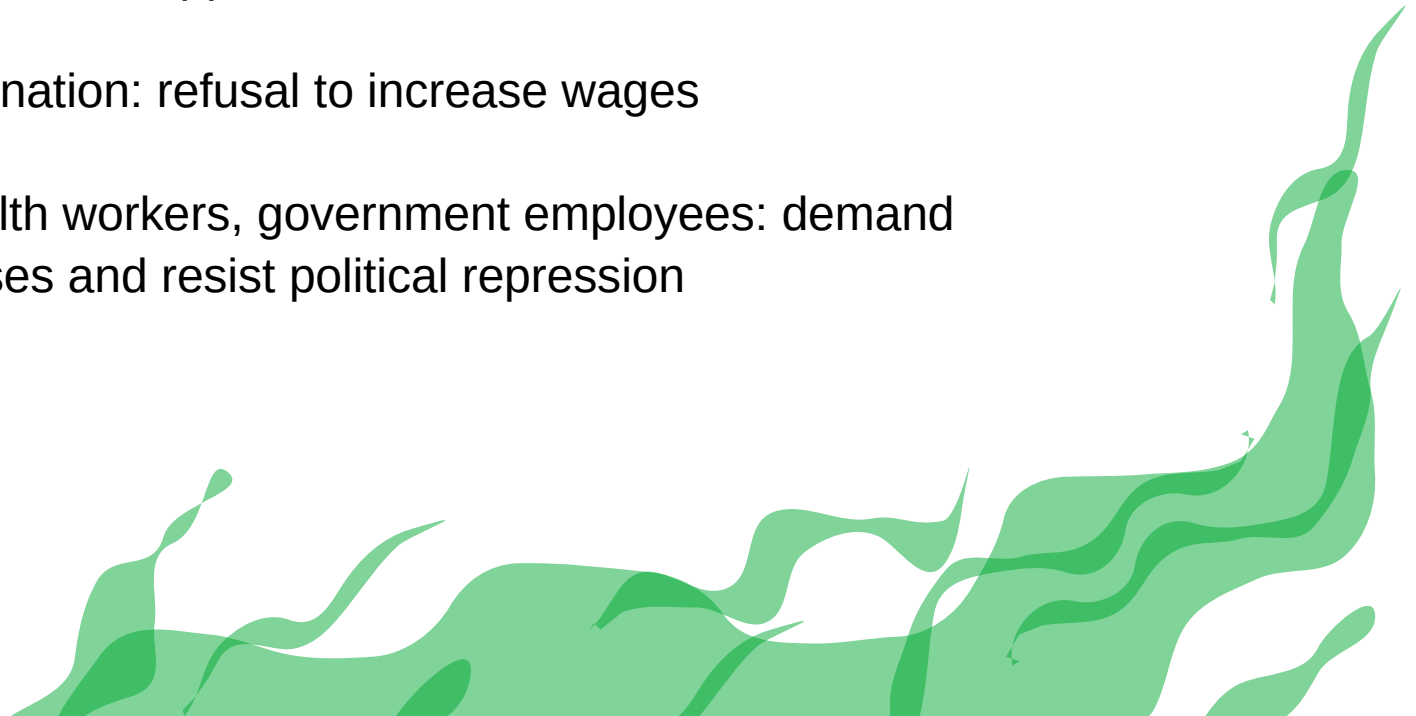
- heightened surveillance and abductions, torture, interrogation and slapping of trumped up charges using the so-called Anti-Terrorism Law
- the US imperialists want the Marcos government to end the revolutionary armed movement so that it can fully utilize the AFP in its war preparations against China
- peace negotiations for capitulation + amnesty



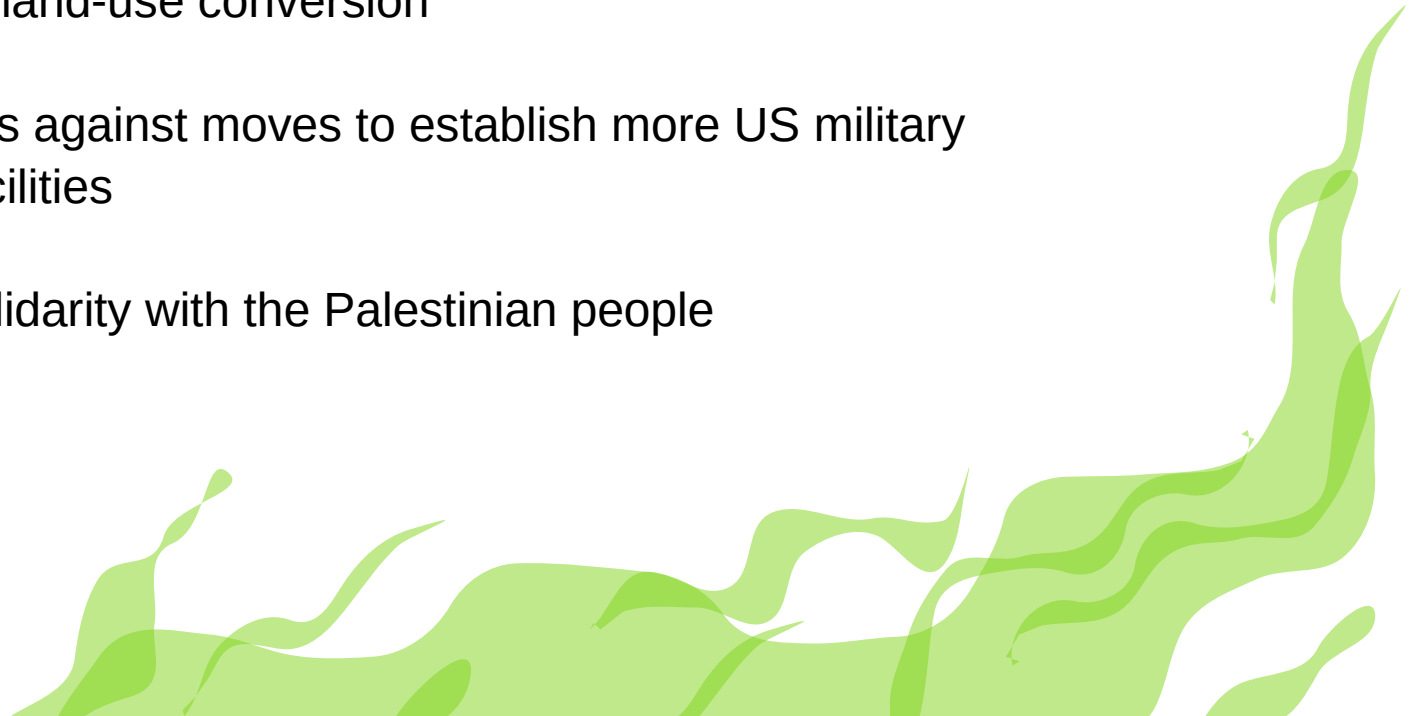
# 7

the Filipino people are ever desirous to wage mass struggles

- the Marcos regime is responsible for the widespread impoverishment and oppression
- workers' indignation: refusal to increase wages
- teachers, health workers, government employees: demand salary increases and resist political repression



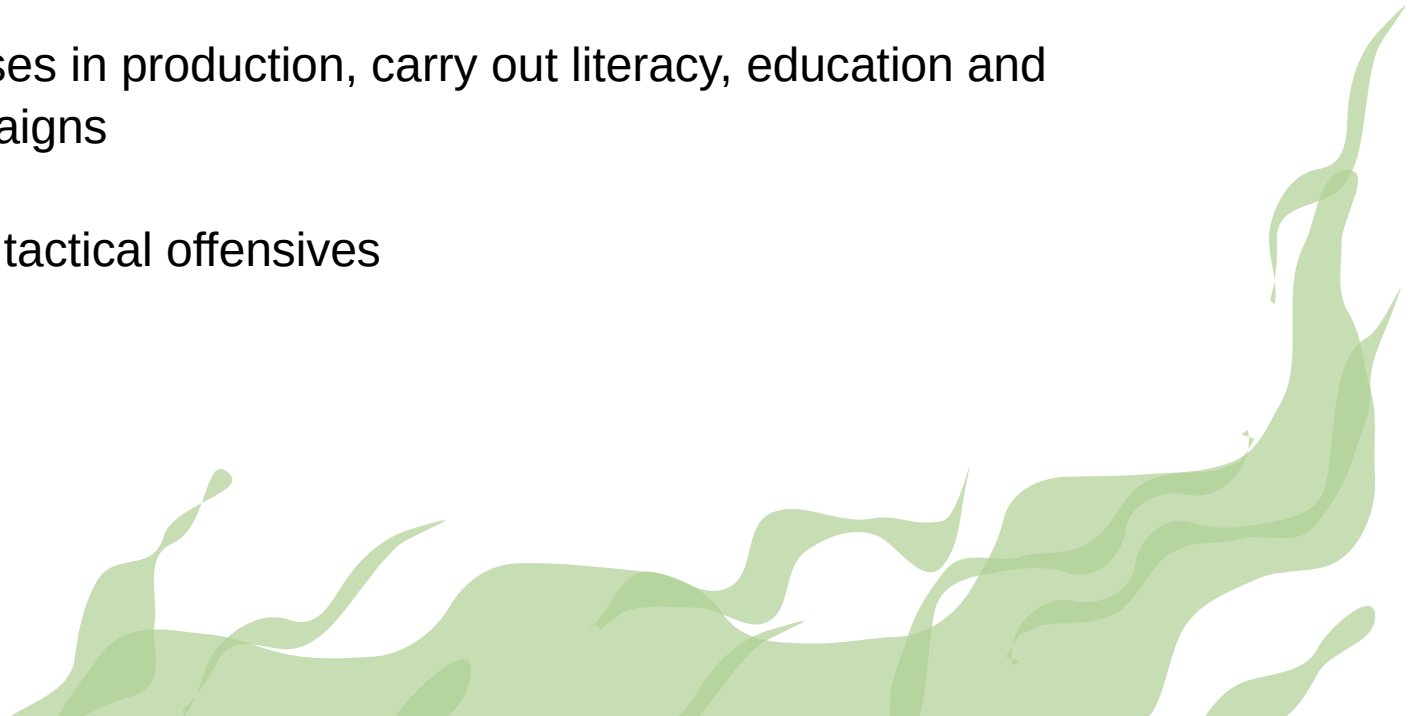
- students: commercialization of education, state abandonment of education and campus repression
- communities in the countryside: foreign mining operations, land grabbing and land-use conversion
- protest actions against moves to establish more US military bases and facilities
- protests in solidarity with the Palestinian people



# 8

many units of the NPA have raised their capacity at keeping the enemy blind and deaf, while carrying out its major tasks

- help the masses in production, carry out literacy, education and cultural campaigns
- big and small tactical offensives

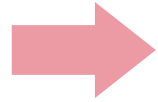


# **III. THE PARTY'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND CURRENT SELF-CRITICAL ASSESSMENT**



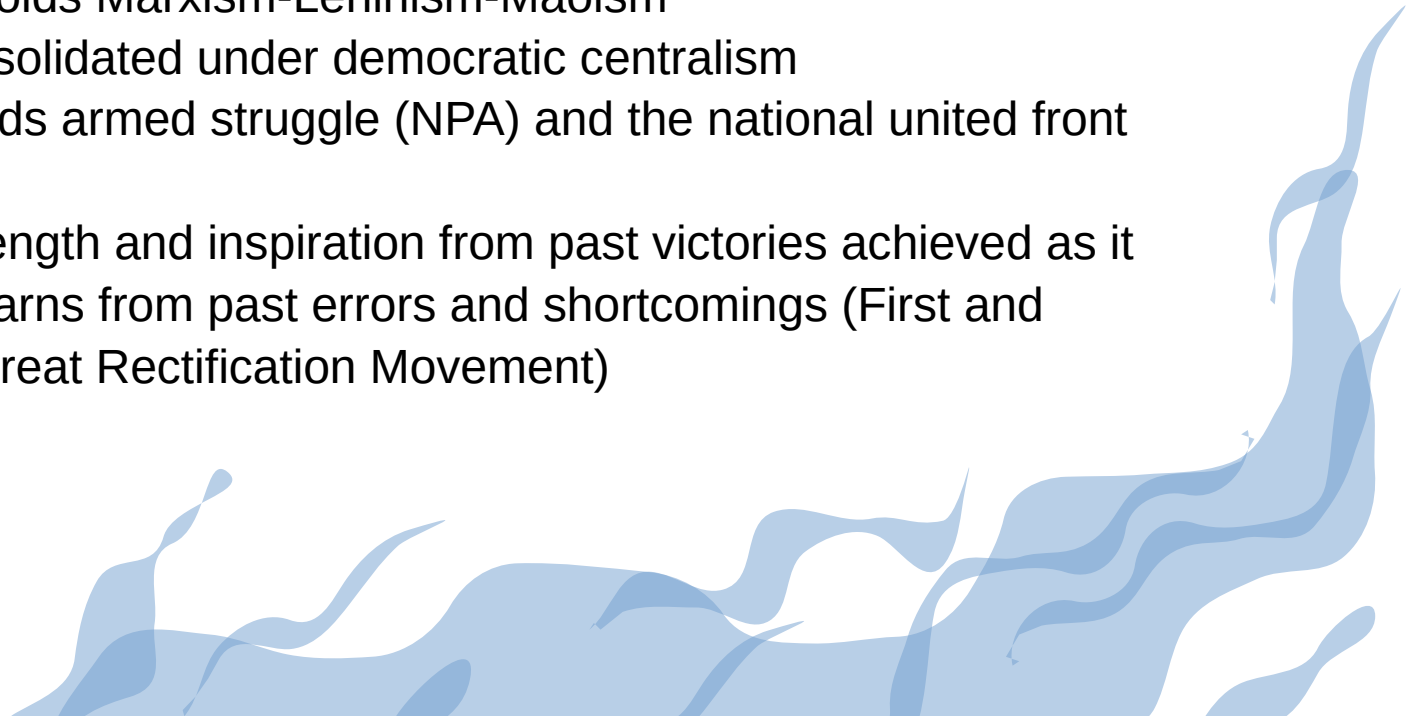
# 1

sharpening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system



favorable conditions for waging revolution

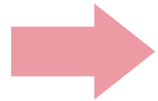
- the Party remains strong and solid
- firmly upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism
- firmly consolidated under democratic centralism
- firmly wields armed struggle (NPA) and the national united front (NDFP)
- draws strength and inspiration from past victories achieved as it humbly learns from past errors and shortcomings (First and Second Great Rectification Movement)



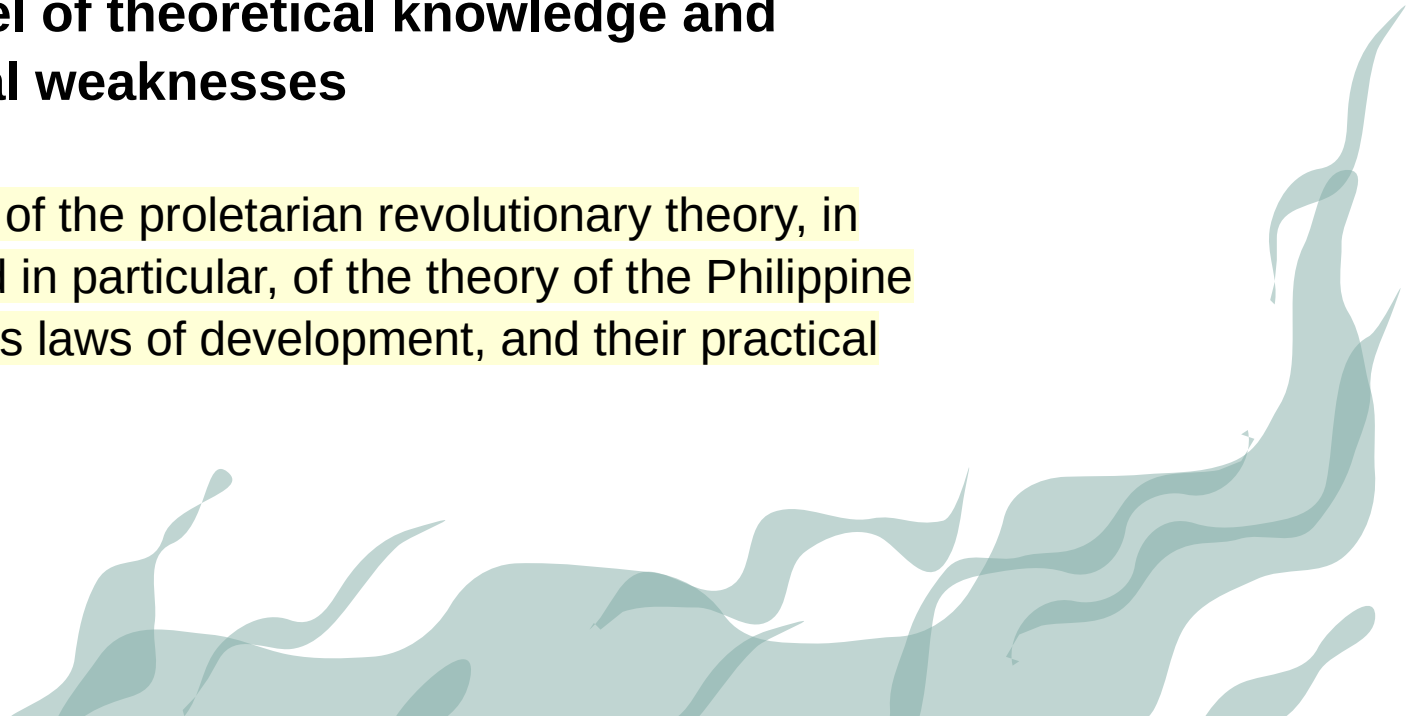
# 2

from studies, assessments the past year, we observed the following weaknesses:

## **a) low level of theoretical knowledge and ideological weaknesses**



infirm grasp of the proletarian revolutionary theory, in general, and in particular, of the theory of the Philippine revolution, its laws of development, and their practical application





## **b) subjectivism has afflicted a large part of the Party**

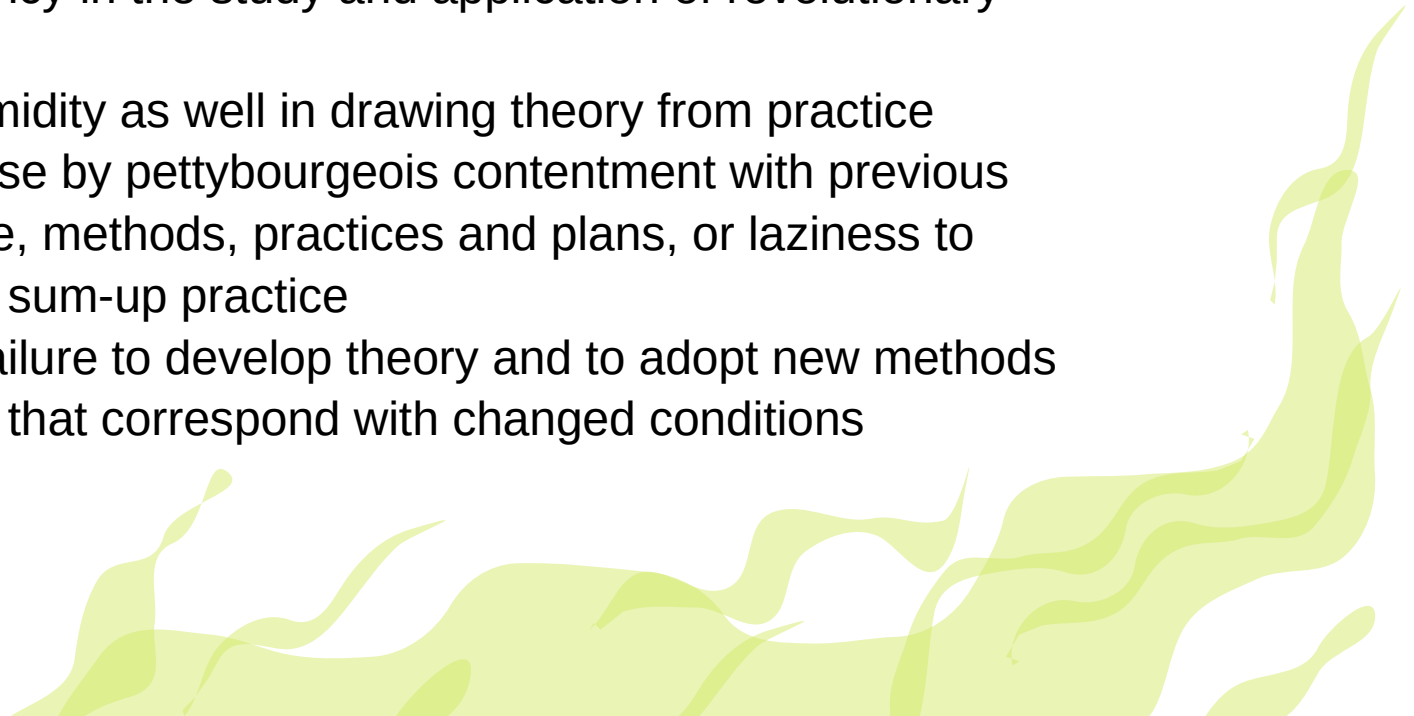
- ➡ allowed bourgeois and pettybourgeois class views and mentality to seep through resulting in various Right and “Left” errors and tendencies in politics, and bureaucratism and ultrademocracy in organization
- ➡ **empiricism** (practice without theory, redounding to waging revolution blindly) and **dogmatism** (preaching without revolution)

# 3

## **EMPIRICISM IS CURRENTLY THE MAIN SUBJECTIVIST ERROR**

in the Party which has resulted mainly in Right errors and tendencies

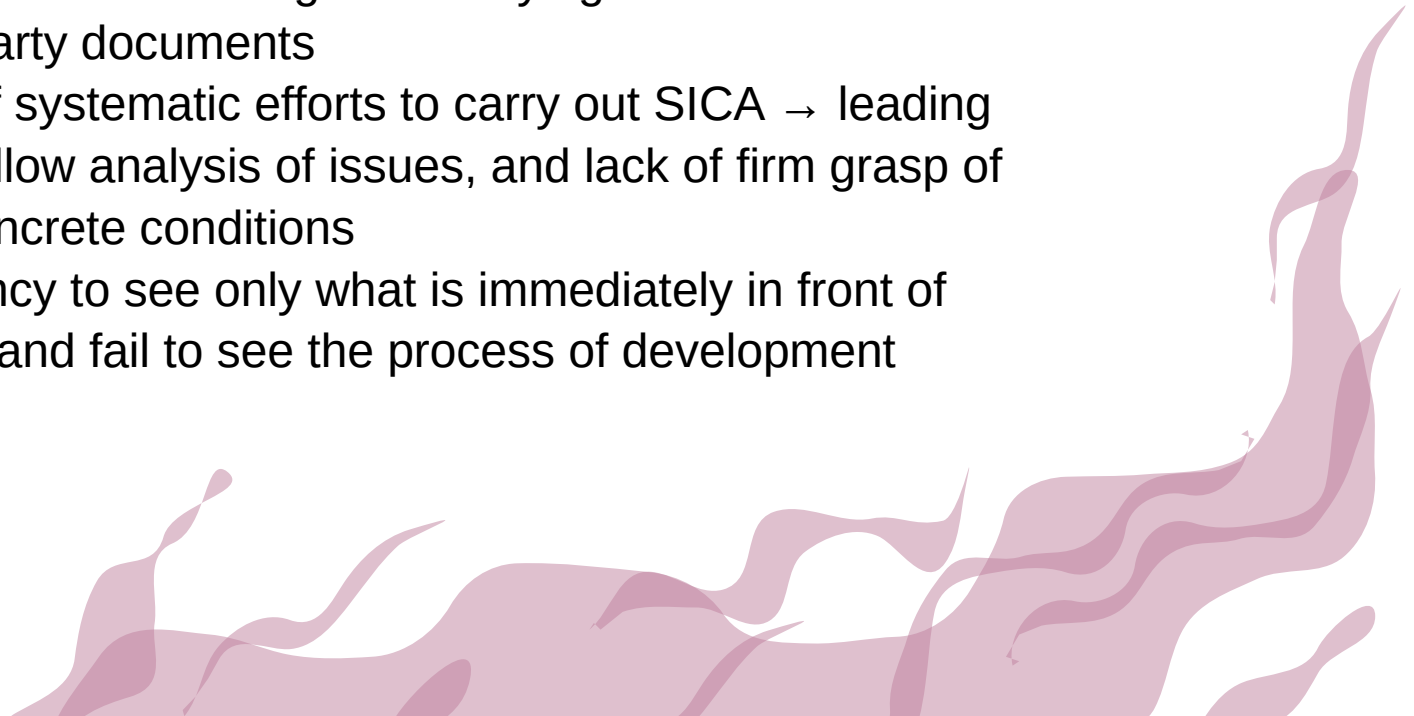
- complacency in the study and application of revolutionary theory
- there is timidity as well in drawing theory from practice
- made worse by pettybourgeois contentment with previous knowledge, methods, practices and plans, or laziness to study and sum-up practice
- leads to failure to develop theory and to adopt new methods and plans that correspond with changed conditions



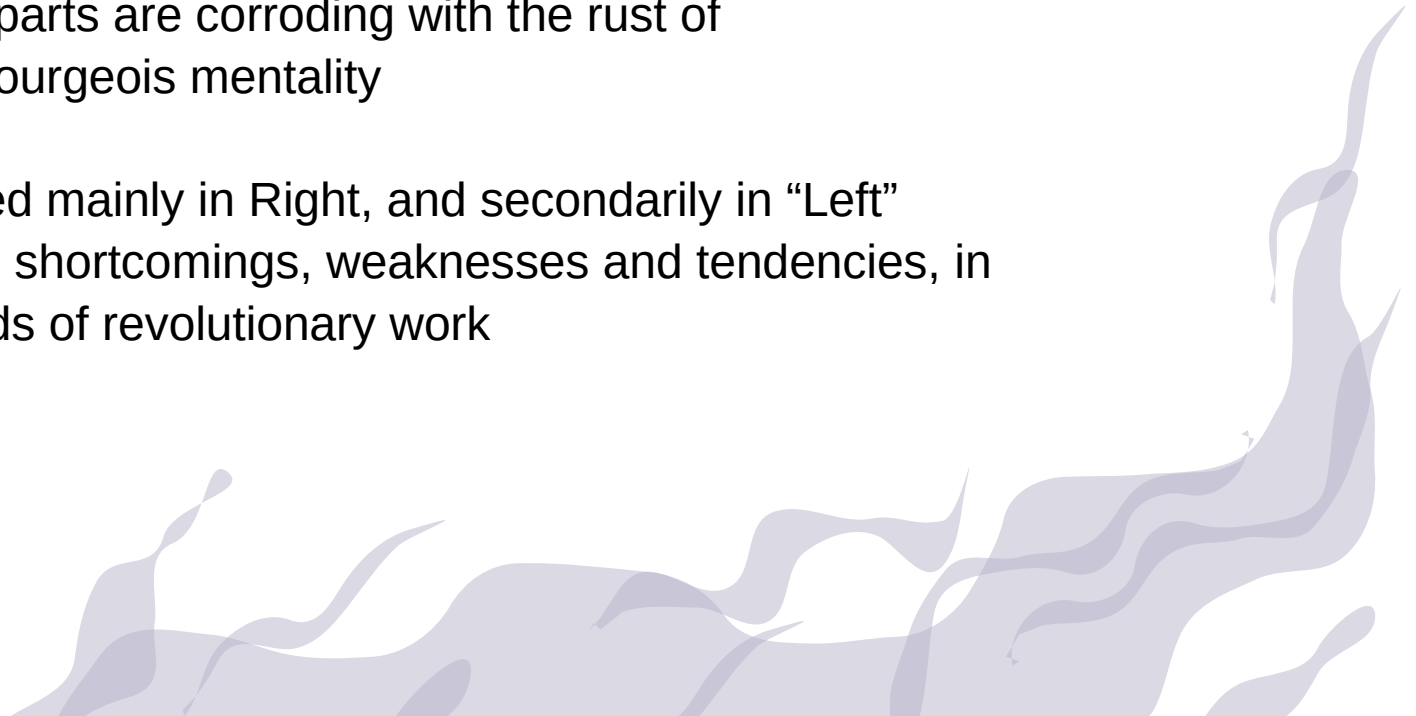
# 4

empiricism in the ideological field can be observed in the following:

- unsustained efforts in education work
- lack efforts at reading and studying classic theories and Party documents
- lack of systematic efforts to carry out SICA → leading to shallow analysis of issues, and lack of firm grasp of the concrete conditions
- tendency to see only what is immediately in front of them, and fail to see the process of development



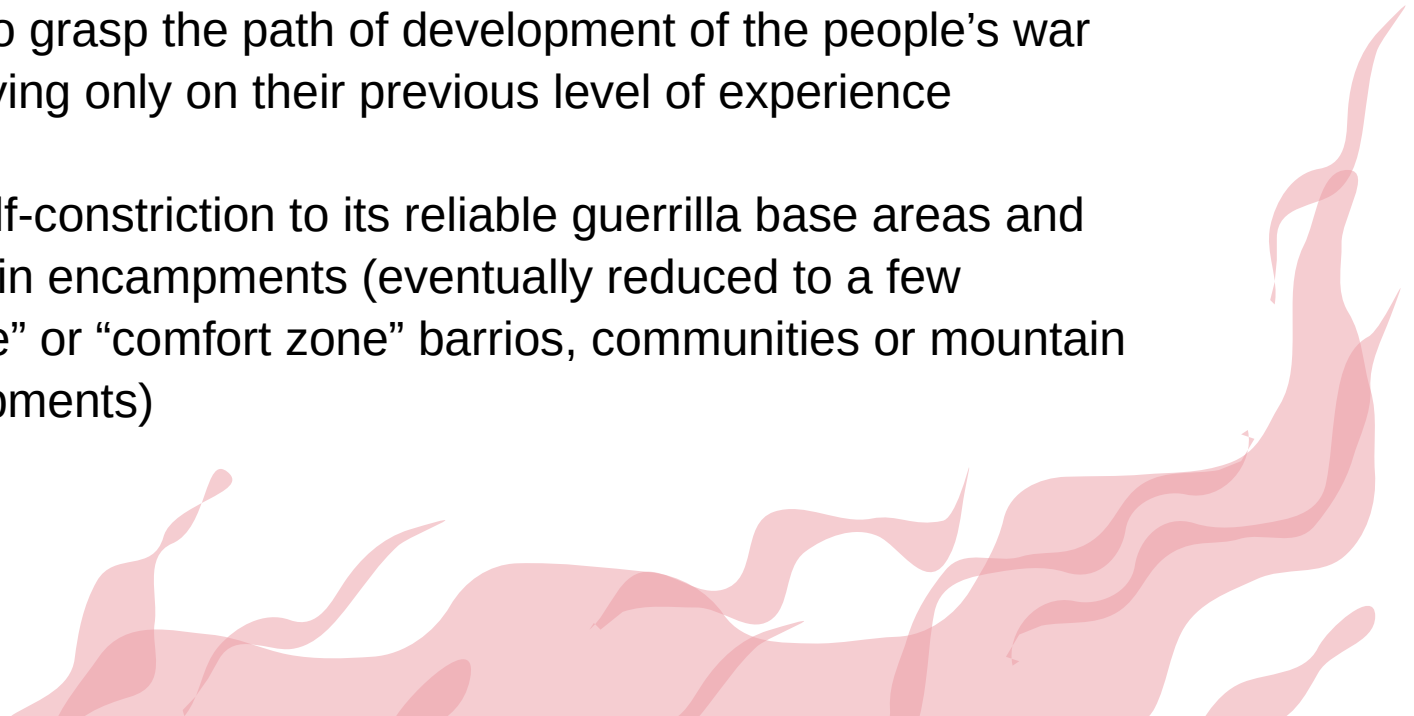
- in times of victories and advances, they grow complacent and cocksure, and slide into pessimism or passivity in times of difficulties and losses
- many parts are corroding with the rust of pettybourgeois mentality
- resulted mainly in Right, and secondarily in “Left” errors, shortcomings, weaknesses and tendencies, in all fields of revolutionary work



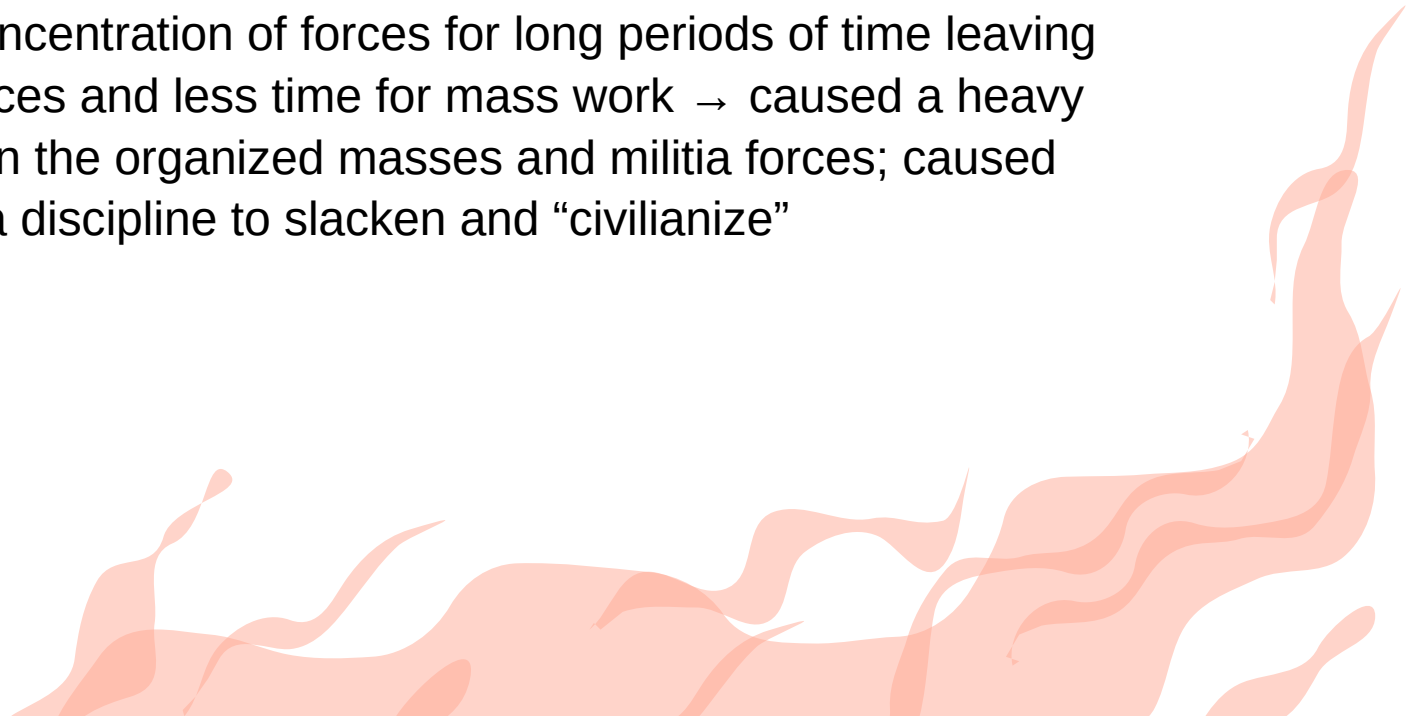
# 5

**ideological subjectivism in the field of revolutionary armed struggle (AS)** resulting to stagnation and got stuck for a long time at the old level in not a few guerrilla fronts

- failing to grasp the path of development of the people's war and relying only on their previous level of experience
- NPA self-constriction to its reliable guerrilla base areas and mountain encampments (eventually reduced to a few “favorite” or “comfort zone” barrios, communities or mountain encampments)



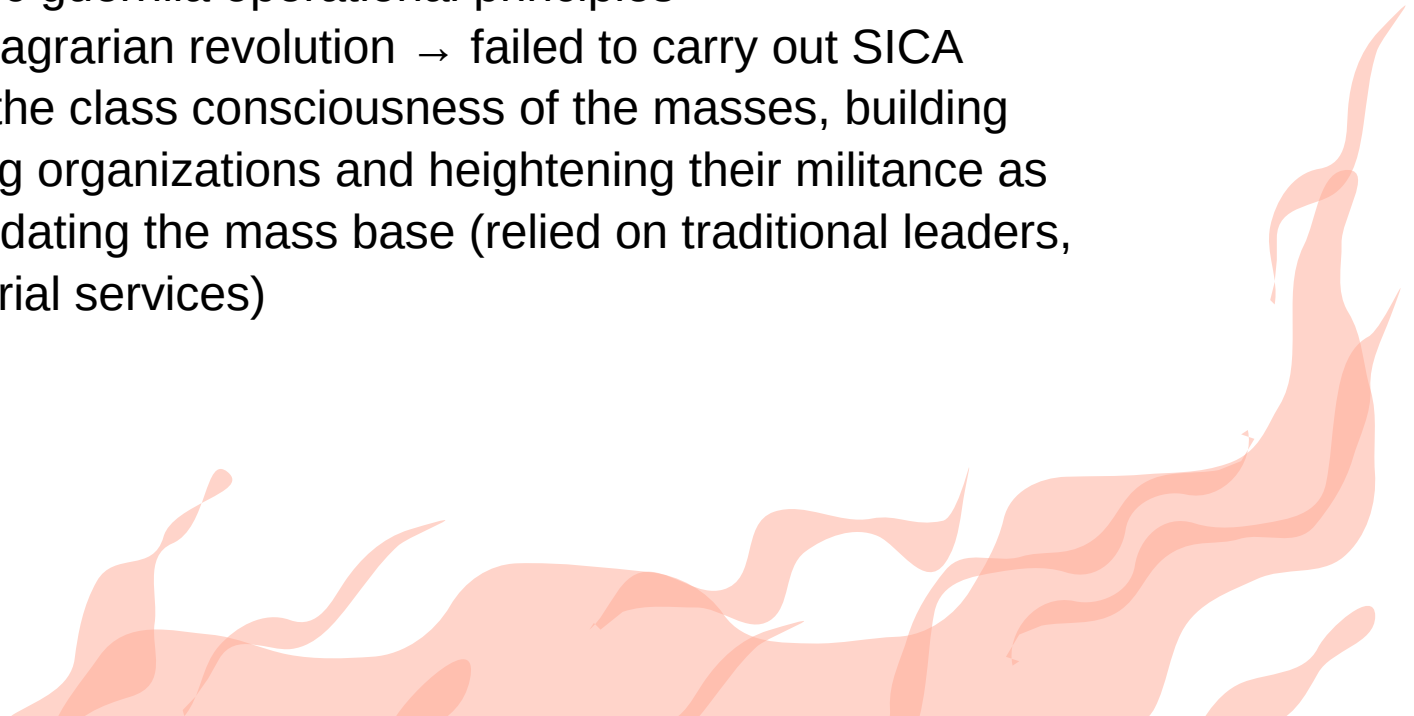
- loss of initiative leads to military conservatism, becoming content with attritive tactical offensives
- over-concentration of forces for long periods of time leaving less forces and less time for mass work → caused a heavy strain on the organized masses and militia forces; caused guerrilla discipline to slacken and “civilianize”



# 6

(AS) during phases of advances, there is tendency to underestimate the enemy's capacity and see only their tactical victories

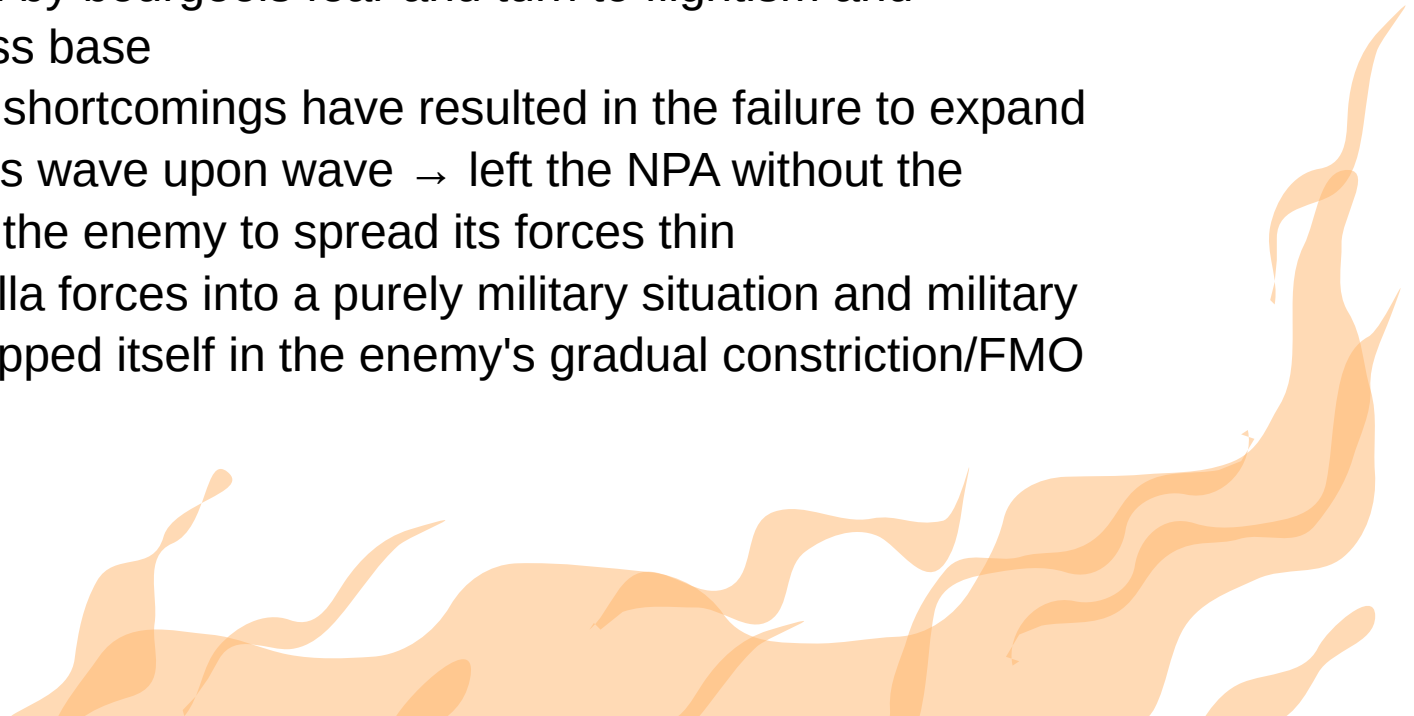
- lost grasp of basic guerrilla operational principles
- failure in waging agrarian revolution → failed to carry out SICA
- failure in raising the class consciousness of the masses, building and strengthening organizations and heightening their militance as means to consolidating the mass base (relied on traditional leaders, and merely material services)



# 7

(AS) in times of retreat, there is tendency to overestimate the strength and size of the enemy and lost their dialectical bearings

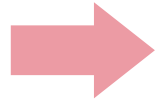
- got overwhelmed by bourgeois fear and turn to flightism and abandon the mass base
- these errors and shortcomings have resulted in the failure to expand the guerrilla fronts wave upon wave → left the NPA without the capacity to force the enemy to spread its forces thin
- placed the guerrilla forces into a purely military situation and military passivity, and trapped itself in the enemy's gradual constriction/FMO campaign



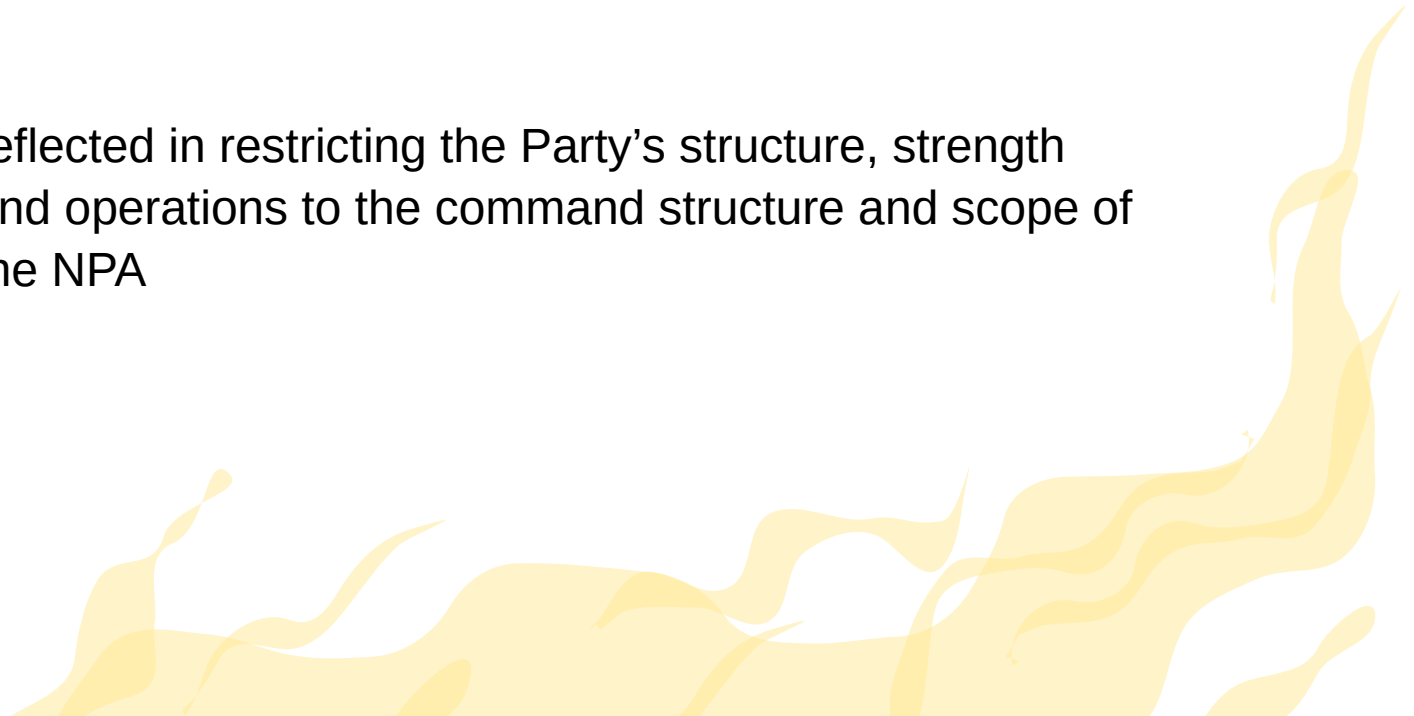


# 8

error of some regional Party committees of neglecting or failing to effectively lead the revolutionary mass movement in both the cities and countryside



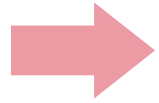
reflected in restricting the Party's structure, strength and operations to the command structure and scope of the NPA



# 9

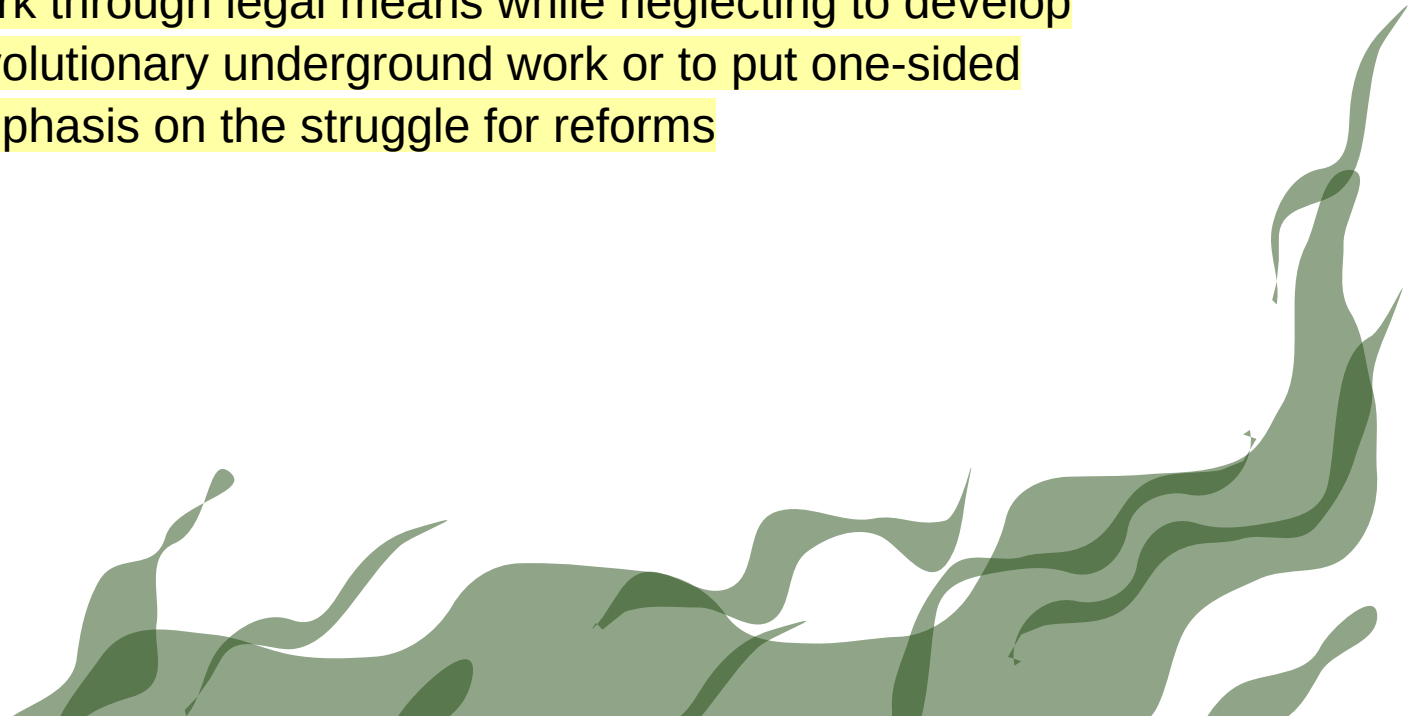
in the revolutionary mass movement, we have observed mainly the **RIGHT OPPORTUNIST TENDENCIES** of conservatism, tailism, legalism, economism, reformism, and NGOism





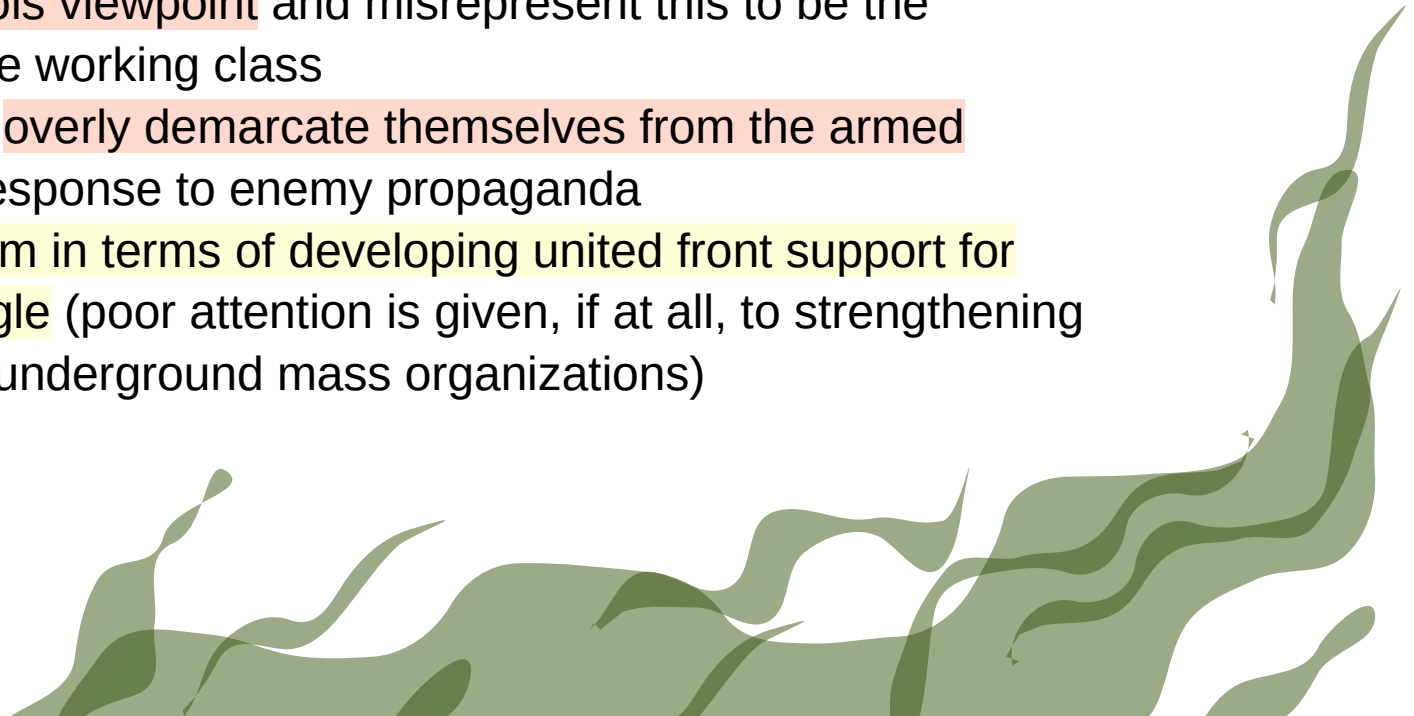
**problems in combining dialectically legal and illegal forms of struggle;**

a) tendency to primarily or exclusively course political work through legal means while neglecting to develop revolutionary underground work or to put one-sided emphasis on the struggle for reforms



b) tendency to make mass actions serve as part of bourgeois  
“pressure politics”

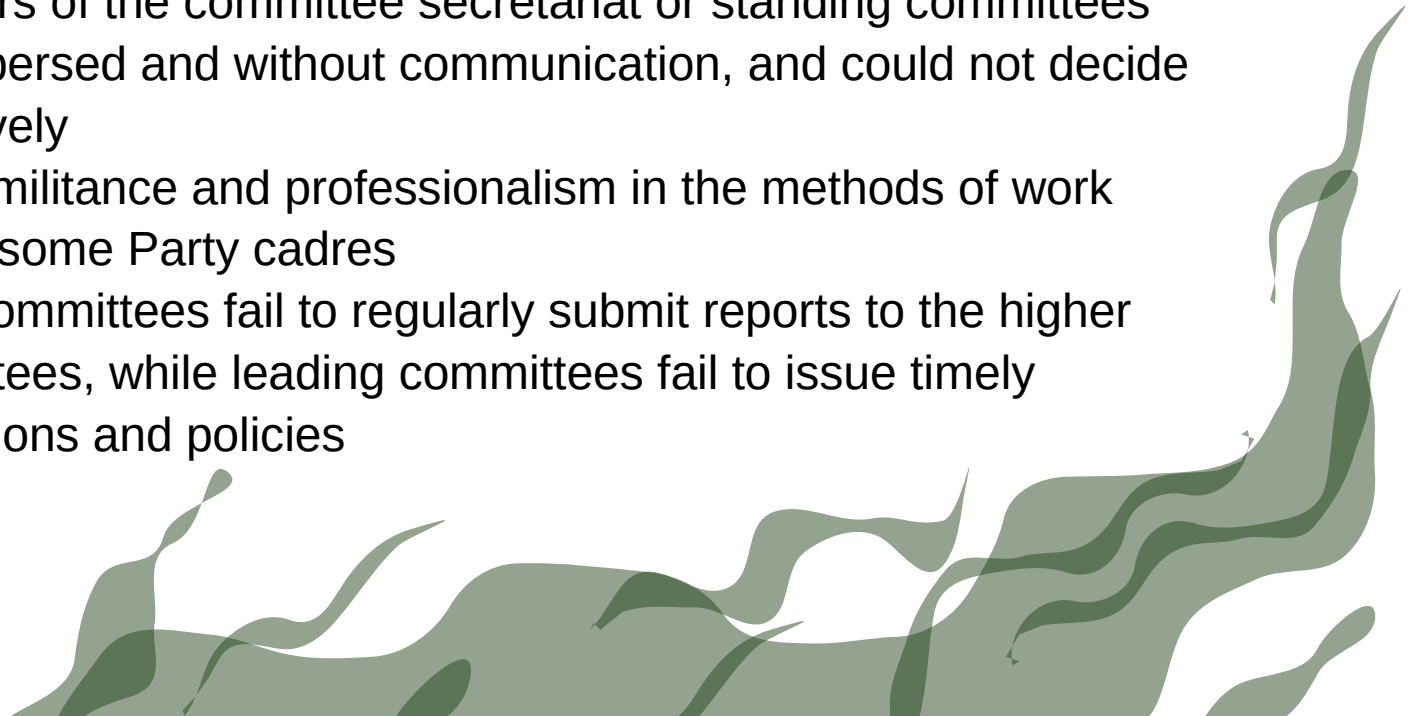
- tendency to analyze or respond to issues from the narrow pettybourgeois viewpoint and misrepresent this to be the interest of the working class
- Tendency to overly demarcate themselves from the armed struggle in response to enemy propaganda
- conservatism in terms of developing united front support for armed struggle (poor attention is given, if at all, to strengthening the sectoral underground mass organizations)



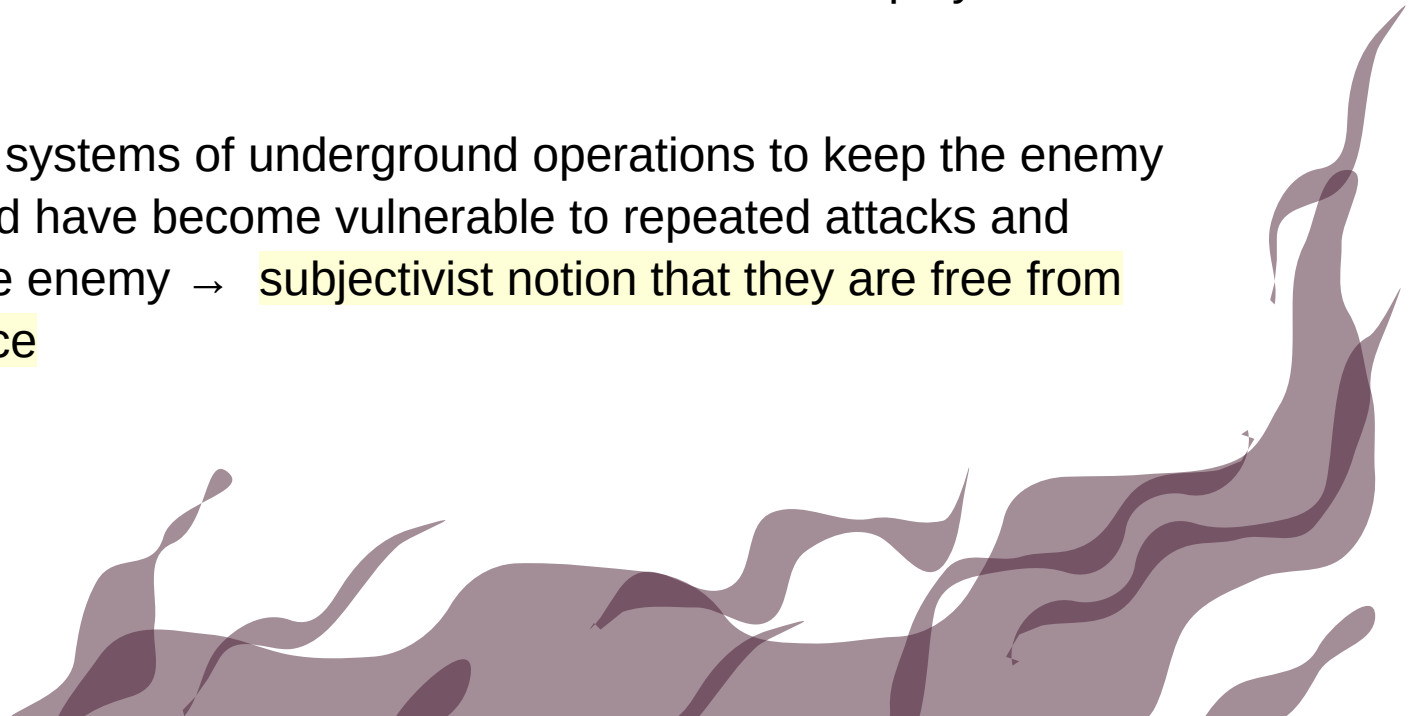
# 10

in the organizational field, empiricist subjectivism leads to liberalism, ultra-democracy and bureaucratism which resulted to the weakening of the committee system and collective leadership

- members of the committee secretariat or standing committees are dispersed and without communication, and could not decide collectively
- lack of militance and professionalism in the methods of work among some Party cadres
- lower committees fail to regularly submit reports to the higher committees, while leading committees fail to issue timely instructions and policies



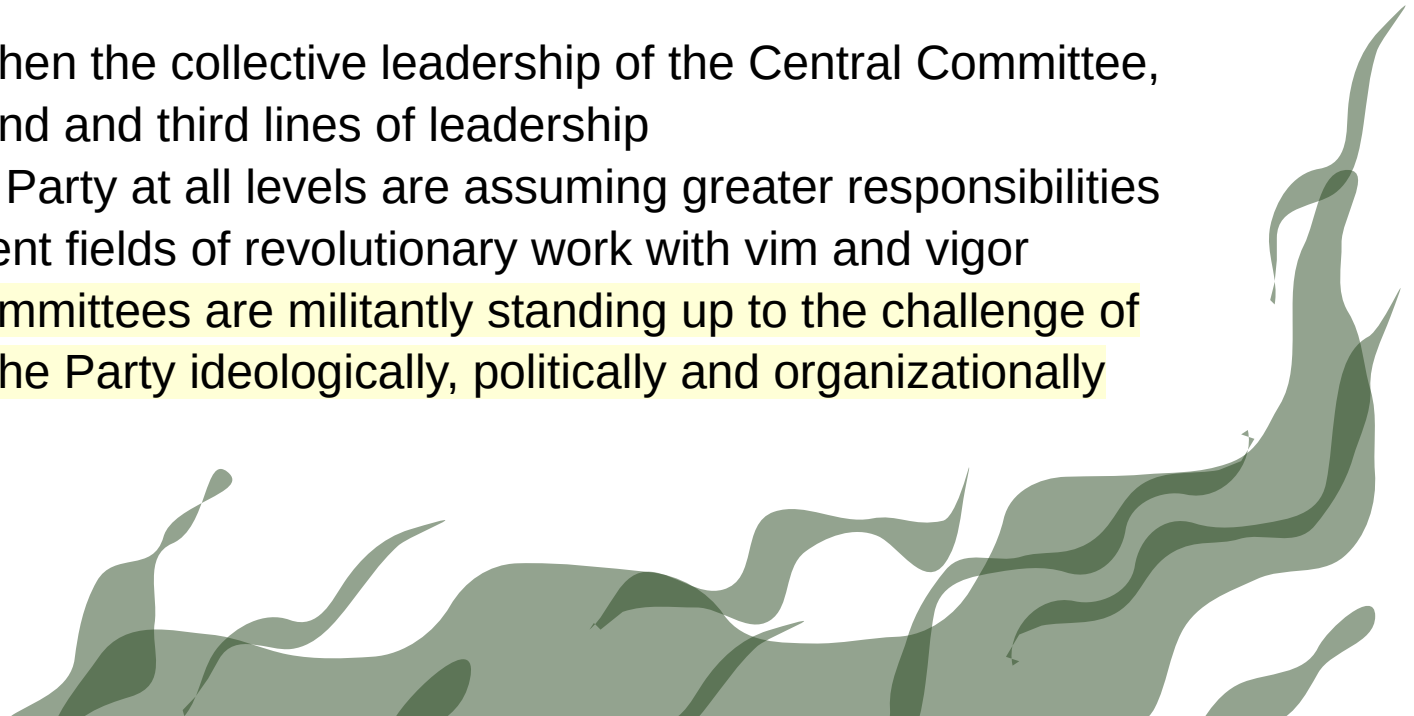
- give special attention to the problem of bureaucratization among leading Party committees in the mass movement in the cities who have become more attached to offices and detached from the broad masses; liberalism among key Party cadres and full-time organizers to be “civilianized” and “domesticated,” or be afflicted with an “employee” mentality
- failure to develop systems of underground operations to keep the enemy deaf and blind and have become vulnerable to repeated attacks and entrapment by the enemy → subjectivist notion that they are free from enemy surveillance



# 11

Party cadres and Party committees are being consolidated to overcome these various forms of subjectivism and long-running Right errors, tendencies, or shortcomings, in order to strengthen the revolutionary forces and carry forward the revolution with greater energy

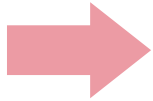
- we continue to strengthen the collective leadership of the Central Committee, together with the second and third lines of leadership
- younger cadres of the Party at all levels are assuming greater responsibilities and infusing the different fields of revolutionary work with vim and vigor
- leading cadres and committees are militantly standing up to the challenge of further strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally



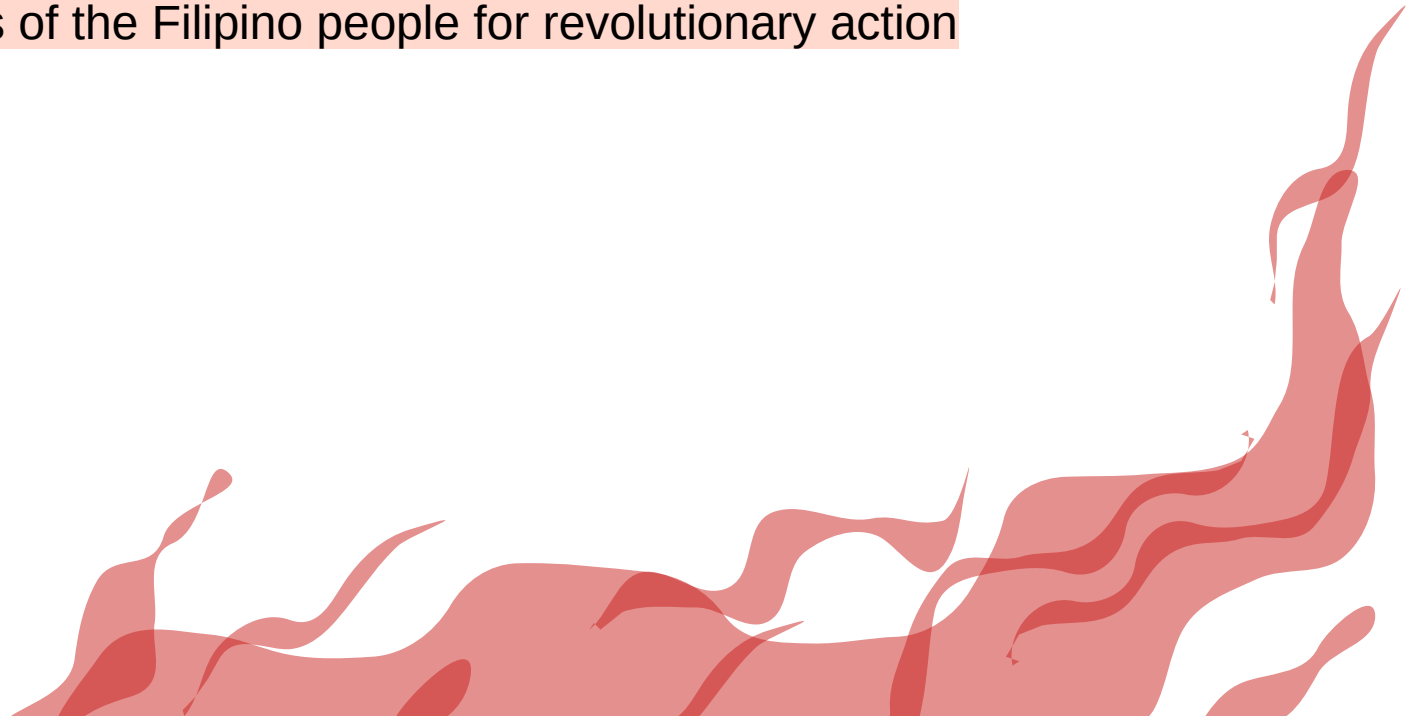
# **IV. URGENT AND CRITICAL TASKS FOR STRENGTHENING THE PARTY AND ADVANCING THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**







urgent need to → to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the Filipino people for revolutionary action



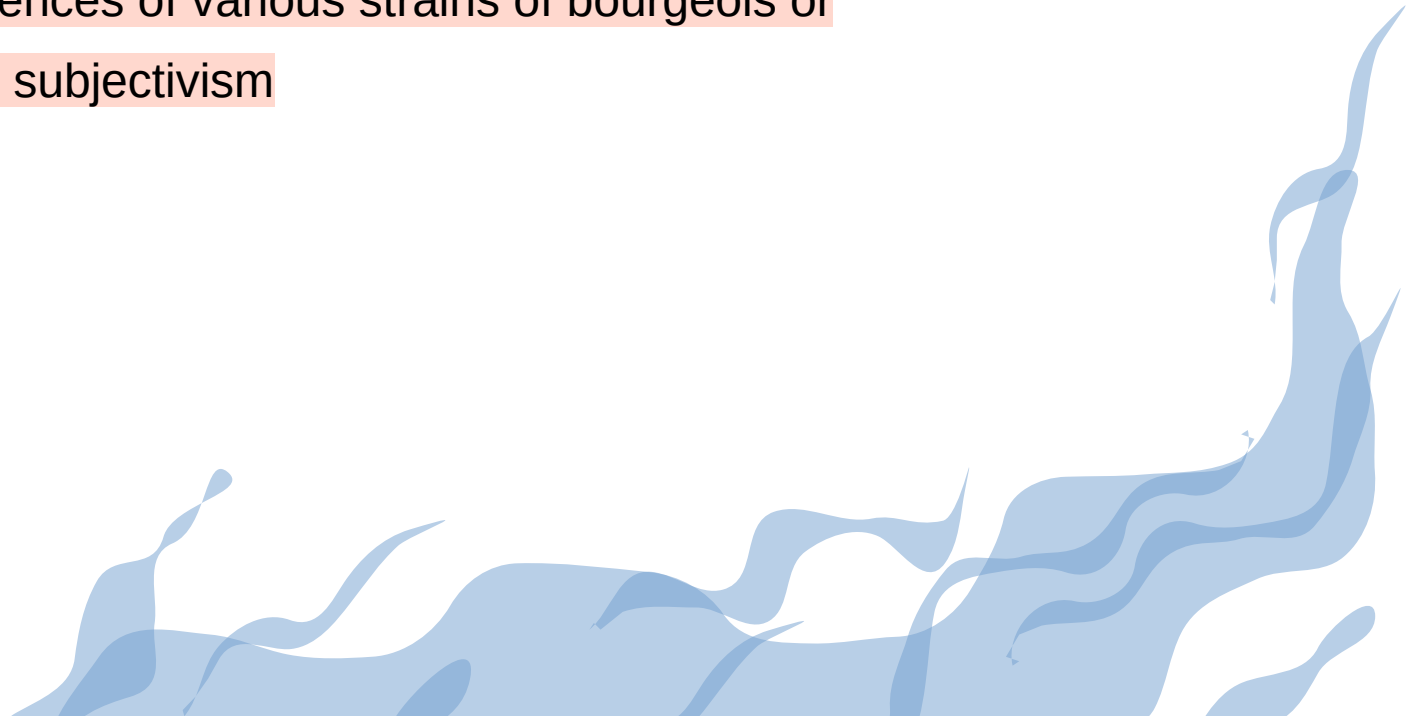
A

**Carry out the rectification movement  
to strengthen the Party**



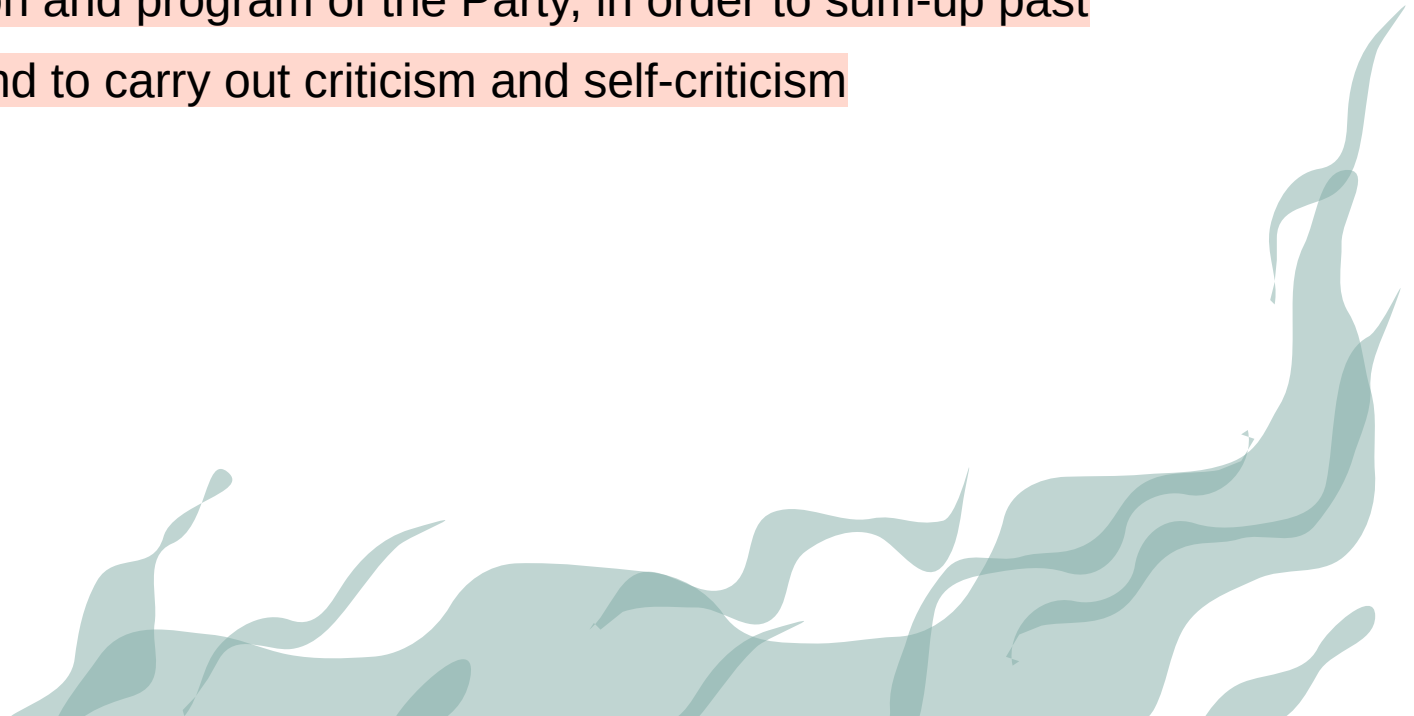
1

decisively and vigorously carry forward a comprehensive rectification movement to wage a crucial struggle to repudiate the pernicious effect and influences of various strains of bourgeois or pettybourgeois subjectivism



2

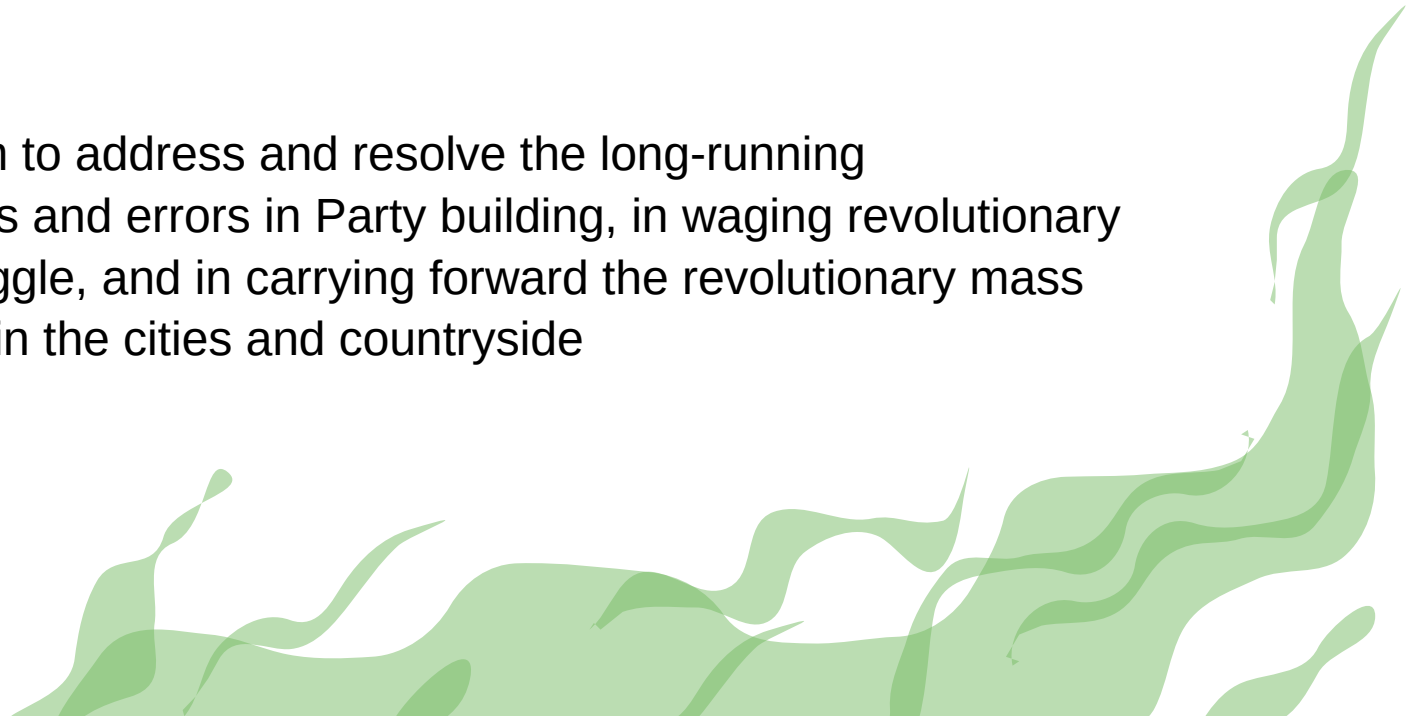
rectification movement → movement to study and reaffirm our adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and to the basic principles, line, constitution and program of the Party, in order to sum-up past experiences and to carry out criticism and self-criticism



# 3

principal aim → raise our understanding and strengthen our grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the principles and line of the Party

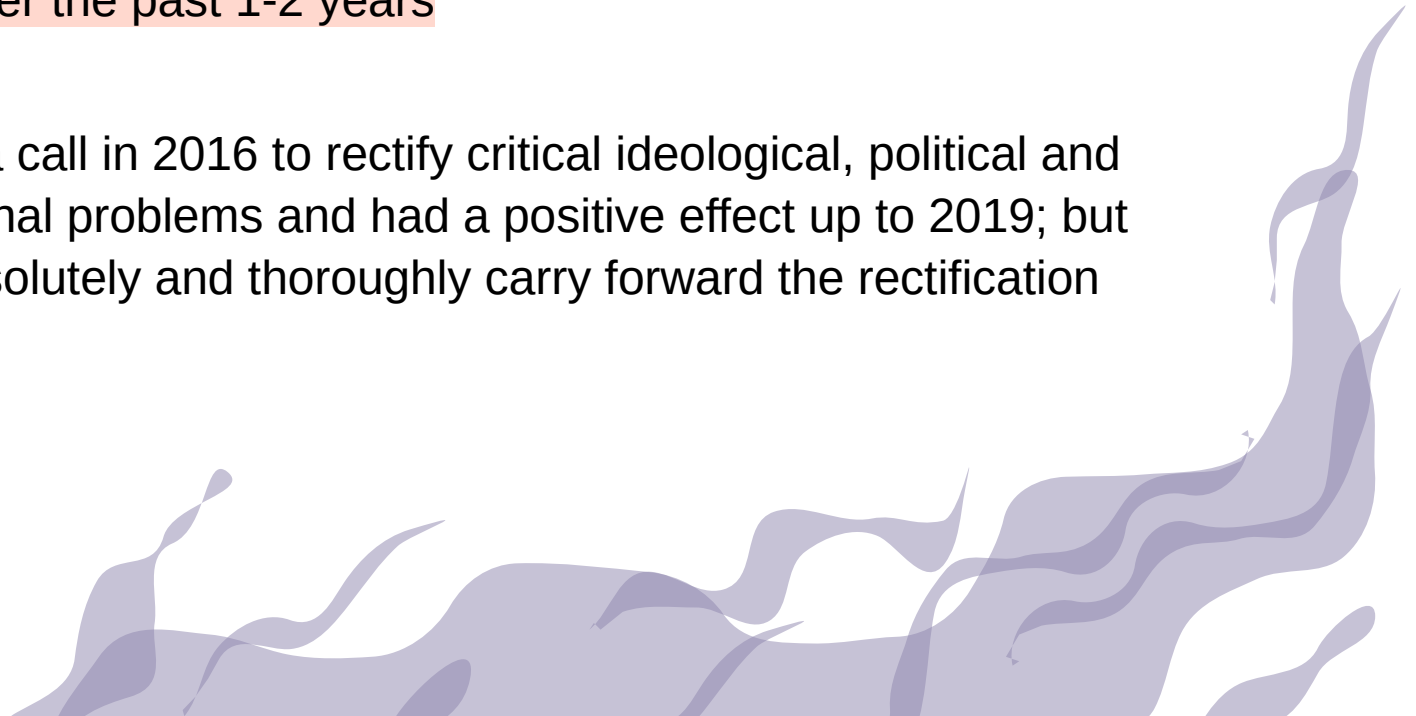
- we also aim to address and resolve the long-running weaknesses and errors in Party building, in waging revolutionary armed struggle, and in carrying forward the revolutionary mass movement in the cities and countryside



# 4

the decision to launch a rectification movement comes at the heels of efforts of various Party regional committees and other leading committees over the past 1-2 years

- there was a call in 2016 to rectify critical ideological, political and organizational problems and had a positive effect up to 2019; but failed to resolutely and thoroughly carry forward the rectification movement

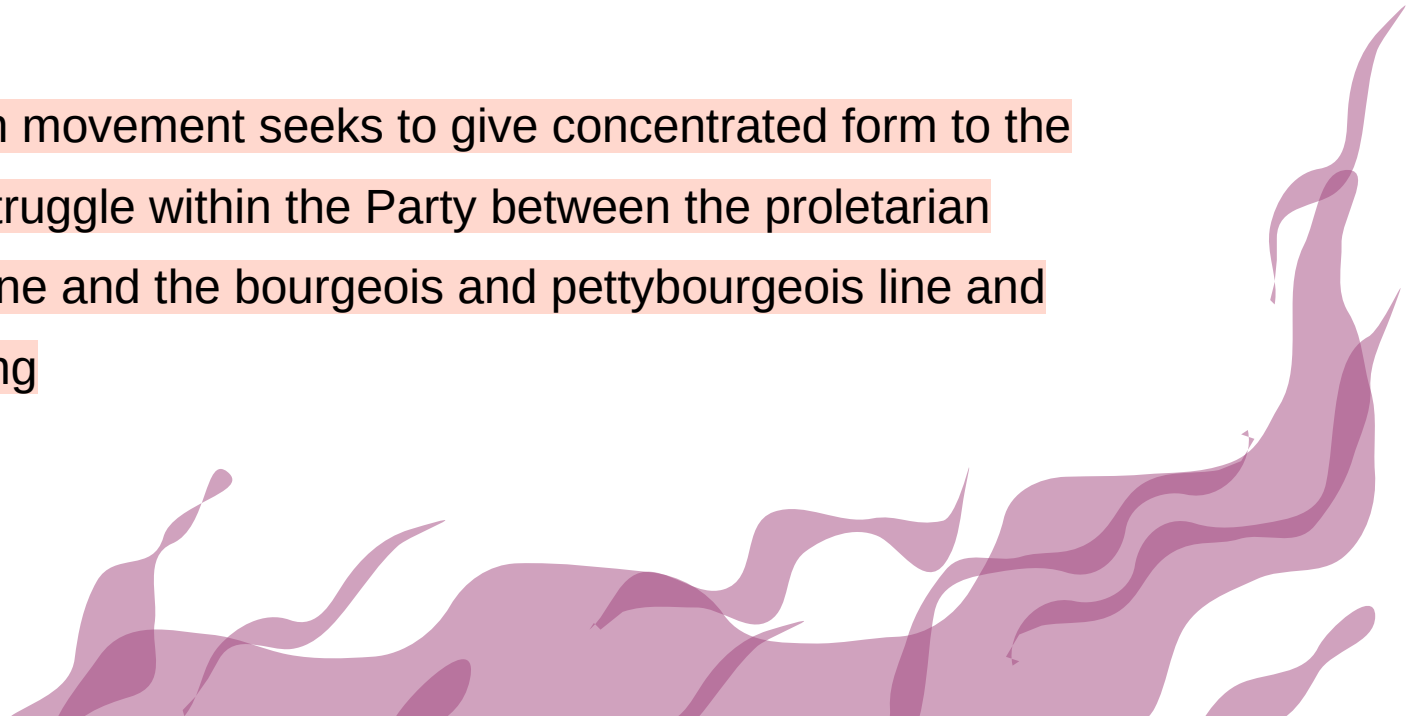


5

today we are fighting PERVASIVE EMPIRICISM and the various strains of BOURGEOIS and PETTYBOURGEOIS subjectivism leading to Right and “Left” opportunist tendencies

6

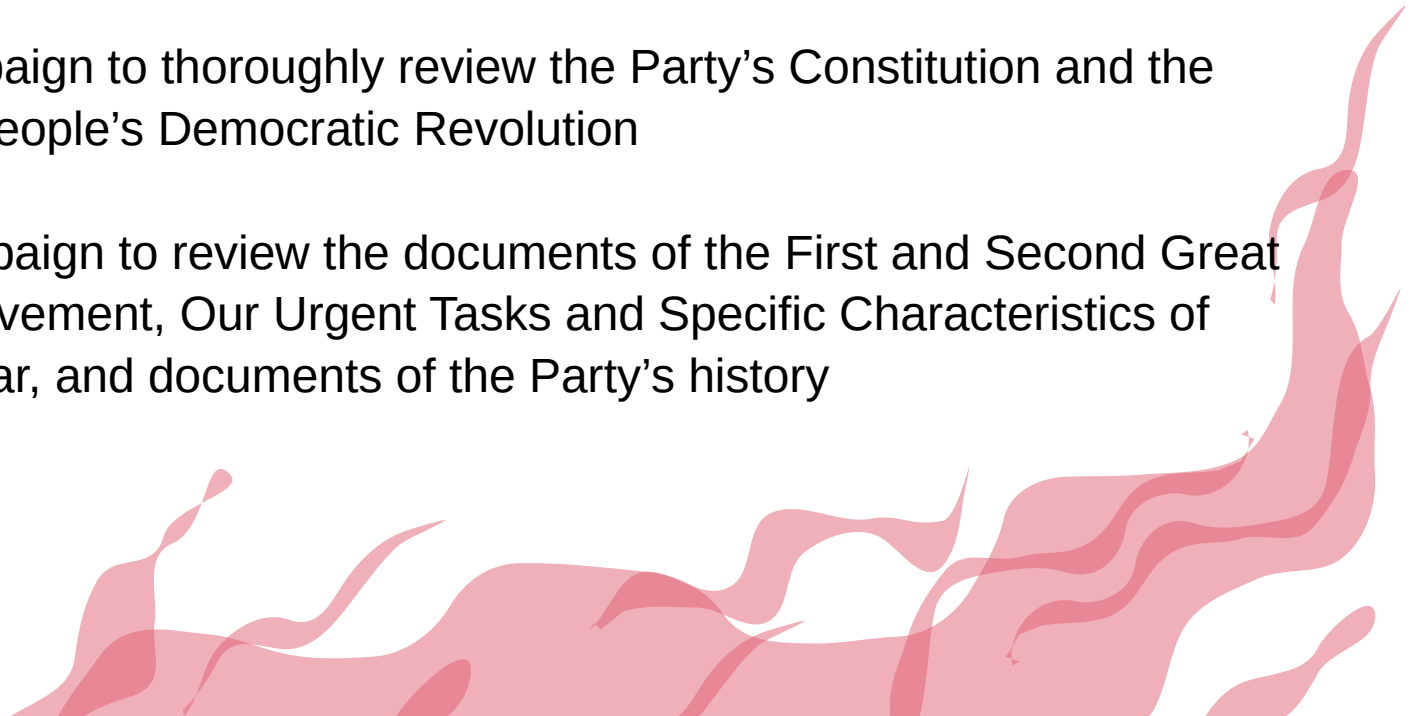
the rectification movement seeks to give concentrated form to the ever present struggle within the Party between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois and pettybourgeois line and mode of thinking



# 7

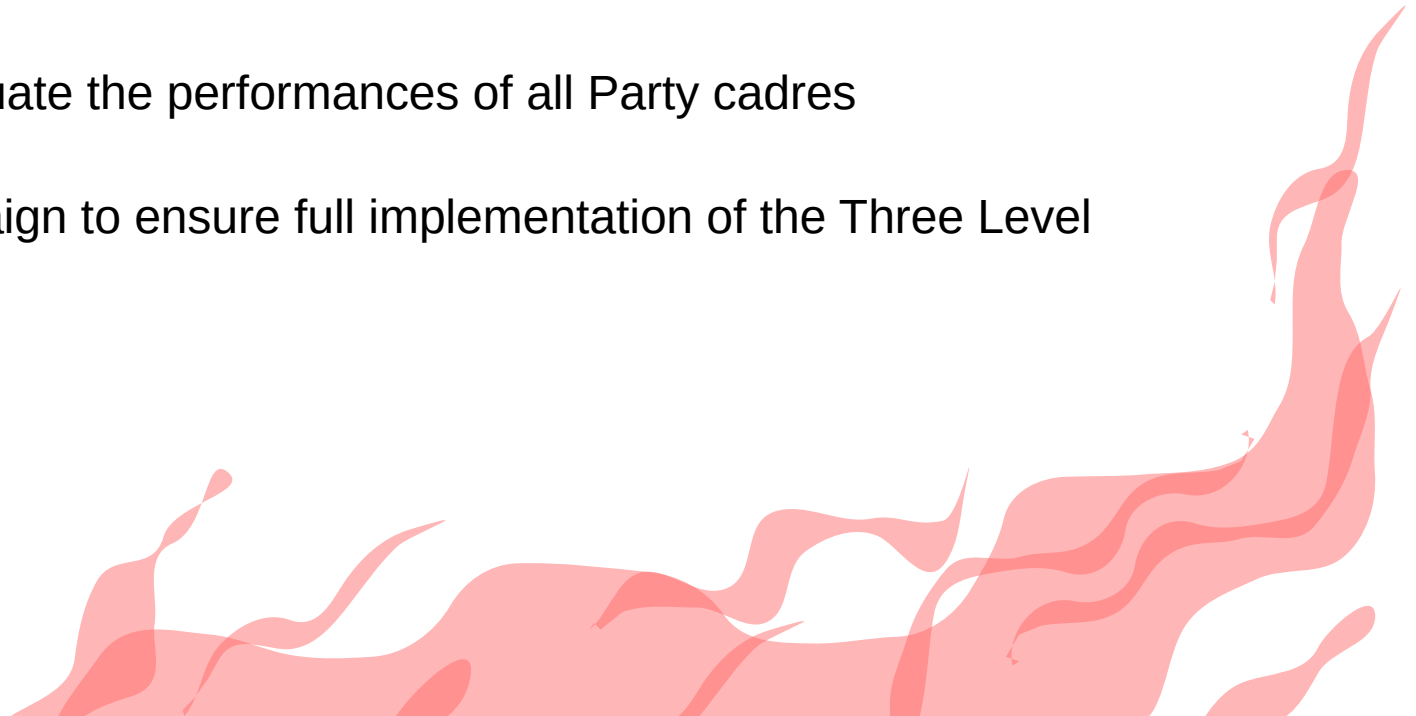
The rectification movement will have the  
(8) following components:

- i) a study campaign to thoroughly study and review the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism
- ii) a study campaign to thoroughly review the Party's Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution
- iii) a study campaign to review the documents of the First and Second Great Rectification Movement, Our Urgent Tasks and Specific Characteristics of Our People's War, and documents of the Party's history





- iv) a campaign to sum-up experiences and review previous summings-up
- v) a social investigation and class analysis (SICA) campaign at all levels
- vi) a campaign of criticism and self-criticism at all levels
- vii) a campaign to evaluate the performances of all Party cadres
- viii) a continuing campaign to ensure full implementation of the Three Level Party Course



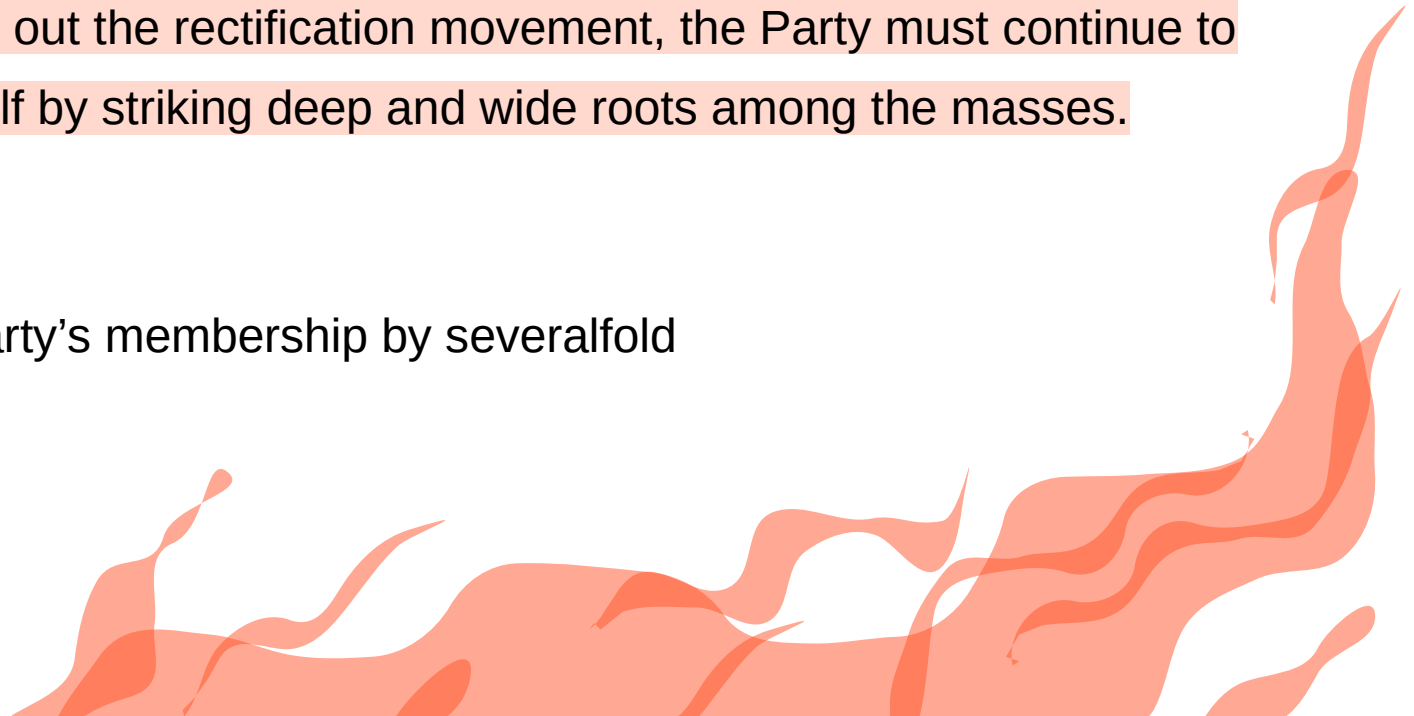
8

it should be carried out thoroughly and completed at all levels in the next 1-2 years

9

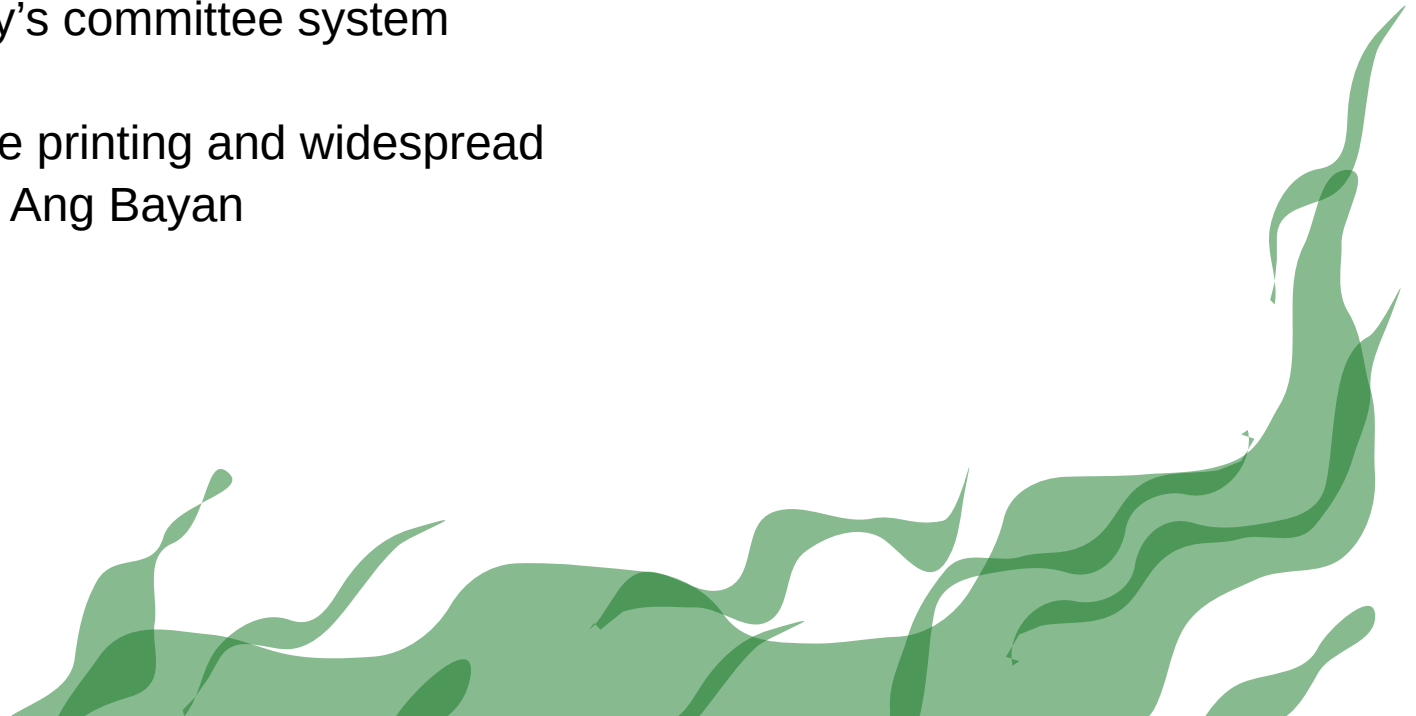
While we carry out the rectification movement, the Party must continue to strengthen itself by striking deep and wide roots among the masses.

i) expand the Party's membership by severalfold



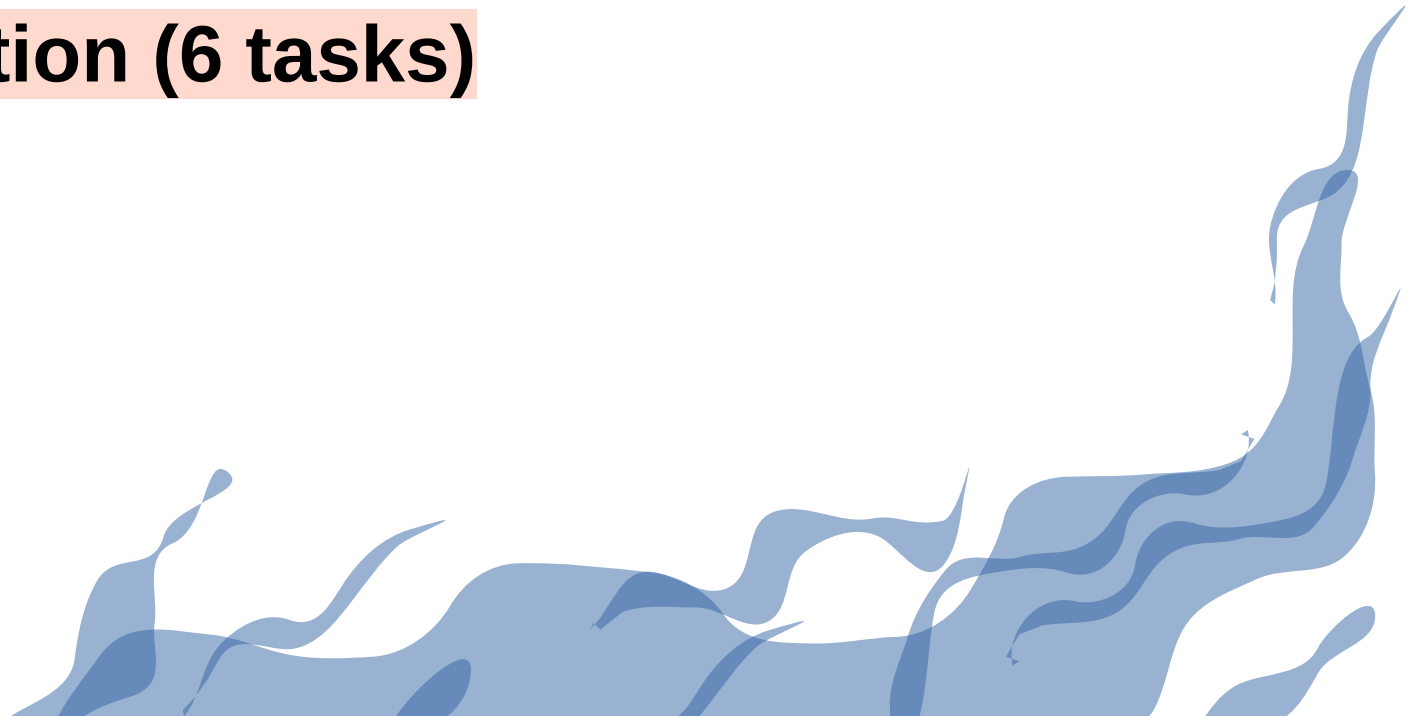
ii) strengthen democratic centralism  
and the Party's committee system

iii) Ensure the printing and widespread  
circulation of Ang Bayan



B

**Comprehensively carry forward the  
revolution (6 tasks)**



# 1

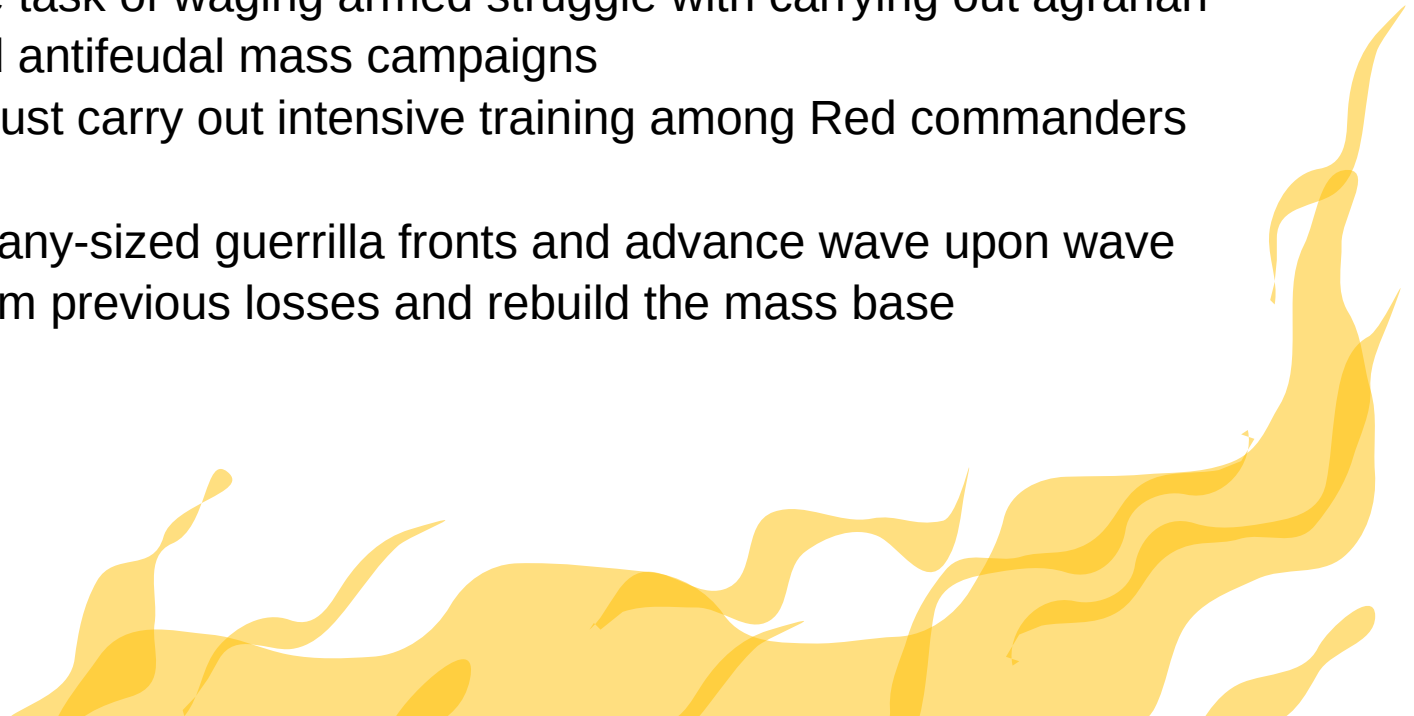
## Lead the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles

- i) the US-Marcos regime is currently the most concentrated expression of reactionary fascist rule
- ii) link and raise the daily life-and-death struggles of various democratic classes and sectors to the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism
- iii) focus on exposing and fighting the economic policies and programs being promoted by US imperialism
- iv) expose and oppose US military intervention and increasing US military presence in the Philippines

# 2

Strengthen the New People's Army, recover from losses  
and rebuild the mass base

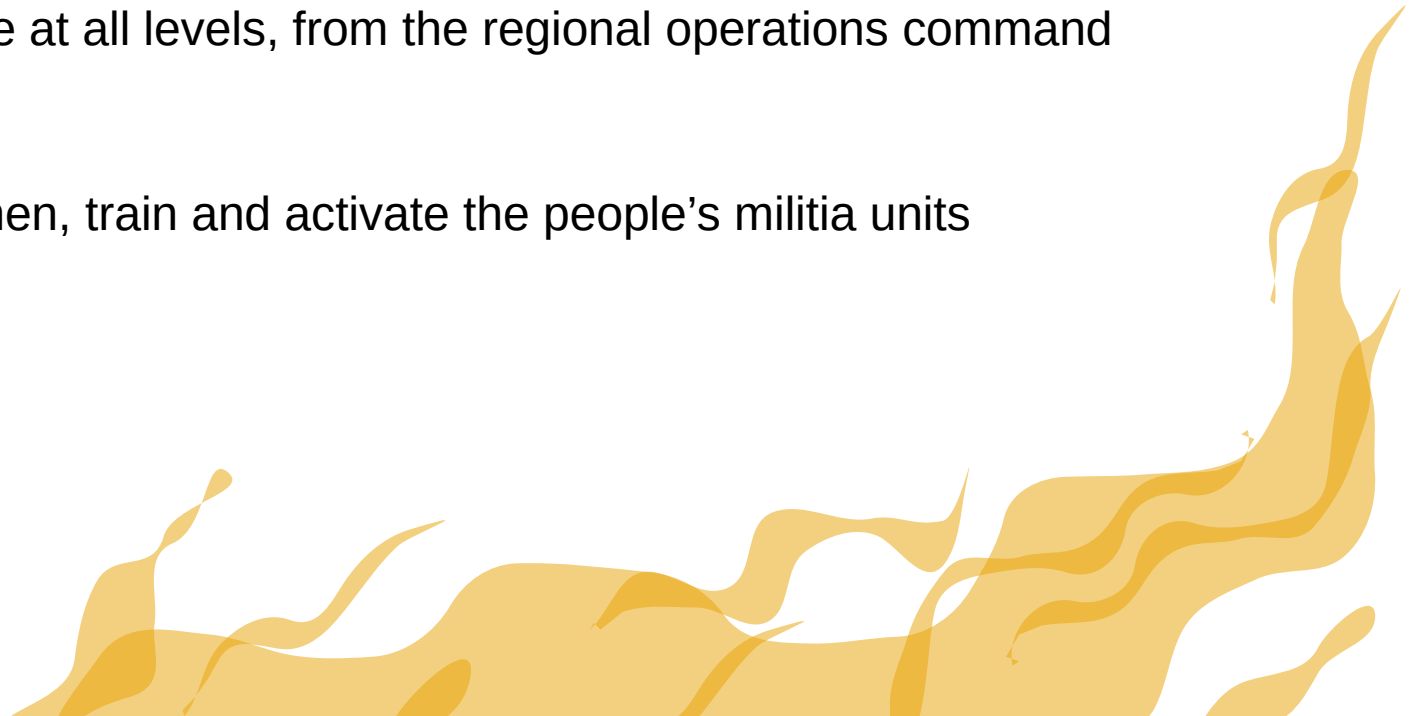
- i) combine the task of waging armed struggle with carrying out agrarian revolution and antifeudal mass campaigns
- ii) the Party must carry out intensive training among Red commanders and fighters
- iii) build company-sized guerrilla fronts and advance wave upon wave
- iv) recover from previous losses and rebuild the mass base



v) launch basic or annihilative tactical offensives

vi) strengthen the platoon as the basic unit of the NPA, and build the command structure at all levels, from the regional operations command to the front

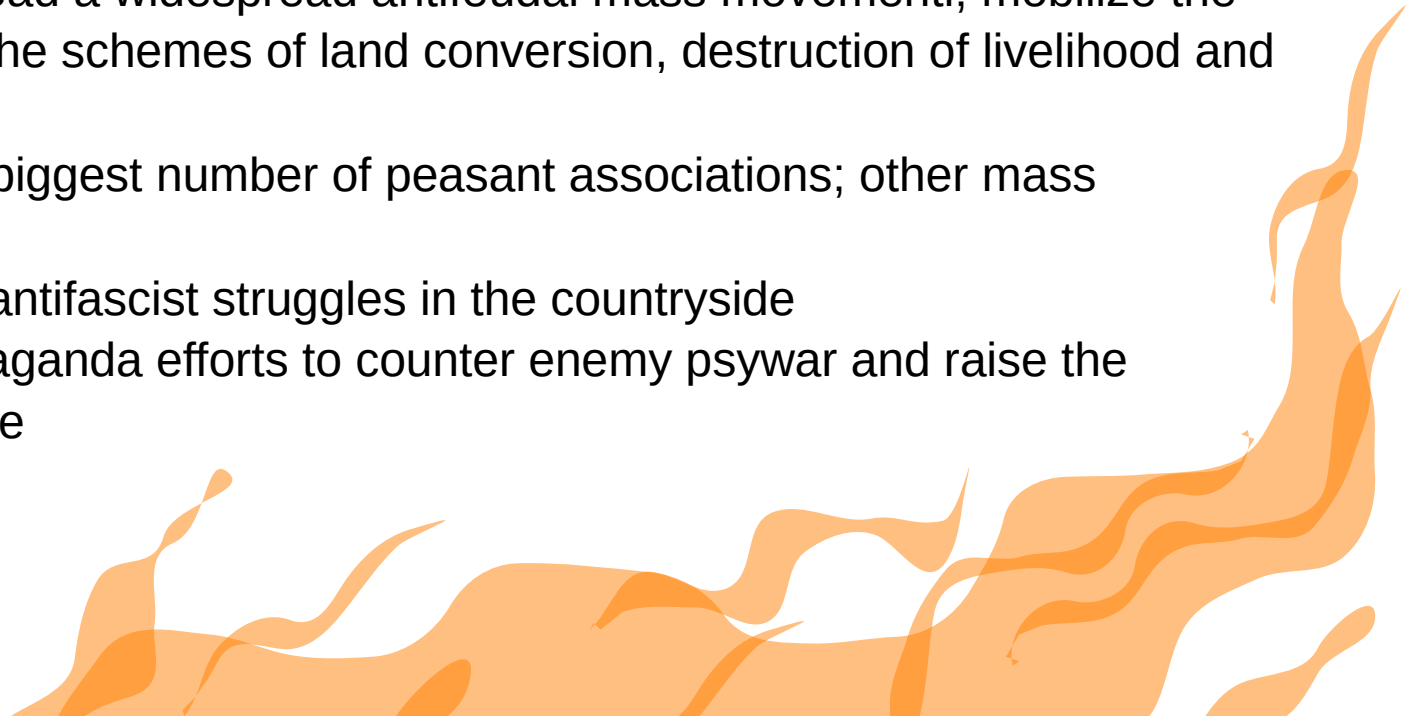
vii) further strengthen, train and activate the people's militia units



# 3

## Strengthen and expand the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside

- i) mobilize the peasant masses in great numbers and smash the regime of white terror imposed on them through the fascist AFP and the NTF-Elcac
- ii) develop and lead a widespread antifeudal mass movement; mobilize the masses to fight the schemes of land conversion, destruction of livelihood and dispossession
- iii) establish the biggest number of peasant associations; other mass organizations
- iv) heighten the antifascist struggles in the countryside
- v) intensify propaganda efforts to counter enemy psywar and raise the people's militance

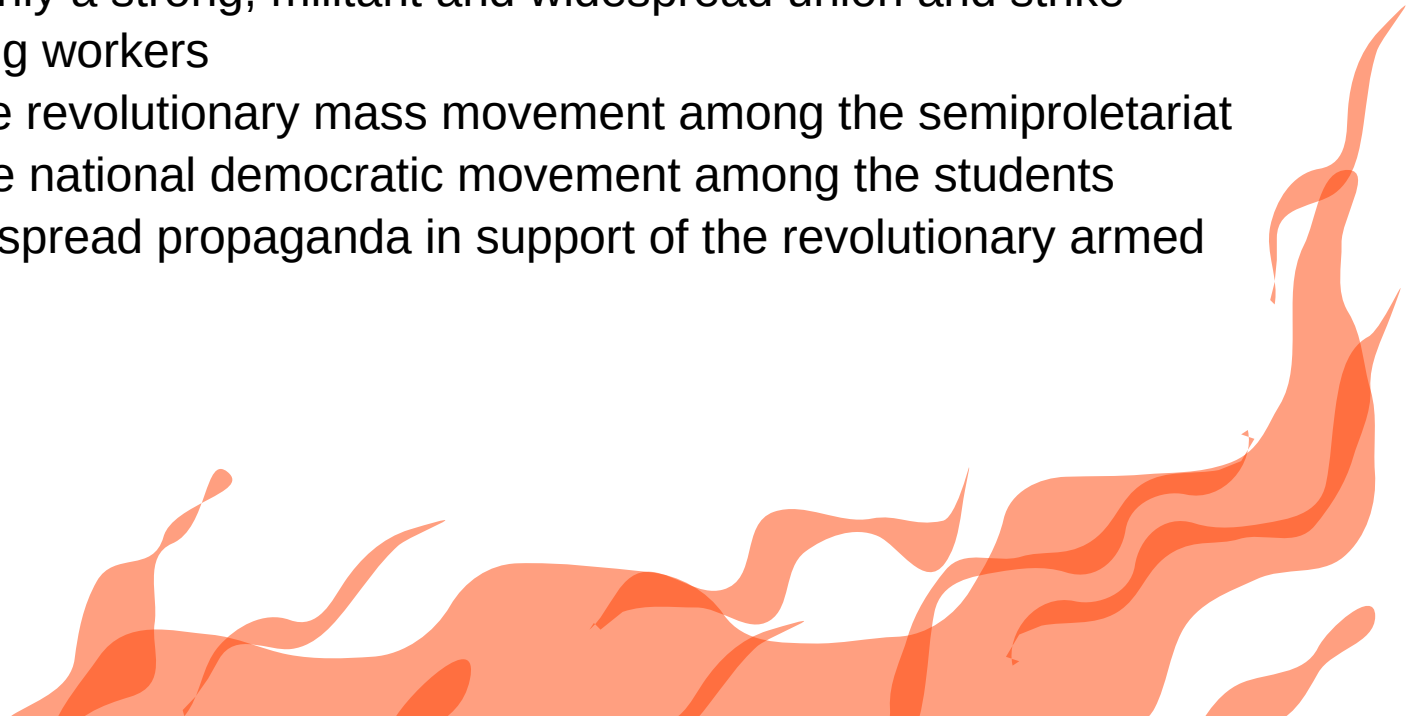




# 4

## Strengthen the revolutionary mass movement in the cities

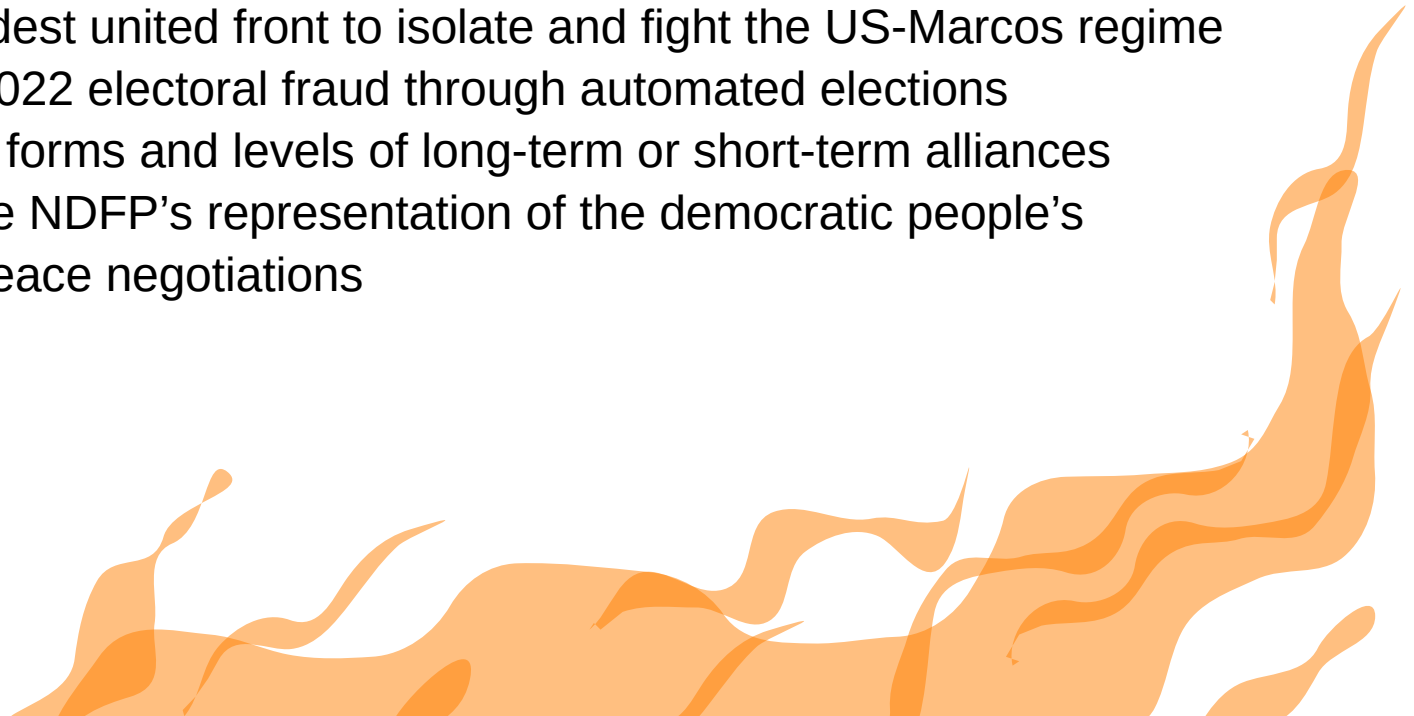
- i) overcome long-running problems and aim to mobilize the masses in increasingly big numbers
- ii) develop primarily a strong, militant and widespread union and strike movement among workers
- iii) strengthen the revolutionary mass movement among the semiproletariat
- iv) strengthen the national democratic movement among the students
- v) carry out widespread propaganda in support of the revolutionary armed struggle



# 5

Build the broadest antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front against the US-Marcos regime

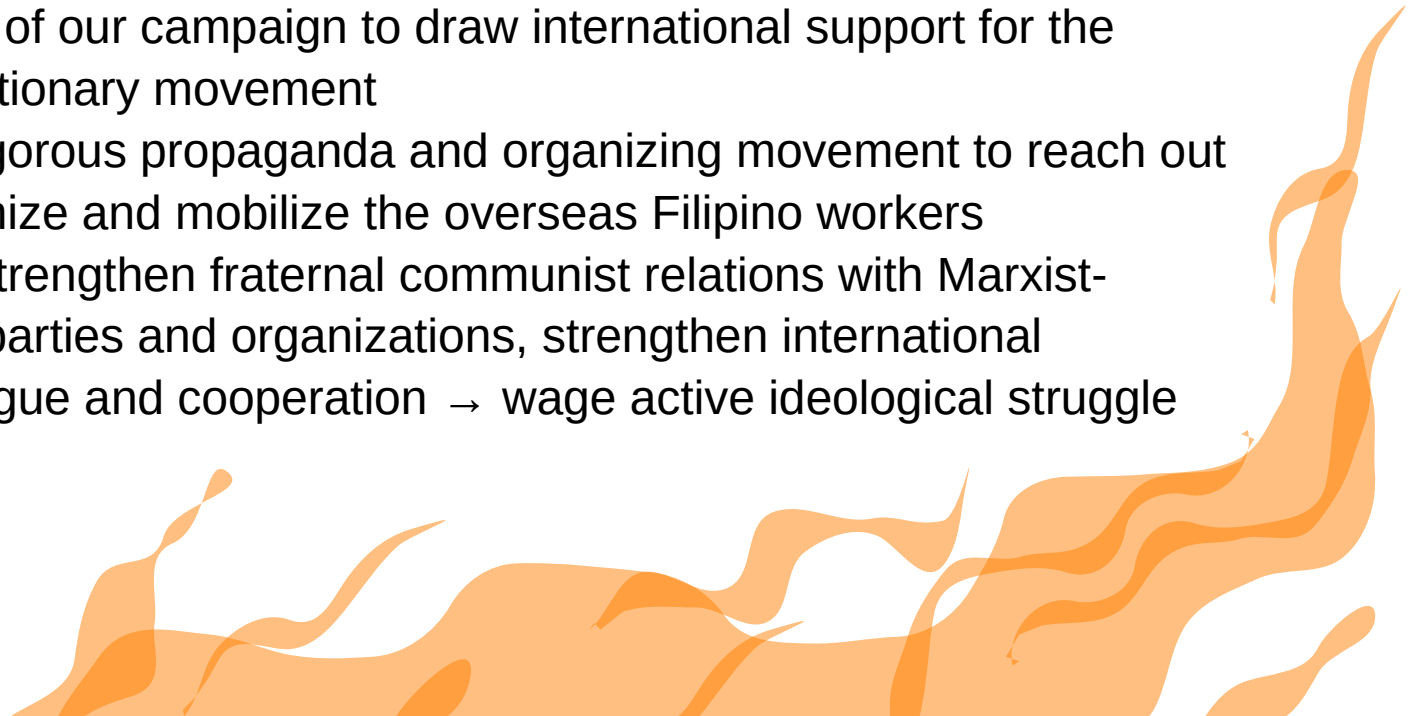
- i) continue to strengthen and broaden the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and all its allied organizations
- ii) build the broadest united front to isolate and fight the US-Marcos regime
  - expose the 2022 electoral fraud through automated elections
- iii) build different forms and levels of long-term or short-term alliances
- iv) strengthen the NDFP's representation of the democratic people's government in peace negotiations

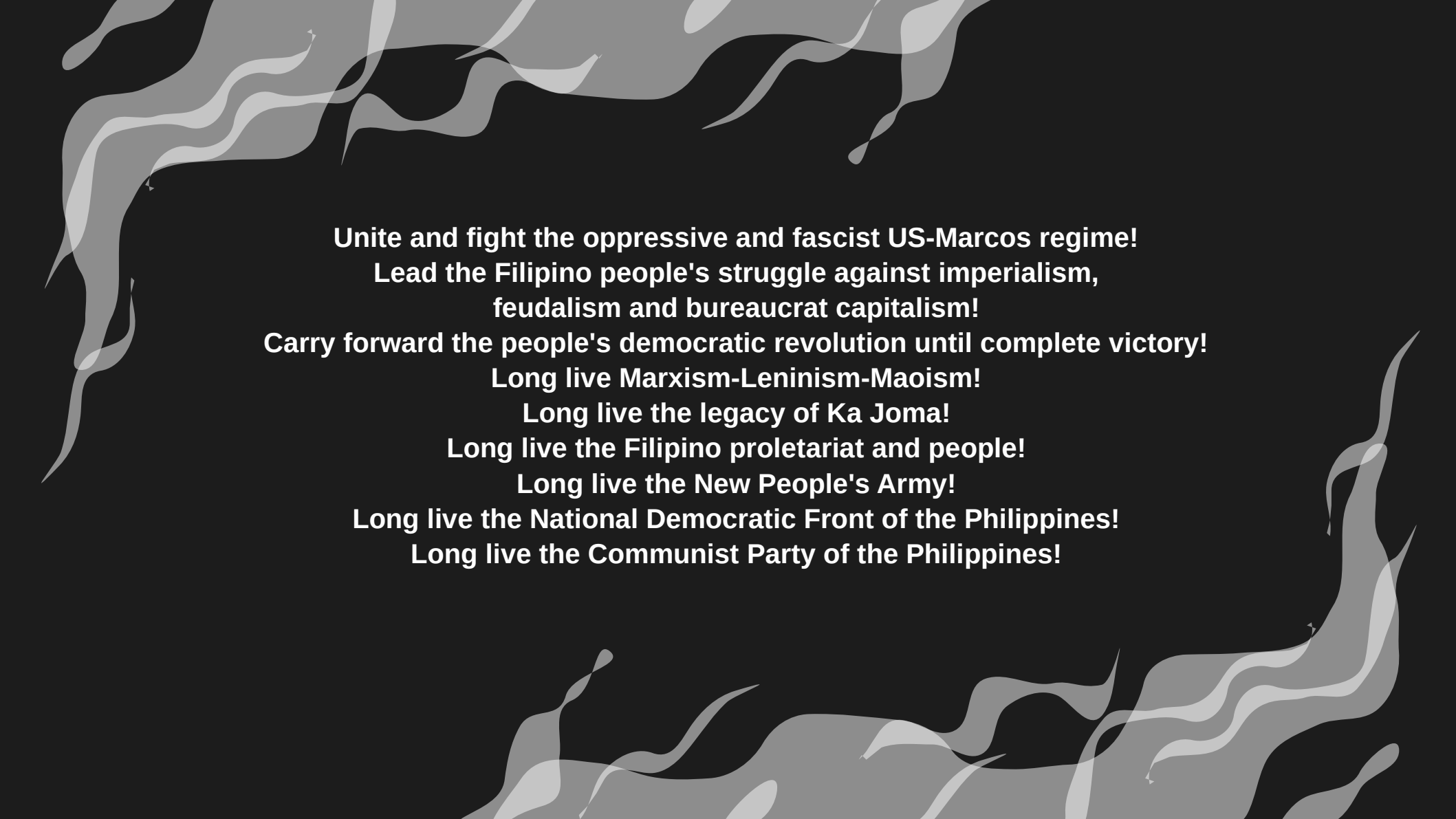


# 6

## 6) Strengthen our international revolutionary work

- i) link the Philippine revolution with the global anti-imperialist movement and the world proletarian revolution
- ii) raise the level of our campaign to draw international support for the Philippine revolutionary movement
- iii) carry out a vigorous propaganda and organizing movement to reach out to, arouse, organize and mobilize the overseas Filipino workers
- iv) continue to strengthen fraternal communist relations with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations, strengthen international communist dialogue and cooperation → wage active ideological struggle



The background of the image features a dark, textured surface with stylized, wavy, light gray shapes that resemble smoke or flames rising from the bottom and sides, framing the central text.

**Unite and fight the oppressive and fascist US-Marcos regime!**  
**Lead the Filipino people's struggle against imperialism,**  
**feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!**  
**Carry forward the people's democratic revolution until complete victory!**  
**Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**  
**Long live the legacy of Ka Joma!**  
**Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!**  
**Long live the New People's Army!**  
**Long live the National Democratic Front of the Philippines!**  
**Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!**



**#Maghimagsik55**

