

Jose Ma. Sison
(Amado Guerrero)

**Foundation for Resuming
the Philippine Revolution**

Selected Writings 1968 to September 1972

**International Network for Philippine Studies
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and

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Editor's Note

The title of this book, *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*, alludes to the continuation of the unfinished Philippine revolution started by Andres Bonifacio in 1896 and further to the relaunching of the armed struggle by the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties but defeated by the reactionary Philippine state in the 1950-54 period.

The book contains the most important writings of Jose Maria Sison from the period of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1968 to the eve of the Marcos declaration of martial law in 1972. Included are the basic founding documents of the CPP and the New People's Army (NPA) and the articles and statements issued by Amado Guerrero, nom de guerre of Jose Maria Sison, in his capacity as Chairman of the CPP Central Committee.

Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party reviews the history of the old merger party and calls for building the Party anew. The Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and Constitution of the CPP started in earnest the Party rebuilding in 1968. The Declaration and the Basic Rules of the NPA launched the people's war in 1969.

Besides being Party Chairman during the period of 1968-72, Amado Guerrero was also editor-in-chief of the Central Committee publication, *Ang Bayan*, and Chairman of the Military Commission. In all these capacities, he penned the major documents emanating from these central organs. These went through collective discussion and approval by the organs concerned. The documents as well as his articles and statements that appeared in *Ang Bayan* reflect the inspiration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the international and domestic circumstances, the start of the revolutionary struggle and its development from year to year.

Excluded from the book are articles, messages and statements in Sison's own name of which most were published in the second and later editions of *Struggle for National Democracy*; and in some periodicals and popular magazines. Also excluded is the major foundational book, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, for reasons stated in the preface; and so are more writings because we could either not find, or not avail of, them.

The International Network for Philippine Studies has prepared a series of five books for publication. The series consists of the selected

writings of Jose Maria Sison as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, from 1968 to his capture in November 1977; when he was in military detention by the Marcos fascist dictatorship from 1977 to March 1986; and after his release from prison from 1986 to 1990.

To follow *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution* (1968-72) are: *Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism* (1969-1972); *Building Strength through Struggle* (1972-1977); *Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship* (1977-1986); and *Continuing Struggle for National and Social Liberation* (1986 to 1990). This series is related to the earlier four volumes of the author's selected writings from 1991 to 2009 published by Aklat ng Bayan in 2009.

Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism includes writings in the course of combating modern revisionism, opportunism and reformism in line with Marxism-Leninism and with the CPP founding document, Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party. The book shows the crucial importance of the struggle against modern revisionism, reformism and opportunism (then centered in the Soviet Union and represented locally by the Lavaites) in strengthening the Party's ideological and political foundations.

Building Strength through Struggle compiles the documents of the CPP, the NPA and the National Democratic Front that the author drafted from the time of Marcos' martial law declaration in 1972 to Sison's capture on November 10, 1977. The rest are articles and statements he wrote commenting on and analyzing major developments in the Philippines and abroad.

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship consists of the writings of the author while in detention, for the most part in solitary confinement from 1977 to 1986. It expresses his defiance against the Marcos fascist dictatorship and his optimism that the revolutionary forces and the people by fighting fiercely for freedom and justice would eventually overthrow Marcos.

Continuing Struggle for National and Social Liberation includes his public speeches, university lectures, articles and interviews while he was still in the Philippines until the end of August 1986, and subsequently while he was abroad touring countries in Oceania, Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, South Asia and Europe to the time in October 1988 that he sought political asylum in The Netherlands and onward until 1990.

For a profound understanding of the character and development of the Filipino people's movement for national and social liberation, we consider exceedingly important the reading and study of the author's writings during the period covered. These writings show why and how the Philippine revolution has moved forward despite its powerful adversaries, including the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes, still directed by US imperialism to destroy the revolutionary forces.

They continue to be relevant and instructive for advancing the people's revolutionary struggle to change the rotting semicolonial and semifeudal system and the terrible conditions wrought by the worsening crisis of global capitalism.

Julieta de Lima
Editor
8 June 2013



Author's Preface

I thank Stichting International Network for Philippine Studies and Aklat ng Bayan for co-publishing *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*. It contains the most important documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA), from the founding of the CPP on December 26, 1968 to the eve of the proclamation of martial law on September 21, 1972.

All these documents are imbued with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and are firmly against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. They laid the foundation for resuming the Philippine revolution, which had remained unfinished since US imperialism defeated and coopted the old democratic revolution.

The CPP founding documents, Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party, the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and the Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines, were ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment in 1968. Those of the New People's Army, the Declaration of the New People's Army and the Basic Rules of the New People's Army, were ratified on March 29, 1969 at the Meeting of the Red commanders and fighters under the direction of the CPP Central Committee.

The manual, Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports, was issued in April 1971 to direct the building of the organs of political power, the various mass organizations, units of the people's army and the Party within these units as well as in the localities; and to provide the foregoing entities with a systematic guide for reporting their performance and activities. The Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform was issued in September 1972 to provide a comprehensive and detailed guide for responding to the main democratic demand of the peasantry for land.

A major foundational document, *Philippine Society and Revolution* first published in 1969, is not included here because it is still in print and is widely published in several editions and translations. The book gives the history of the Filipino people, analyzes the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the Philippine revolution and defines the people's democratic revolution, including the motive forces, the tasks and the socialist perspective.

Various issuances and articles by Amado Guerrero, from 1969 to September 1972, are included in the current selection. They state clearly

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the position of the CPP and the revolutionary movement on the issues and concerns arising from the social, economic, political and cultural conditions, the mass struggles in the urban and rural areas, the preparations of the Marcos regime for fascist dictatorship and the international environment of the Philippine revolution at the time.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 is well covered by a series of articles. It was a great historic upsurge of the national democratic movement and inspired the youth and the people to join or support the armed revolution. The Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon of August 1970 reflects the great interest of the Party in developing the revolutionary movement as soon as possible in the entire region because of its strategic value. In the entire war history of the Philippines, it was in this region where the Filipinos waged the biggest and most successful battles, wiping out 100,000 of the 150,000 troops of Yamashita. Expansion work in Isabela had begun as early as 1969. And the plan was to expand further in the entire region of Northern Luzon.

The CPP Central Committee shifted its headquarters from Tarlac to Isabela in 1970. Here it trained hundreds of cadres for nationwide expansion of the revolutionary forces. *Summing Up Our Experience After Three Years (1968 to 1971)* gives us a comprehensive view of the development of the revolutionary struggle, the significant victories achieved by overcoming tremendous odds and difficulties, the errors and weaknesses for rectification, and the way forward.

The Marcos regime's preparations for fascist dictatorship became conspicuous from 1969 onwards. They included the wanton use of violence against patriotic and progressive forces in the urban and rural areas, the open drive to monopolize political power and the rapid accumulation of wealth by Marcos and his big comprador-landlord cronies in collaboration with US and other monopoly firms.

Indications were clear that Marcos would ultimately use the Constitutional Convention to legitimize a fascist dictatorship. The certainty of his scheme to become a fascist dictator came after the grenade blasts during the Liberal Party opposition rally at Plaza Miranda on August 21, 1971. Within a few hours Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus and blamed the CPP and his chief political rival, Benigno Aquino, for the incident.

Many of the documents and articles in this volume also give us the major features of the international situation. They refer to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese people against the

US war of aggression, the phenomena of modern revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as practical application of Comrade Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism.

A major component of the ideological and political foundation of the CPP is the struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism centered in the Soviet Union and propagated in the Philippines by Lavaite revisionists. The documents and articles concerning the anti-revisionist struggle in the period from 1968 to 1971 are many and deserve a full volume. This will be published soon after the current selection.

In accordance with the plan of the International Network of Philippine Studies, still more selections of my writings will follow. They will cover the nationwide growth of the revolutionary movement from the proclamation of martial law in 1972 to my arrest in 1977; my struggle in prison and the people's struggle from 1977 to the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986; and the continuance of revolutionary struggle from 1986 to 1990.

Jose Maria Sison
(Amado Guerrero)
5 May 2013



Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party¹

I. Mao Zedong Thought Is our Guide to Self-Criticism and Party Rebuilding

Mao Zedong Thought is the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present world era. A genuine proletarian revolutionary party must, in the present era, constantly strive for the integration of Mao Zedong Thought and revolutionary practice in order to achieve thoroughgoing victory.

Mao Zedong Thought is the supreme guide in analyzing and summing up the experience of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Our Party has been committed from the very beginning to Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application to the concrete conditions in the Philippines in fighting US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Availing itself of the constant advance of the theory and practice of the international communist movement, our Party is consequently committed to the theory and practice of Mao Zedong Thought which is now the highest development of Marxism-Leninism.

We are at the stage of world history and of the international communist movement when all parties and cadres of Marxist-Leninist standpoint are reexamining their experience in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought. Communist parties like the Communist Party of the Philippines, which so far have not established proletarian revolutionary power, are confronted with the question of pursuing Mao Zedong Thought or otherwise. This urgent question is sharpened by the emergence and worldwide campaign of modern revisionism.

Mao Zedong Thought sets the demarcation line dividing the proletarian revolutionaries from the false pretenders to the title of revolutionaries in this period of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization of political forces. Mao Zedong Thought now guides all proletarian revolutionary movements that are inflicting mortal blows on US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The continuing failures of old parties that are not guided by Mao Zedong Thought only prove that without its guidance and faithful application the revolution

¹ This document was initially drafted by Jose Maria Sison in 1966. It went through revisions on the basis of further research and discussions until it was finalized and ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment.

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cannot be won and consolidated. The experience of revisionist parties the world over provides more than sufficient proof. The history of our own Party is marked by failures on account of serious errors and weaknesses that need to be rectified now in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought.

As modern revisionism is being fostered and spread by the modern revisionist clique with its headquarters in the Soviet Union, all proletarian revolutionaries are impelled to express themselves and act in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought which is the acme of Marxist-Leninism in this world era. Two steps forward are now being made with Mao Zedong Thought. Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, the People's Republic of China has become the central base of the world revolution. It is the center of gravity of the world's countryside encircling the cities of the world.

In a Philippines that is not yet liberated from US imperialism and feudalism, revisionist currents are bound to develop as they have. Currents of opportunism, with the local petty bourgeoisie and big bourgeoisie as their sources, serve as the basis for the superimposition of modern revisionism from its world center in Moscow. If modern revisionism is not effectively combatted with correct theory and practice, then US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism can persist in Philippine society.

II. Summing Up our Experience and Drawing Revolutionary Lessons

It is our urgent task to analyze and sum up our experience as a Party. The sole reason for this analysis and summing-up is to draw revolutionary lessons, to identify errors and weaknesses, in order to enable us to rectify them, strengthen ourselves and rebuild a proletarian revolutionary party that is guided by Mao Zedong Thought.

When we criticize errors and weaknesses, it is "to learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "to cure sickness to save the patient." In the scientific spirit of Marxism-Leninism, we make our criticism in order to rebuild the Party on stronger foundations and build revolutionary power. As the nucleus of proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party of the Philippines must consolidate itself through the process of rectification.

Only the broad outlines of Party history can be herein presented with the end in view of showing its dialectical development. This summing-up cannot possibly incorporate all the details that may be available. It is for Party cadres to do this in further discussions. However, our trusted comrades, old and new, have already engaged during the last three years in thorough discussions concerning the problems of the Party.

At the outset, let it be stated that in our summing-up, the handling of the three main weapons of the Philippine revolution assumes prime consideration. These are: the building up of a Marxist-Leninist party, armed struggle, and the national united front.

Also in our summing-up, we shall cover the fields of ideology, politics, military and organization. As a matter of fact, the main body of this discussion is divided into these four aspects. However, before dealing with these, let us trace briefly the history of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

III. Brief Historical Review

A. Founding of the Party and its Illegalization

The national democratic movement in the Philippines entered a new stage when on November 7, 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines was founded in Manila. The founding of the Party served to signify that the Filipino working class had advanced ideologically, politically and organizationally, and had started to seek class leadership in the Philippine revolution. Thus, the era of the new-democratic movement was ushered in with the emergence of a working class party committed to the integration of Marxist-Leninist theory and Philippine revolutionary practice.

As a newly founded working class party, the Communist Party of the Philippines was immediately based in the city among the most advanced workers represented by Crisanto Evangelista. Without sufficient consideration of and safeguard against the oppressive and coercive character of the US imperialist regime and the domestic ruling classes, the Party was publicly launched on the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Within a short period, on May 1, 1931 and subsequently, the reactionary authorities took punitive actions against the Party. Cadres and members of the Party were arrested and imprisoned. Mass organizations under the leadership of the Party were banned. In 1932, the Supreme

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Court formally outlawed the Party and its mass organizations and meted out prison sentences to their leading members.

At the time that the first line of Party leaders was incapacitated, no reliable second line of Party leaders had yet been developed to carry on Party work. Nevertheless, by 1935, there were some elements who had established Marxist study groups among the petty bourgeoisie in Manila.

In the period that the Communist Party of the Philippines was outlawed, the Socialist Party headed by Pedro Abad Santos was building up strength on the basis of a loose mass organization of peasants and agricultural workers in Central Luzon.

B. Merger of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party

A merger was made between the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party on November 7, 1938 after the leadership of the former was given conditional pardon by the Commonwealth government in accordance with the anti-fascist Popular Front policy. This merger came about with the assistance of James Allen, representative of the Communist Party of the USA.

The open leadership elected by the merger congress was represented by Crisanto Evangelista as chairman, Pedro Abad Santos as vice-chairman and Guillermo Capadocia as general secretary.

The secret second line of leadership was represented by Vicente Lava whose time was mostly devoted to his fulltime government employment at the Bureau of Science and whose political work was limited to leading a small progressive petty-bourgeois organization, the League for the Defense of Democracy. Other members of the secret second line of leadership were those who had had limited success in urban Party work, especially among petty-bourgeois elements, during the period that the Party was outlawed.

The Communist Party (merger of the Communist Party and Socialist Party) under the Evangelista leadership worked hard for a city-based anti-fascist movement, which advocated the boycott of Japanese goods and the creation of “labor battalions” under the auspices of a united labor front, the Collective Labor Movement, and with the cooperation of the Commonwealth government. Political work among the urban petty bourgeoisie was carried on by Vicente Lava.

With the aid of Communist cadres, the erstwhile Socialist leaders tried to raise the political consciousness of peasants in Central Luzon,

but this was given only secondary importance. The main bulk of Party work was done in the city by a city-based and city-oriented Party.

C. The Party during the Japanese Occupation

When the Japanese invaders occupied Manila in January 1942, the Party leadership took no steps to leave the city in an organized way so that soon after, the first line of leadership was easily arrested by the Japanese fascists. The second line of leadership and the mass of Party members who had also been concentrated in the city spontaneously fled to the countryside in various directions. Nevertheless, the majority of Party members fled to various towns in Central Luzon but without coordination.

The Central Luzon Bureau Conference was held on February 6, 1942 to discuss Party policies in the face of the grave situation. It was at this conference that the decision to organize a guerrilla army was taken and the ascendance of the second line of leadership to the central leadership was formalized. Vicente Lava, who became general secretary, was elected *in absentia* as he had fled to Rizal province. Over a month later on March 29, the Hukbalahap (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon) or the People's Anti-Japanese Army was established in Barrio San Lorenzo in Cabiao, Nueva Ecija.

Meanwhile, two principal leaders of the Party who had been arrested, Abad Santos and Capadocia, agreed to cooperate with the Japanese in convincing Party members to desist from resistance. However, the former was incapacitated by illness and the latter was arrested by the Party when he attempted to implement his compromise. Later on, however, Capadocia was reeducated by the Party.

The Party and the army was based in the Mount Arayat area. It did not take long for the Japanese to pinpoint the area as the seat of the Party and in 1943 the Japanese launched the so-called March Raid which resulted in the capture of many leading Party cadres and members.

During the encircling raid, the people in the vicinity of Mount Arayat dispersed and tried to slip through in small groups; in the process, many leading cadres and members were captured. In an attempt to minimize losses from the enemy offensive, the Vicente Lava leadership adopted the "retreat for defense" policy.

The "retreat for defense" policy meant the breaking up of all Hukbalahap "squadrons" (of company strength) and other units of pla-

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toon strength into minuscule units of three to five fighters. It promoted tactical passivity and helplessness in the face of the enemy. It fell in line with the “lie-low” policy of the USAFFE.

It was only as late as the Bagumbali Conference of late September 1944, when the Party declared the “retreat for defense” policy incorrect, that the Hukbalahap “squadrons” were regrouped to take the offensive against the enemy. After a policy of active resistance was taken and implemented, the strength of the people’s armed forces increased by leaps and bounds. But while this policy was adopted, the US air force had already started to bombard the Philippines, preparing for massive landing by the US imperialist military forces.

While the “retreat for defense” policy in particular was corrected and Vicente Lava was demoted from the general secretaryship, he retained his membership in the Central Committee to promote together with others a Right opportunist line. The Bagumbali Conference decided to prepare the establishment of the Democratic Alliance for parliamentary struggle upon the return of US imperialism and the Commonwealth government.

D. The Party upon the Return of US Imperialism

It was in the course of conducting a people’s war during the Japanese occupation that the Communist Party of the Philippines gained real political power in certain areas, thus proving the great thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

Nevertheless, an erroneous position was taken with regard to the central question of keeping the people’s armed power in the face of the return of US imperialism and the concomitant reinstatement of landlordism in those areas where the people had asserted their own armed power.

Among Party members and their mass following, the aggressive nature of US imperialism was not thoroughly exposed. Neither was the armed peasantry under the leadership of the Party mobilized on the basis of the new democratic stage of the Philippine revolution of which the peasantry is the main force. In areas where the leadership of the Party had been established, the anti-national and anti-democratic links between US imperialism and feudalism were not exposed and denounced for the guidance of the people.

Aside from deficiency in ideological mobilization and in grasping the mass line with regard to US imperialism and the agrarian revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines did not succeed in developing a Party organization and armed force of a national scale even while developing its main force in Central Luzon. To a much lesser extent, it was only in the Southern Tagalog region where Party units and armed units outside of Central Luzon were established towards the end of the anti-Japanese war.

At the end of World War II, the Party leadership decided to shift its headquarters and the center of its political activity from the countryside to the city. Relying on the word of US military agents, Party leaders took the Rightist line that the main form of struggle had changed into the parliamentary form, that the people were tired of war, that they could participate in bourgeois elections under conditions of “democratic peace,” the line echoed from the Browderite leadership of the CPUSA. Thus, the central organs and newspapers of the Communist Party of Philippines were shifted to the city.

In the countryside, the Huk Veterans League and the Pambansang Kaisahan ng Magbubukid (National Peasant Union) were set up as legal mass organizations to supplant the Hukbalahap and the BUDC (Barrio United Defense Corps). In the city, the Congress of Labor Organizations and other urban organizations were established. The Party and these mass organizations were to engage in legal and parliamentary struggle through the Democratic Alliance. Within the Democratic Alliance, the Party itself was merely one of the organizations subordinate to the bourgeois personalities leading the alliance.

The policy of disarming and disbanding armed units of the people’s army was adopted and implemented. The political power that had been gained by the people’s armed forces was, therefore, broken when arms became separated from the men who had wielded them. The Party leadership, however, nurtured the illusion that whereas the “democratic peace” line of making a token surrender of arms to the Military Police was merely a “propaganda line,” the “true line” was that the Party was actually keeping caches of arms.

Little was it realized that the enemy would not be fooled by a token surrender of arms and that the gap between the “propaganda line” and the “true line” merely confused the masses more than it misled the enemy. The basic fact was that armed units had been disarmed and disbanded even as the enemy massacred entire “squadrons” of the

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Hukbalahap (like “Squadrons 77 and 99”) and took other forms of repressive measures against the masses and the Hukbalahap.

Under the direction of US imperialism, the Military Police and civilian guards gave armed protection to the landlords to enable them to recover control over their lands in Central Luzon and even to exact excessive demands, such as the collection of arrears on land rent, on the past years of the Japanese occupation. These subsequent developments proved the bankruptcy of the counterrevolutionary line of welcoming the US imperialists and abandoning the armed struggle.

During the period that the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong was setting the example of heightening its armed struggle and capability at a time that the US imperialists were maneuvering a Guomindang-controlled “coalition” government, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines nurtured the illusion that it could engage in bourgeois parliamentary struggle through the Democratic Alliance and it did field its own candidates in the few areas where it held great political influence.

Soon after the Party had taken the legal forefront in fighting against the Bell Trade Act and Parity Amendment and other imperialist-landlord measures, Party-supported members of Congress who had been elected in the 1946 elections were unjustly ousted from Congress, thus exposing once more the bankruptcy of the policy of relying mainly on bourgeois parliamentarism.

During the early postwar period, the Right opportunist trend dominated the Party. Vicente Lava was most articulate and active in providing ideological support to this trend within the Party Central Committee. However, the Party general secretaryship was left to Pedro Castro who wanted to develop an open mass party for purposes of bourgeois parliamentary struggle, and then to Jorge Frianeza who advocated a united front with the reactionary Roxas administration.

The 1946 Constitution of the Party, like the 1938 merger Constitution, advocated parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. The counterrevolutionary revisionist line within the Party was aggravated by petty-bourgeois careerism, regionalism and by individual acts of flightism which seriously undermined the Party.

E. The Party in the Period of Military Adventurism

It was in 1948 that the question of armed struggle was firmly raised by revolutionary Party cadres and the revolutionary masses in the face of fascist abuses perpetrated by the puppet government of Roxas against the Communist Party, Hukbalahap, democratic mass organizations and their leaders and the broad masses of the people. The question of armed struggle was, however, interpreted by the Jose Lava leadership mainly on the basis of external conditions.

There was the onesided expectation by the Party leadership that the near-violent split in the ruling classes due to the election frauds of 1949, the revolutionary victory of the Chinese people, the Korean War and the economic recession in the United States would absolutely open the way for the victory of the people's army in the Philippines, notwithstanding the internal weakness of the Party and the people's army due to previous Right opportunist errors. External conditions were interpreted as the very reasons for a quick military victory.

The Party leadership represented by Jose Lava failed to provide the most essential reasons for engaging in armed struggle, like a program of armed struggle against US imperialism and its local running dogs and for agrarian revolution among others, and equally it failed to recognize that armed struggle under the conditions existing in the Philippines would have to be protracted.

Against the superficial reasons provided by the Lava leadership to justify the policy of striving for a quick military victory, the Right opportunists took the line of converting the Communist Party of the Philippines into a big open mass party for purposes of the parliamentary form of struggle and took the narrow view that the trade unionists should automatically prevail in the Party leadership.

Both opposing sides failed to consider extensively whether the Party's headquarters and center of political gravity should be the city or the countryside. Both Right opportunists and "Left" opportunists agreed that the Communist Party of the Philippines remain an urban Party.

Despite its advocacy of armed struggle, the Jose Lava leadership decided to command the People's Liberation Army (Hukbong Mapagpalayang Bayan) from the city.

Although it assumed the policy of armed struggle, the Jose Lava leadership did not lay down the correct theoretical and political basis for its organizational and military efforts. For this reason, it inconsis-

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ently allowed Luis Taruc as commander-in-chief of the people's army to negotiate for amnesty with the Quirino government.

The Politburo conference of January 1950 assumed a purely military viewpoint and drew up the "PB Resolutions" which maintained a line of rapid military victory. The Jose Lava leadership adopted a two-year timetable for seizing political power in the cities, without an all-sided and dialectical appreciation of the strength of the Party and the people's army on the one hand and the strength of the enemy on the other.

An adventurist military policy was initiated by a city-based Party leadership which was called the Secretariat or the Politburo-In. Instead of advancing in a series of waves within a protracted period of time, the people's army in the countryside was ordered to make simultaneous overextended attacks on the enemy at widely separated points in Central Luzon and Southern Luzon as part of the plan to prepare for the seizure of Manila. The military objectives were big military camps, cities and provincial capitals.

The attacks were done in a spirit of haste on March 29 and then on August 26, 1950 in accordance with the "PB Resolutions" of January 1950, without any thought of the forthcoming counterattack by the enemy with massive campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" and also without any serious thought of the necessity of being able to concentrate the forces of the people's army in order to deal with the subsequent enemy counterattack.

Overextended and inadequately armed units were also adventuristically disposed on the "gates" of Manila to bolster the illusion that the seat of reactionary rule was "soon" to fall. On the other hand, the headquarters of the Politburo-Out was snuggled in the unpopulated vastness of the Laguna portion of the Sierra Madre, isolated from the main force of the people's army.

As the Secretariat or the Politburo-In (the main Party leadership) was separated physically from the Politburo-Out, so was the latter from the people's armed forces that it was supposed to command upon orders of the Politburo-In. Military operations and the supply and communication lines were excessively stretched out over unreliable areas.

In October 1950, the Politburo-In was totally smashed in the city, with other Party members, sympathizers and couriers apprehended. A big harvest of Party documents, which included lists of members and tactical plans, was made by the enemy and this helped the enemy destroy

the Party organization in the city and smash the people's armed forces in the countryside.

F. The Party in the Period of Continued Military Defeat

After the capture of the Secretariat or the Politburo-In in Manila, the Politburo-Out organized a Central Committee conference in February and March of 1951 in order to discuss the new situation. As clear proof of the increasingly desperate situation of the Party, the conference itself was under heavy military pressure by a massive enemy encirclement. With only a negligible armed force for protection, the conference could only depend on mere physical concealment within the encirclement.

The Central Committee conference failed to pose and criticize the adventurist errors of the Jose Lava leadership organizationally, politically and ideologically. The Jesus Lava leadership elected by the conference was essentially a part of the previous leadership; the Politburo-Out merely replaced the apprehended Politburo-In as the main leading body. At the most, the capture of the entire Politburo-In was narrowly adduced to tactical errors like negligence of security particularly in the city. The Central Committee failed to make a profound and systematic self-criticism as basis for a rectification movement.

The CC Resolutions of 1951 merely reiterated mechanically with the same overconfidence as that of the Jose Lava leadership the PB Resolutions of 1950. Grossly ignorant of the strategy and tactics of people's war, the Jesus Lava leadership could not state categorically that the people's army was on the strategic defensive; instead it muddleheadedly considered the incumbent stage of armed struggle as strategic "counteroffensive."

As in previous stages of the Party history, a new situation within the Party developed due to grave errors of a previous Party leadership and yet no rectification movement was launched to correct the basic mistakes and weaknesses in ideology, politics, organization and armed struggle.

The errors of the Jose Lava leadership were obscured by the inner-Party struggle which arose between Jesus Lava and the Taruc brothers on fragmented issues. In this regard, the Jesus Lava leadership resorted mainly to organizational maneuvers to cover up for the adventurist errors of the Party leadership and to combat the capitulationist ideas of the Taruc brothers.

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As a result of the unrectified ideological and political weaknesses, and as a result of the disastrous military adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership, capitulationism started to set in the ranks of the Party leadership and was represented by the disgruntled and traitorous Luis Taruc who surrendered to the reactionary puppet government of Ramon Magsaysay in 1954. The outright capitulationist trend was aggravated to become the principal current by successive military defeats and by the chronic incorrect handling of cadres and the sectarian and liberal manipulation of cadres to perpetuate the clannish chain of Lava leadership.

Upon its assumption of office, the Jesus Lava leadership was buffeted from one military defeat to another. After the 1951 Central Committee conference, the Party headquarters, with its complement of staff members and security force, divided itself into several smaller groups and these were in blind flight within the massive enemy encirclement that enveloped the Sierra Madre from Laguna to Nueva Ecija and on both sides of Quezon. At a time that the Party leadership needed to concentrate its armed forces and smash or break through the weak points of the enemy encirclement, there was no sufficient number of men it could command.

From this time on, the Jesus Lava leadership was never in effective control of any sizeable armed force because the strongest regional command (Reco 2) closely associated with Luis Taruc became disaffected with the Lava leadership and all other forces had been fragmented because of the overextended dispersal of armed units during the adventurist leadership of Jose Lava.

During the period of 1951-1954, many principal leaders of the armed struggle fell under the massive encirclement campaigns in Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, Bicol and Panay. It was during this period that roving rebel tendencies developed in the HMB because of ineffective central command and the slicing-off tactics of the enemy.

Under the impact and conditions of military defeat, the Jesus Lava leadership decided to adopt parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle in 1955, thus falling into the same capitulationist line of Luis Taruc. The policy of armed struggle was abandoned and those who had opposed this policy before became gleeful, wrongly feeling vindicated by the adventurist error of the Jose Lava leadership and by the Right opportunist about-face of the Jesus Lava leadership.

The Jesus Lava leadership went as far as deactivating armed units that were accessible to its command, and these were converted into so-called

organizational brigades. Under the impact of the world revisionist campaign that was being waged by the Khrushchov revisionists, the Jesus Lava leadership in succeeding years felt more justified in its wrong policy.

Around 1958, he disbanded his own security men and fled from the countryside to the city to start the life of a city fugitive, isolated from the masses. This pattern of flight from the countryside to the city resulted in the capture of the principal leaders of the Party in the Greater Manila area. It signified the utter failure of the series of Lava leaderships in the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Living the life of a city fugitive, Lava wrote political transmissions and directives and made appointments without the benefit of collective Party discussions. It was during this period that Jesus Lava acting alone decided to adopt the liquidationist “single-file” policy. This policy required one Party member to be in contact with only one other Party member. The whole Party organization was, at first, reduced to a few one-way files until the loss of only one member in a single file would result in the automatic disconnection of several others from the Party or the complete dissolution of the entire file. This process led to the grave disorganization of the Party. After a few more years, Jesus Lava was to lose contact with both legal and armed cadres of the Party.

It was during this liquidationist period that the Party fell behind, even behind the national bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie which were raising the banner of nationalism of the Recto brand as early as 1957 and more strongly in 1961. Until new Party cadres emerged and some Party members were reactivated, the Party fell too far behind the events of the day. Meanwhile, Jesus Lava made decisions for the Party all by himself as Party discussions would now reveal.

In May 1964, Jesus Lava was finally arrested in Sampaloc, Manila under circumstances which clearly showed that he surrendered himself. In the first place, he had deliberately, by his own Right opportunism, one-man flightism and liquidationism, placed himself into the urban mouth of the reactionary whale.

IV. Main Errors and Weaknesses

A. Ideological Weaknesses

The main ideological weakness of all previous leaderships of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been subjectivism, appearing in the

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form of dogmatism and empiricism, and resulting in Right and “Left” opportunist lines. The Philippines, being a semicolonial and semifeudal country, has a large petty bourgeoisie which serves as the historical and social basis for subjectivism. Since the Party exists in this kind of society, it is liable to reflect subjectivist trends from without and from within if it is not alert and careful in its Marxist-Leninist ideological building which is the first requirement in Party building.

The Party could be penetrated by a considerable number of Party members of petty-bourgeois orientation (intellectuals, middle peasants, handicraftsmen and other petty producers) who fail to remold their world outlook and methods of thinking in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and who fail to integrate revolutionary practice with dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

Although the first Party members were mainly from the working class represented by Comrade Crisanto Evangelista, the Party leadership erroneously put much reliance on open, legal, parliamentary and urban political activity which resulted in the paralyzation of the Communist Party of the Philippines once it was outlawed by the US imperialists and their running dogs. A revolutionary and thoroughgoing proletarian world outlook would have made the Party recognize the dialectics of the whole Philippine situation and would have enabled it to adopt the correct methods of legal and illegal struggle.

It was around 1935, however, while the Party was still outlawed by its class enemies when a considerable number of Party members of petty-bourgeois class status crept into a fluid underground Party that was deprived of a definite central leadership and tried to carry on political work, bringing with them their unremolded petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideas.

At the helm of this petty bourgeois element within the Party were those who were greatly influenced by the empiricist and Right opportunist current spread by Browder of the Communist Party of the USA. At this time, the Communist Party of the Philippines, under the auspices of the Communist International, was assisted by the CPUSA by seeing to it that cadres like Vicente Lava who became its leading representative would carry on Party work.

Subjectivism of the empiricist type was manifested by major political policies and developments such as the principal importance given to urban Party work before the outbreak of the Pacific war; the merger of the Socialist Party and the Party which artificially increased the mem-

bership of the latter; the Rightist preamble in the merger constitution; capitulationism towards US imperialism and the Commonwealth government; the absence of any plan to shift the Party headquarters from the city to the countryside; the adoption of the “retreat for defense” policy of 1943 and the belief of Vicente Lava that there could be no proletarian leadership in the countryside; the purely anti-Japanese line during the war period and the shift of the Party central organs to the city after the anti-Japanese war and the blatantly Right opportunist policies of Vicente Lava, Jorge Frianeza and Pedro Castro during the period of 1945-1948.

Empiricism grows on a static underestimation of the people’s democratic forces and on a static overestimation of the enemy strength. Party work becomes dictated by the actions of the enemy instead of by a dialectical comprehension of the situation and the balance of forces. Revolutionary initiative becomes lost because of a static, one-sided, fragmented and narrow view of the requirements of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist struggle.

Thus, there is the overconcentration on urban political work because of the subjectivist and opportunist desire to compete or collaborate with bourgeois parties and groups, and beg for “democratic peace” from the US imperialists and local reactionaries in their own urban citadel. The countryside is grossly underestimated and thus, revolutionary initiative, the indispensable mass support of the peasantry, and a wide area for maneuver are ignored. There is also the personal desire of the petty bourgeois to enjoy the comforts and prestige of city life.

There is, however, the other side of the coin of subjectivism. Between 1948 and 1955, subjectivism of the dogmatist type prevailed during the first two years of the Jose Lava leadership and the first five years of the Jesus Lava leadership. This dogmatism grew on an overestimation of the people’s democratic forces and an underestimation of the enemy strength, without taking into full account the painstaking process of a protracted people’s war.

Under the Jose Lava leadership, the strategic view was adopted that, in a brief period of two years, the Party was certain to seize power. The Jose Lava leadership did not take into full account the necessity of a concrete and extended process of Party building, building of a people’s army and the building of a revolutionary national united front.

The Jose Lava leadership was fond of “Left” jargon so unrelated to the whole basic situation, a manifestation of subjectivism of the dogmatist type. This leadership took the style of confounding comrades

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with book knowledge and some supposedly special knowledge about the world situation and about the inner circles of the enemy. On the basis of such knowledge it took decisions that overstrained the Party and the masses beyond their capability and understanding. It did not care for painstaking work among the masses in the development of a protracted people's war.

On the other hand, subjectivism of the empiricist type manifested by the Vicente Lava leadership and the Jesus Lava leadership was the cowardly reaction to the incumbent military superiority of the enemy. These leaderships took the line of passivity both strategically and tactically. They lost sight of the possible development of revolutionary principles and policies correctly adopted and applied on the basis of the internal laws of development of Philippine history and society. They simply went with the tide of defeat, without trying to seize revolutionary initiative.

Empiricism and dogmatism are two sides of the same petty-bourgeois coin. A twirl of the coin of subjectivism will abruptly show this or that side. The subjectivist errors of the Vicente and Jose Lava leaderships were mainly empiricism and dogmatism, respectively. These errors spring from the same petty bourgeois disease of subjectivism that has afflicted the Party and that has wrought havoc on the revolutionary movement.

Reversals from empiricism to dogmatism and from dogmatism to empiricism are peculiarly common to those who still retain the petty-bourgeois world outlook. Nevertheless, when one is the principal aspect of a subjectivist stand, the other is bound to be the secondary aspect and the secondary aspect becomes the principal aspect at another moment. That is the dialectical relationship of empiricism and dogmatism.

Comrades should not wonder why under a dogmatist leadership there should be cases of empiricism; what is common between dogmatism and empiricism is the use of narrow and limited experience as the basis for overall subjectivist decisions. Also, comrades should not wonder why a leadership with the same petty-bourgeois orientation should swing from empiricism to dogmatism and back to empiricism, and so on and so forth. All subjectivists fail to grasp the laws of dialectical development and so they are volatile and erratic.

In 1951, the Jesus Lava leadership continued to carry the dogmatist line of the Jose Lava leadership. But after a few years, subjectivism of the empiricist type started to dominate because of military defeats. The Jesus Lava leadership started to overestimate the strength of the enemy

and it adopted parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle, took flight from the countryside and then took up the so-called “single-file” policy based on its narrow individual experience.

In summing up the series of subjectivist leaderships, we can state that Vicente Lava, Jose Lava and Jesus Lava were responsible for the petty-bourgeois disease that has long afflicted the Communist Party of the Philippines. The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas continues to promote revisionism in the Philippines. It is essentially the inability to grasp proletarian revolutionary ideology and apply this on the concrete conditions of Philippine society.

The usurpation of the Party leadership by the Lavas during the last more than 30 years accounts for the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is still weak. Although the political errors of each Lava leadership became exposed in the wake of far-reaching damage, no thoroughgoing rectification movement had ever been conducted to expose and correct the basic errors in ideology.

Despite the fact that Vicente Lava’s subjectivism as expressed by his “retreat for defense” policy had resulted in great damage to the Party, there was no subsequent rectification movement that could have prevented the Right opportunist errors of the subsequent early postwar years. Also, despite the serious errors of the Lava leadership, the subsequent leadership did not engage in any serious rectification movement.

Until now, despite the grave errors of the Jesus Lava leadership and those of other previous leaderships, there has been strong resistance to ideological, political, and organizational rectification. The Party flounders from error to error when there is no systematic and objective evaluation of each error ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The fact that Party leadership was passed from one blood brother to another, a singular phenomenon in the entire international communist movement, could be taken as a magniloquent symptom of the subjectivism that had predominated within the Party.

The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is careerism on a grand scale within the Party. A dangerous pattern has been established wherein Party responsibilities are apportioned to blood relatives on the basis of personal trust rather than on the basis of ideological and genuine Party trust. In this manner a mechanical and slavish artificial majority could always be depended upon to elect the Lava brothers as general secretaries of the Party in a series.

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The evil of subjectivism is still persistent within the Party and must be eradicated. It still appears in the form of sentimentalism on the part of elder cadres who had received their ideological training from the previous leaderships. Sentimentally, they recognize the personal sacrifices of the Lava brothers but at the same time they do not see how many lives of people and cadres have been sacrificed at the altar of subjectivist errors and failures and they do not see that the so-called personal sacrifices of the Lava brothers were the very product of their subjectivist errors and failures.

This sentimentalism has become a hindrance to the rectification of ideological, political and organizational errors. It is combined with a subjectivist awe for high bourgeois academic degrees that some cadres have. It also appears in the form of personal trust for those who have had ideological training from and those who enjoy the sanction of the series of Lava leaderships.

The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas, as it has developed on the basis of subjectivism, now nourishes the growth of modern revisionism in the Philippines. Since we are determined to rebuild the Party, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and all errors of subjectivism must be resolutely opposed and weeded out by a thoroughgoing rectification movement.

In conducting such a movement it is not so much the persons of the Lava “dynasty” that we are after; what we are after is the rectification of subjectivist errors. If no rectification movement is to be undertaken, if no ideological consolidation of the Party is to be made, then modern revisionism would flourish to disarm and undermine the people’s democratic revolution.

Lava revisionism has been persistent for decades within the Party only because rectification, as demonstrated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese Communist Party, has never before been conducted as we have decided to do. A rectification movement within the Communist Party of the Philippines, the nucleus of the proletarian dictatorship, should be conducted in the Marxist-Leninist way that a cultural revolution is conducted under the proletarian state in order to combat Right opportunism and modern revisionism.

The preponderant form of subjectivism that has characterized the Lava leadership is empiricism. The dogmatist leadership of Jose Lava and, partially, of Jesus Lava was approximately a seven-year “Left” inter-

regnum in what is more than 30 years of empiricism carried out mainly by the Vicente Lava and Jesus Lava leaderships.

Empiricism in philosophy results in Right opportunism in politics. Empiricism and Right opportunism in turn provide the basis for modern revisionism which is persistently advocated by the neo-bourgeois and revisionist renegade clique in Moscow. At present, modern revisionism is futilely trying to gain ground. The Communist Party of the Philippines must combat it thoroughly and seriously, especially now that Party rebuilding is being undertaken.

B. Political Errors

Right opportunism and “Left” opportunism have been committed in the history of the Communist Party of the Philippines. These political errors have emanated from the subjectivist world outlook. They have restricted the building of a Marxist-Leninist party that is firmly and closely linked with the masses on a national scale, that has a correct style of work and conducts criticism and self-criticism, that implements a program of agrarian revolution and that makes use of the national united front to broaden its influence and support in its struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The urban, parliamentary and open character of the Communist Party of the Philippines during the early months of its existence in 1930 and 1931 was mainly responsible for the political disaster and difficulties that it soon suffered. During this early period, the Party leadership was given to the use of “Left” language in public against the entire bourgeoisie, and illegal work was not effectively carried out together with legal work.

The Party did not arouse and mobilize the peasantry as the main force of the revolution. Even when the principal leaders of the Party and its mass organizations were banished to different provinces, they were not conscious of the significance of planting the seeds of the new democratic revolution in the countryside. The idea of the national united front was also not immediately taken up and adopted. Even the urban petty bourgeoisie was not given serious attention as a class ally and as a source of cadres.

However, during the period that the Party was outlawed, cadres of petty-bourgeois origin crept into the Party and by 1935 their presence therein became marked.

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Because of their continued petty-bourgeois social status and their failure to remold their outlook, these cadres restrained the putting of emphasis on Party work among the toiling masses, especially in the countryside. In the trade unions, Party cadres working illegally could be counted on one's fingers. As late as 1937, only a few cadres were working among the peasants in a few towns of Central Luzon. It was the Socialist Party of Pedro Abad Santos, however, which had a large but loose mass following in the countryside. A few activists of this reformist party actually read Marxist literature but were lacking the discipline of Communist cadres.

It was through the merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party in 1938 that the bourgeois reactionary line of revisionism became formalized. The constitution of the merger party contained in its preamble the clause that it "defends the Constitution (of the US-puppet Commonwealth government) and the rights proclaimed therein..." and in Section I of Article III, the statement it "opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of Philippine democracy whereby the majority of the Filipino people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree." Getting the good wishes of Quezon in the Popular Front preoccupied most of the Party leaders then.

The necessity of preparing and developing rural bases in the face of the growing threat of fascism was not fully grasped by the Party leaders; and even if it were so surmised, no adequate preparations for armed struggle were made. The international situation that was already clearly pointing to the imminence of World War II was not fully related to the Philippine situation. From 1938 to 1942, the first and second lines of leadership agreed on the principal importance of urban Party work and overconcentrated on defending "civil liberties" while minimizing the importance of Party building and army building among the peasants.

It was simply assumed that the merger of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party would bring the peasantry en masse to the side of the Party. Under the banner of the Popular Front and under the auspices of the Commonwealth government, leading Party cadres ran for electoral offices in the reactionary government, especially in Greater Manila and in a few provinces, and they did not pursue what was principal revolutionary work in the countryside.

At the outbreak of World War II, the Party submitted a memorandum to Commonwealth president Manuel L. Quezon for arms support from the bourgeois government; but the latter, sure of his class interests, refused despite the Popular Front. Instead of putting the main stress on the revolutionary work of arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses, the Party leadership chose to put the main stress on the secondary, which consisted of legal and urban work under the banner of the Popular Front. It was misled by the false prospect of arms support from a puppet government under US imperialist control.

When the Japanese imperialists invaded Manila, the first line of leadership was apprehended in the city and the rest of the city cadres did not exactly know where to retreat. At this point, we can see the error of Right opportunism as having grown within the Party without having been the object of critical exposure and thoroughgoing rectification.

Focusing Party work on parliamentary struggle, the merger party failed to make the most essential preparations for the anti-fascist armed struggle. The city cadres who fled to the countryside at the time of the Japanese invasion were unable to withdraw in an organized way, thus exposing the failure of the Crisanto Evangelista leadership to build the Party with deep foundations among the peasant masses on the basis of their struggle for land which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution. There was no rural base prepared for waging a people's war against the Japanese fascists.

Taught nevertheless by the immediate situation, the Party leadership held the Central Luzon Bureau Conference and soon after organized the People's Army Against the Japanese (Hukbalahap) to lead the popular resistance against the Japanese invaders and the puppet government. With the Hukbalahap under its command, the Party began to build political power in the countryside.

But the Right opportunist political line persisted and when the Party and the Army met their first serious setback in the anti-Japanese struggle during the "March raid," the Vicente Lava leadership promoted Right opportunism by adopting the "retreat for defense" policy. It was a policy that contravened the Marxist-Leninist principle that Red political power could be built only by waging armed struggle. This policy was nothing but a variation of the USAFFE "lie-low" policy of avoiding armed struggle with the Japanese invaders. This Right opportunist line restricted the rise of people's democratic power not only in the short run but even long after it was declared an erroneous policy.

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The spontaneous resistance of the masses exposed the bankruptcy of the “retreat for defense” policy and the Bagumbali Conference declared this policy erroneous. Although the conference resulted in the demotion of some Right opportunists and in the regrouping of Hukbalahap “squadrons” for intensified resistance, the Right opportunist error was not thoroughly rectified and the Right opportunists still retained a big say in the Central Committee. Furthermore, the “Socialists” who had automatically become “Communists” by virtue of the 1938 merger were not provided by the Party leadership with the correct Marxist-Leninist education and were always susceptible to Right opportunism. The capitulationist and renegade Luis Taruc would remain to be the general representative of a great many of them who failed to advance to the level of Marxist-Leninists.

The abandonment of the “retreat for defense” policy resulted in some limited successes for the Party and the army. In a few months’ time, the area and the population covered by both increased to the extent that the greater part of Central Luzon came under the effective leadership of the Party and that the people’s army could send out sizeable units to establish or reinforce armed bases in the Southern Tagalog area.

However, at the end of the anti-Japanese struggle when the US imperialists landed to reconquer the Philippines, the Right opportunist line would again strikingly emerge as the main line. There arose the illusion that the people were tired of war and that the Party could strive for the realization of its principles under conditions of “democratic peace” granted by US imperialism and the landlords. Against this illusion were the brutalities committed by the military police, the civilian guards and all kinds of American agents against the people and the unjust arrest and incarceration of the principal leaders and fighters of the Hukbalahap.

Thus, a strategic dual line was adopted with the so-called “propaganda” line differing from the so-called “true” line. The “propaganda” line was that the Party was publicly desirous of “democratic peace,” of participating in bourgeois politics through the Democratic Alliance; and the “true” line was that it was actually keeping its armed power in the form of concealed arms caches. The Party leadership ordered the disbanding of the majority of Hukbalahap “squadrons” and token arms surrender were made. It shifted back the center of its political activity to the city under the banner of bourgeois parliamentarism.

With the adoption of this strategic dual line, deception was idealistically intended as an essential component of the strategic line. But while

the enemy was not fooled by the token surrender of weapons by the Hukbalahap, confusion was introduced into the ranks of the cadres and masses. The Party leadership failed to establish the correct mass line as it adopted a strategic dual line and lost its grip on the gun.

The 1946 constitution of the Party continued to carry the bourgeois reactionary line of revisionism by stating in its Article VIII, Section 2, “Affiliation with or participation in the activities of any group, class, faction or party which aims or acts to destroy, weaken or overthrow the democratic Constitution of the Philippines shall be punished with immediate ouster from the Party.”

Until May 1948, when the Jose Lava leadership assumed central responsibility, the Party experienced the blatant reign of Right opportunism or revisionism. During the early postwar period, the Right opportunist influence of Vicente Lava, Pedro Castro and Jorge Frianeza prevailed. The Pedro Castro leadership was denounced and replaced for Right opportunism and tailism and for advocating the development of a mass and open Party that was supposed to engage solely in bourgeois elections.

But the errors of this leadership were never consistently rectified ideologically and politically all throughout the Party although drastic organizational measures were taken against those who took sides with Pedro Castro without so much as an explanation to the masses of Party members. Jorge Frianeza replaced him and was soon removed from the secretaryship and expelled for Rightism but again no thoroughgoing rectification movement was conducted to weed out the persistent roots of the errors.

Without clarifying the ideological, political and organizational grounds for a protracted people’s war, the Jose Lava leadership merely took advantage of the Party’s and the people’s clamor that armed struggle was necessary on account of the fascist attacks against them and a number of duly-elected representatives in Congress who opposed the Bell Trade Act and the Parity Amendment. This leadership automatically expected revolutionary triumph on the basis of external conditions.

Because of the absence of a thoroughgoing rectification movement against the previous Rightist leadership being conducted aside from organizational and administrative measures, Right opportunism could still persist as a strong undercurrent or secondary aspect of opportunism even under the “Left” opportunist leadership of Jose Lava.

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Soon after its assumption of office and adoption of the line of armed struggle, it actually permitted Luis Taruc to negotiate the terms of surrender and amnesty for the people's armed forces with the Quirino government. This was another instance of an opportunist line that undermined the revolutionary will of the masses more than it deceived the enemy. No genuine Marxist-Leninist party leadership would ever consider surrendering to or seeking amnesty from the enemy. To do so would be to betray the fighting masses, promote capitulationism and serve the enemy.

The Jose Lava leadership committed mainly the error of "Left" opportunism by dogmatically assuming that the class enemies of the proletariat were weakening and splitting up all the way on a straight line and that the Party could seize power within a very short period. There was a failure to recognize that in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, a protracted people's war would have to be waged with due regard to the strength of the enemy.

The Party could depend only on the people in areas covered by the Hukbalahap and the Barrio United Defense Corps during the anti-Japanese struggle. Because of previous failure to distribute cadres to important parts of the country other than Central Luzon, Manila, Rizal and Southern Tagalog and because of the Right opportunism of previous years, the Party and the people's army were not able to build up on a national scale and, therefore, were not able to unite with the people on a national scale. It would require a protracted period of time for the Party to convert into a revolutionary advantage the initial disadvantage of fighting for people's democratic power in an archipelago like the Philippines.

The "Left" opportunist leadership of Jose Lava failed to understand comprehensively the requirements of a people's democratic revolution. It failed to see the necessity of solid party building, the development of armed rural bases on the basis of an agrarian revolution and the national united front. If it recognized the necessary combination and correct use of these weapons, then it could have easily taken the view that people's war is protracted and painstaking.

During this period, the notion became prevalent that the establishment of rural bases was a strange and utopian idea "because the Philippines is a small country and an archipelago having no rear adjacent to and contiguous with a big friendly country." Jose Lava as general secretary dismissed arrogantly the concept of rural bases as a grandiose idea. Little

was it realized that the rural base was itself the center of gravity or great rear of guerrilla zones. The camp of the Politburo-Out in the Laguna portion of the Sierra Madre depended merely on a hidden physical base instead of a rural base where the people's support is strong by virtue of armed struggle and agrarian revolution.

A protracted revolutionary armed struggle should have been waged in combination with an agrarian revolution and the development of rural bases. The people's army should have advanced in a series of waves from stable base areas but a petty-bourgeois leadership was too much in a hurry, too impetuous to capture within so short a period the bourgeois state power centered in Manila. This petty-bourgeois leadership never realized that the Party could fight the bourgeois state by establishing the people's democratic power in the countryside.

At the height of the adventurist folly, Party leaders would bid each other goodbye in public with: "See you in Malacañang!" This infantile talk reflected the adventurist desire of the Jose Lava leadership to move the people's army to the city gates within a short period of time without first developing the armed power of the masses and then advancing in a series of waves from well-consolidated rural bases.

The Central Committee plenary session which was held by the Politburo-Out under the Jesus Lava leadership in February-March of 1951 after the capture of the Politburo-In failed to clarify fully the building and wielding of the three weapons of the Philippine revolution; namely, party building, armed struggle and the national united front.

It obscured the basic errors of the Jose Lava leadership by superficial rationalization such as "carelessness" of the captured Party leaders and the tactical errors of lower cadres and commanders and the rank and file. A rectification movement would have unfolded the ideological and political basis of the failure of the Jose Lava leadership and thus removed the danger of opportunism continuing in its Right or "Left" form.

Jesus Lava's assumption of the Party leadership did not mean an immediate reversal of Jose Lava's "Left" opportunist political line. It was when the Jesus Lava leadership lost effective central command over all units of the people's army and was further burdened by the series of military defeats and difficulties inflicted by the enemy and by the capitulationism and splittism of Luis Taruc and his Titoite cohorts that it swung to the Right opportunist line.

Its Right opportunism became most evident in the formal adoption of parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle in 1955 and in the

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disbandment of armed units under its command. This Right opportunism would continuously be further borne out by the subsequent one-man flights of principal leaders of the Party from the countryside to the city.

This one-man flightism resulted in the worst policy of the Jesus Lava leadership, the “single file” policy, which meant the liquidation of the collective life of the Party and the dissolution of practically all Party units and armed units, thus defeating even the Right opportunist objective of engaging mainly in parliamentary struggle.

The militant resurgence of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been on account of the emergence of new Party cadres and reactivated Party cadres who are now guided by today’s highest development of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought.

At the present moment, however, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas remains a pernicious influence within the Party. Afflicting the Party for an exceedingly long period, without having been profoundly criticized before this present stage of the development of our Party, this bourgeois reactionary line cannot be defeated within a few weeks, months or years. It cannot be removed from the Party even if its direct representatives are overthrown from their positions of Party authority unless we combat the ideological and political roots of their errors.

Considering the present circumstances, the dangers of Right or “Left” opportunism will always confront us. But those who hold on to the living study and application of Mao Zedong Thought and to the correct mass line of the Party will always maintain and heighten their revolutionary strength and courage in order to prevail.

It should be kept in mind, though, that the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is mainly Right opportunism and secondarily “Left” opportunism. Today, some Party members overestimate the value of legal urban-based “nationalist” mass organizations like the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and such government measures as the Magna Carta of Labor, the Agricultural Land Reform Code and others.

On the other hand, there is a minor undercurrent of infantile “Left” opportunism of excessively underestimating the value of legal mass organizations and of resorting to “Left” phrasemongering without actually engaging in thoroughgoing mass work and struggle against the exploiters of the people.

Modern revisionism has gained a small foothold in Philippine society through the Lava revisionist renegades and other Right opportunists. It is necessary to combat modern revisionism with the revolutionary theory

and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Otherwise, the Communist Party of the Philippines will continue to suffer stagnation and reverses in the struggle for people's democratic power.

C. Military Errors

Errors in ideology and politics always lead to errors in the armed struggle. A party that does not seriously pay attention to this relationship is bound to fail in performing its central revolutionary task of seizing political power and consolidating it.

Armed struggle is the main weapon of the Communist Party of the Philippines in carrying out the people's democratic revolution. Without a people's army under the command of the Party, the people have nothing as Comrade Mao Zedong has taught us in his theory and practice of the Chinese revolution. Being in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, our Party must integrate three necessary and inseparable components in waging a people's war in the countryside; namely, armed struggle, agrarian revolution and rural base building.

During the first 12 years of the existence of the Party, from 1930 to 1942, the Party did not immediately develop these three components. In 1931, it met its first concrete experience of suppression by US imperialism and its running dogs. The reactionary state with all the weapons of coercion at its command succeeded in creating grave difficulties for the Party for so many years.

When the Party finally organized the guerrilla forces of the Hukbalahap on the basis of the popular anti-Japanese resistance, the Party leadership did not have a clear understanding of what it took to wage a people's war. When the Party and the army had their first serious setback at the hands of the Japanese fascists, the Party leadership adopted the "retreat for defense" policy. This policy involved the dissolution of the Hukbalahap "squadrons" and the formation of minuscule units composed of only three to five men at a time that the people's army needed to concentrate larger forces to deal punishing blows on isolated parts of the Japanese invasion forces and their mercenaries. The dissolution of the Hukbalahap "squadrons" had far-reaching debilitating effects on the people's army.

The Party leadership had to abandon the "retreat for defense" policy and remuster the Huk "squadrons" in the face of persistent popular demand to annihilate the enemy. However, when US imperialism re-

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turned to reoccupy the Philippines, the Party and the Hukbalahap leadership again surrendered the military initiative to the USAFFE forces. Hukbalahap “squadrons” were too ready in welcoming and in merely assisting the US reoccupation forces when what was needed was for them to keep their forces distinct in fighting the retreating Japanese fascists.

The Party leadership was too ready to abandon the military initiative to US imperialism for it was bent on returning to the city and conducting peaceful parliamentary struggle. Even when US imperialism attacked the people and the people’s army in a campaign to restore landlord power in areas that the Party and army controlled, the Party leadership ordered the disbandment of armed units of the people’s army under the erroneous banner of “democratic peace” unlike in China where the vanguard Party held on to its arms and fought.

Under the Jose Lava leadership, the error of military adventurism and purely military viewpoint was perpetuated as an extreme reaction to Right opportunism. The petty bourgeois world outlook was at the root of the “Left” subjectivist error of military adventurism. This outlook prevented the Party leadership from understanding the laws of development of a people’s war in Philippine society and thus from adopting the correct strategy and tactics.

The Jose Lava leadership was marked by military impetuosity and petty-bourgeois vindictiveness manifested inside and outside of the Party. What was, however, in common between the “Left” opportunism and the Right opportunism it opposed was the petty-bourgeois illusion that the people’s forces could be commanded from the city and that the city of Manila, the strongest base of the bourgeois state power, could be easily seized without building rural bases.

The selfish desire to seize power in the city in so short a time as two years without having laid down an extensive ground work among the people showed lack of understanding of protracted people’s war. As “Left” opportunism emerged as the principal aspect of the Jose Lava leadership, Right opportunism persisted as a secondary aspect or as an undercurrent represented by Luis Taruc. As the power of the reactionary ruling classes was estimated to be weak because it was wracked by an internal split, the Jose Lava leadership gave orders to direct fire only against Filipino puppet troops and to strictly avoid attacks against US military personnel.

The underestimation of US military support for the local reactionaries was primarily “Left” opportunism. At the same time, there was

the false belief that avoiding military engagement with US military personnel would make the fight for the Red army easier. This was Right opportunism lurking behind “Left” opportunism and was still a carry over of the counterrevolutionary rightist line during the anti-Japanese war that the United States would return to the Philippines in order to restore “democratic peace” after overcoming the Japanese fascists.

It was “Left” opportunism to hope for rapid military victory on such an illusion as that the bourgeois politicians, Laurel and Rodriguez, would lead revolts against the Quirino government from Batangas and Rizal in concert with the People’s Liberation Army. And yet the element of Right opportunism is to be found in giving bourgeois politicians a decisive role in so central a question as the actual seizure of power. At this time the HMB had not yet gained enough strength to capture Manila: no more than 3,000 Red troops could be massed for the purpose, with the sure difficulties of overstraining the people’s armed strength in all other places.

The predominating “Left” opportunist line of the Jose Lava leadership was evident in the issuance of military orders to the people’s forces in the countryside from the city-based Secretariat or Politburo-In. Even in the countryside the Politburo-Out was distant from the main military forces and relied on camouflage rather than on developing a stable rural base on which it should have relied. There was still a great gap between the Party leadership and the masses consisting of unstable areas in Central Luzon and blatantly White areas in Southern Luzon.

While the Party headquarters in the city was distantly separated from the Politburo-Out and the latter was in turn distantly separated from the main forces of the people’s army, orders were brought down making the people’s armed forces leap over unstable and unreliable areas to simultaneously attack widely separated targets such as military camps, cities and provincial capitals. This kind of armed movement overextended the strength of the people’s army and further strained what had already been the overstretched lines of communications and supplies.

The raids of March 29 and August 26, 1950 conducted by the people’s army in accordance with the “PB Resolutions” of January 1950 demonstrated fully the adventurist impetuosity of the Jose Lava leadership. In essence, it failed to recognize dialectically the ability of the enemy to make a counterattack that could break the overextended lines linking the Politburo-Out to the regional commands and so on and so forth. The enemy did counterattack after the March and August raids by pitting

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25,000 troops against the people's army of a lesser number dispersed all over Central Luzon, Manila, Rizal, Bicol and Panay.

A short while after the raids of August 26, the Party headquarters in the city was smashed systematically by the enemy in October 1950. Considering the extent of enemy success in this crackdown, the policy of rapid recruitment of Party members in the city was demonstrated to be a folly and a violation of the defensive and underground requirements of urban party work. No less than the highest organs of the Party were infiltrated by the enemy.

The failures of the military policy vis-a-vis the enemy were aggravated by the incorrect handling of Red cadres and fighters. Under the guise of "Bolshevization," the Jose Lava leadership adopted harsh methods on those who were found committing even minor errors. The death penalty was imposed on cadres and fighters even where a lighter punishment would have sufficed.

In meting out punishments, the life history of erring cadres and fighters was not considered seriously and oftentimes the immediate error was isolated from the circumstances. What was mistaken for "Bolshevization" were the rules of war from bourgeois military books. This mishandling of cadres and fighters worsened as the people's army suffered an increasing number of setbacks and a tendency towards disintegration occurred.

In its petty-bourgeois eagerness to seize power, the Jose Lava leadership instructed Party organs to put the military viewpoint in command, to make military-technical articles dominant in the HMB Bulletin and to study and adopt as a basic training guide the 90-week "Master Training Schedule"—a manual used by the US Army and the reactionary armed forces of the Philippines. These specific instances showed the utter lack of understanding of the nature of people's war.

As the armed struggle started to ebb during the latter part of 1951, the relationship between the people's army and the people was mishandled in a serious way. Distinctions were made between friendly and hostile barrios. The distinctions were made not for purposes of waging the correct propaganda campaign to win over the people from a hostile attitude to a friendly attitude but for purposes of making retaliatory and vindictive foraging attacks even against ordinary peasants some of whose work animals were confiscated to provide food for the beleaguered fighters of the people's army.

It was not fully realized that aside from being a fighting force, the people's army was a propaganda and productive force.

It was as a result of the serious mistakes of the Jose Lava leadership and the effective counterattacks of the enemy that a tendency towards roving rebel bands and a degeneration of these bands became more pronounced. The absence of genuine proletarian discipline, the wanton dispersal of the people's army and the concomitant loss of effective central command led the Party from one disaster to another.

After the Jesus Lava leadership assumed command, "Left" opportunism continued in the form of roving rebel tendencies on the basis of forced dispersal of armed units. With the central command lacking a main armed force, the dispersed armed units subjected to massive "encirclement and suppression" operations by the reactionary army committed in the name of "struggle for survival" or "economic struggle" many abuses and excesses that the enemy used to its "psywar" advantage.

Taking advantage of real abuses and excesses of the "people's army," the reactionary army systematically used reactionary troops in civilian clothes to make their own abuses and excesses and blamed them on the people's army. A deep line of sectarianism within the Party leadership of Jose and Jesus Lava was taken advantage of by the enemy.

The Jesus Lava leadership could not correct the military adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership because it did not have any comprehensive understanding of the nature and requirements of a people's war. It was completely ignorant of how to conduct a people's war at its stage of strategic defensive and tactical offensives.

As before, it was completely ignorant of how to smash an enemy campaign of encirclement and suppression. Because of its failure to grasp Marxism-Leninism, it was never able to regroup the dispersed armed units of the people's army which were attacked in a massive way by the reactionary army continuously from 1951 to 1955.

In 1955, under conditions of military defeat, the Jesus Lava leadership took a Rightist line and adopted parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. Jesus Lava became guilty of liquidationism when he actually disbanded armed units, including his own armed security, and chose to live the life of a city fugitive. The individual flights of the commander-in-chief of the people's army, Casto Alejandrino, and the general secretary of the Party, Jesus Lava, from the countryside to the city and their subsequent capture in the city proved conclusively the erroneous military line of the Party leadership.

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It is only in the area of Regional Command No. 2, particularly in the province of Pampanga and partially in Tarlac, Bataan and Nueva Ecija where remnants of the People's Liberation Army have persisted. It is not those who have slavishly followed the leadership of the Lavas who are now waging the armed struggle. Nevertheless, a thoroughgoing rectification of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the capitulationism of Luis Taruc must be waged particularly in this area.

Roving rebel tendencies and practices must also be corrected here. What is to be generated is a genuine people's army that is under the effective command of a Marxist-Leninist party guided by Mao Zedong Thought, that is a weapon for agrarian revolution and that builds up stable base areas.

It has been a disadvantage for the Party to have established its strength only in the areas of Greater Manila, Central Luzon and partially in Southern Tagalog although these areas have strategic value because it is here where bourgeois state power is most concentrated throughout the archipelago.

However, new military strategy and tactics in line with Mao Zedong Thought must be adopted taking into full account the weak links of the bourgeois state power on the basis of class analysis and turning the archipelago from a short-run disadvantage into a long-run advantage for the Party and the People's Liberation Army.

The development of the people's main military forces and rural bases in Luzon other than in Central Luzon should be well-considered; and the other islands of the Visayas and Mindanao should be utilized to disperse and dissipate the main forces of the enemy concentrated in Luzon.

D. Organizational Errors

Organizationally, the main disability of the Communist Party of the Philippines has been its failure to build an organization that has a broad mass character and that is national in scale. Where the Party has been built, the principle of democratic centralism has not been applied correctly in the organizational life of the Party, resulting in errors of sectarianism and liberalism, and commandism and tailism, because of subjectivism and opportunism.

Building a party of a broad mass character requires a national system of party cadres who build up a great mass following. Under the difficult conditions existing in Philippine society, it is a wise policy to build the

Party carefully. Recruitment and development of cadres must always conform to the standards of a proletarian revolutionary party.

A party with a broad mass character means that party cadres have a big mass following due to the adoption of the correct ideology, political line, and principles and methods of organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines can have a broad mass character only if its cadres could truly lead masses of workers and peasants in revolutionary struggle. The Party guides the revolutionary struggle of the masses and in turn the struggle produces the best and most advanced fighters of the revolution who become party members.

Closed-doorism was a marked tendency of the Crisanto Evangelista leadership. Party work was concentrated in the trade union movement.

The Party gained strength during the anti-Japanese war only by waging revolutionary armed struggle and leading the peasant masses. In 1948, the Party regained revolutionary strength for some time until the errors of adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership undermined the revolutionary resurgence.

It was shown that the Party could gain real mass strength only to the extent that it merged with and led the peasant masses. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, the Party can gain strength only by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasant masses in line with the agrarian revolution as the main content of the people's democratic struggle. In the final analysis, the proletarian revolutionary party in the Philippines can have a broad mass character only if it gains the mass support of the peasantry, particularly the poor peasants and farm workers.

Until now, Party members are relatively overconcentrated in Central Luzon and in the Manila-Rizal areas. Even in the previous high tides of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines, the Party did not succeed in broadcasting sufficiently on a national scale the people's democratic revolution through the systematic deployment of cadres.

In the course of his long period of being a trade union leader, Crisanto Evangelista developed a small amount of relations with other trade union leaders in the Visayas. But he himself, even as late as the later part of the thirties, had the illusion that if the Party could gain control over Central Luzon, then the whole of Luzon would easily follow; and if the Party could gain control over Luzon, then the whole archipelago would follow.

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At the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, there was an attempt to send a team of cadres to the Visayas but it was called off. During the war, the Party and the Hukbalahap were built up mainly in the single region of Central Luzon. Even in the accessible region of Southern Tagalog, the Party was not able to seize leadership and initiative in the anti-Japanese war from pro-US guerrilla units. After the war, the question of sending cadres out to other islands was not immediately taken up seriously.

It was only at the height of the armed struggle under the Jose Lava leadership that Party cadres were sent out to Cagayan Valley, Bicol, Panay, Ilocos and Mindanao to build the Party and army. But these pioneering comrades were clearly not able to build the Party and army on strong foundations. They did not have sufficient time to do so because of the failure of the Party leadership to adopt a correct political line. The main policy of rapid military victory did not allow the cadres sufficient time to build the Party, the army and the united front on a more massive and nationwide scale and to develop all requisites for people's democratic power.

During the entire period of the Jesus Lava leadership, the failure to build a national organization persisted. This leadership merely presided over and hastened the destruction of old Party units as well as new ones established outside of Central Luzon. Even during the later part of the 1950s when legal mass organizations under the leadership of the Party could be established, there was no serious attempt made by the Party to build legal mass organizations as the medium for Party expansion.

It would only be after 1960 that, through the initiative mainly of new and reactivated old Party members, the Party would dare to push forward the resurgence of the revolutionary mass movement. Now the Party has started to make modest gains in building a Party that has a broad mass character and that is national in scale.

Through a national united front, the proletarian revolutionary party which is carrying out agrarian revolution, with the full support of the oppressed peasantry, can still broaden its support by allying itself with such supplementary revolutionary forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

In the Philippines, the Party first experienced a united front policy when it opposed fascism during the days of the Popular Front. But during this period, the powerful influence of the petty bourgeoisie within the Party started to corrode the revolutionary will of the Party in a subtle way.

After the war, the Democratic Alliance was put up as a formal unified front organization. But this alliance served only to support Right opportunism and allowed some bourgeois personalities to assume the leadership. The Party practically carried the sedan chair for them for some time until they scurried away when the armed struggle became intensified.

During the Jesus Lava leadership, no genuine united front could be built because of the failure to build a strong Party, people's army and legal mass organizations under the leadership of the Party. At the time that the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie were being agitated by Claro Mayo Recto to join the anti-imperialist movement, the Party failed to take advantage of the situation fully because of the liquidationist policy that gravely hampered and threatened the very organizational existence of the Party.

The Party failed in many instances to combine legal and illegal struggle in its organizational work. At the time that the Party was outlawed for the first time soon after its founding, there was no secret second line of leadership that could carry out Party tasks legally and illegally. At the beginning of the war, a second line of leadership replaced an incapacitated first line but the former had in the main been detached from mass work previously, having only engaged in limited political work among urban petty bourgeois elements.

As a result of erroneous political lines, grievous organizational errors were committed. Democratic centralism did not come into full play in order to arrive at the correct decisions. The development of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is the result of gross violations of democratic centralism. The astounding series of Lava leaderships has been the result of bourgeois maneuvers chronically causing falling-off and demoralization among Party cadres through a period of more than 30 years.

Liberalism in the most vulgar forms like nepotism and favoritism was practised in the making of assignments and appointment or election to leading positions. Liberalism marked the merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party. Members of the Socialist Party were taken wholesale into the Communist Party notwithstanding the ideological requirement of a Marxist-Leninist. The first and second lines of leadership adopted a liberal attitude to Party organization as they concentrated on urban and legal political work before the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war.

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The big upsurge of liberalism and legalism represented by Vicente Lava, Jorge Frianeza and Pedro Castro after the anti-Japanese war had dialectical connections with an unrectified Right opportunist trend starting before the war. Jorge Frianeza advocated the complete dissolution of the people's army and a "united front" with the reactionary Roxas government; and Pedro Castro advocated the organization of a "mass party" for parliamentary struggle and the liquidation of illegal Party work. Within the Democratic Alliance, a liberal policy of allowing the predominance of bourgeois personalities occurred. It was itself an act of liberalism to allow the Democratic Alliance to play the central role in the political struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism was the principal organizational error of the Jose Lava leadership while liberalism was its secondary error. Isolated from the concrete conditions of the armed struggle in the countryside, this leadership was commandist in bringing down its orders. Among the fighting forces in the countryside, sectarian excesses occurred under the cover of the slogan of "Bolshevization." Contradictions among the people and minor infractions within the Party were considered as contradictions between the people and the enemy.

Whereas a policy of persuasion and leniency was required in many cases, the harshest penalties were imposed on erring Party members and Red fighters. In the city, sectarianism was also practised in relation to the national united front. As a result of the failure of the Democratic Alliance, the importance of a consistent united front policy towards the middle forces was immediately discounted by the Jose Lava leadership.

Although the main organizational error of the Jose Lava leadership was sectarianism, it perpetuated liberalism in appointing to high Party positions and recruiting into the Party persons who happened to be relatives, personal friends and townspeople of the Lava family, without benefit of undergoing the tests of revolutionary mass struggle.

Certainly, liberalism was essentially involved in the rapid recruitment policy in the city of Manila, a policy which allowed the penetration of the Party by enemy agents. The cornerstone of this policy was personal trust. The ludicrous example of liberalism was the appointment of Paciano Rizal to a decisively important position on the narrow consideration that he bore the name of the bourgeois national hero, Jose Rizal.

The Jesus Lava leadership carried substantially for some time the sectarianism of the Jose Lava leadership. For a number of years, the Party leadership represented by Jesus Lava resorted to the sectarian

method of intimidation to put Party members into line and there were many cases of cadres executed for flimsy reasons. On the basis of mere suspicion, Party members suffered the death penalty.

When Right opportunism prevailed, the Jesus Lava leadership practised liberalism by coddling Party members whom it dissuaded from joining the revolutionary mass struggle. The main line of parliamentary struggle inevitably degenerated into liquidationism. The flight of the Party leaders from the countryside to the city resulted in the neglect of Party organizations in the countryside and in the disastrous liquidationist “single file” policy which destroyed in a big way the collective life of Party organizations, cut off lines of responsibility between higher organs and lower organs and isolated the Party from the people.

The Jesus Lava leadership became reduced to the general secretary alone, made one-man decisions, issued political transmissions from some secluded room and made appointments to high Party positions on the basis of blood and personal relations. During the late fifties, opportunities for regrouping Party and armed units in the countryside were completely disregarded and parliamentary struggle itself was not properly conducted. It would only be during the early sixties that party rebuilding and the establishment of mass organizations were effected by the Party members independent of the isolated Party leadership.

In the main, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is organizationally the disease of liberalism, liquidationism and the consistent violation of democratic centralism. A thoroughgoing rectification movement to remove the ideological, political and organizational roots of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas must be conducted in order to rebuild the Party in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas can still persist if no serious efforts are taken to repudiate organizationally its ideological and political agents within the Party.

V. Three Main Tasks

A. Party Building

Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. The revolutionary movement must be guided by today’s highest development of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought. In rebuilding the Communist Party of the Philippines, we must apply the univer-

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sal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, in party rebuilding, in developing the armed struggle and in utilizing the national united front to achieve the people's democratic revolution.

What we need to rebuild in the Philippines today is a proletarian revolutionary party that is armed with Mao Zedong Thought. The Philippine revolutionary movement cannot possibly advance without moving ahead with the theory and practice of the world proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution has been continuously advancing, passing three major stages: the first stage was led by Marx and Engels by developing the theory of scientific socialism; the second stage was led by Lenin and Stalin by developing the theory and practice of proletarian dictatorship in the era of imperialism; and the third stage is now guided by Comrade Mao Zedong. Even in the second stage, Comrade Mao Zedong was already in the vanguard of the international communist movement by outstandingly developing the theory of people's war in a semicolonial and semifeudal country.

In this era of Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines cannot achieve its immediate goal of people's democracy and its ultimate goal of socialism without applying Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete conditions of the Philippines and without grasping the six components of today's Marxism-Leninism: philosophy, political economy, social science, people's war, party building and the proletarian cultural revolution. The Communist Party of the Philippines can be a proletarian revolutionary party only if it grasps the advances in philosophy, political economy and social science contributed by Comrade Mao Zedong and his theory and practice of people's war, party building and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

As a proletarian revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines comprehensively differentiates itself from bogus and revisionist parties and groups by adopting Mao Zedong Thought as its supreme guide and by applying it in revolutionary practice. The Party sets itself free from subjectivism, Right and "Left" opportunism and other manifestations of the bourgeois reactionary line by adhering to Mao Zedong Thought in theory and in practice. Only with the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought can the Party cleanse itself of the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and all other ideological, political and organizational errors that have hampered and hindered the victorious advance of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines.

Mao Zedong Thought draws the demarcation line between the true proletarian revolutionaries on the one side and the bourgeois pseudo-revolutionaries and revisionists on the other. In an international revolutionary movement that is beset with modern revisionism directed and led by the revisionist renegade clique in Moscow, Mao Zedong Thought stands out to illumine the whole world including the Philippines and to push to the darkest corners the treasonous modern revisionist concoctions of the three “peacefuls” and two “wholes.”

Adhering to Mao Zedong Thought and holding firmly that the central task of a revolutionary movement is the seizure and consolidation of political power, the Communist Party of the Philippines cannot be confused by the false revisionist theory of peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition, peaceful competition, party of the whole people and state of the whole people being peddled by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique internationally and by the Lava revisionist renegades locally. Modern revisionism is the main danger today in the international communist movement and likewise in the Philippine revolutionary movement.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the People’s Republic of China, however, has consolidated a great base area— an iron bastion—of the world proletarian revolution under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and has arisen as the epoch-making weapon against modern revisionism in the whole world and against the restoration of capitalism within socialist society.

The People’s Republic of China serves today as a stable base area of all revolutionary peoples now surrounding the cities of the world from the world’s countryside of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mao Zedong Thought has taken deep roots among 700 million Chinese people and in the whole world through genuine Marxist-Leninist parties that uphold Mao Zedong Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of this era.

In the Philippines today, Mao Zedong Thought is guiding a rectification movement within the nucleus of the proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party of the Philippines. A thoroughgoing rectification movement, which is a widespread movement of education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, is being waged to rid the Party and its mass organizations of the failures and errors of the Lavas that are persisting ideologically, politically and organizationally. The bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas is in the main Right opportunism which is the bourgeois soil for modern revisionism in the Philippines.

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The treasonous current of modern revisionism has taken roots in the subjectivist and Right opportunist line that the Lavas have perpetuated for the last more than three decades and that the semicolonial and semifeudal condition of Philippine society has encouraged. Under the banner of modern revisionism, the political agents of the Lavas are striving hard to cut off the armed struggle from the legal struggle by spreading slanders and lies against those engaged in developing armed struggle and against the most militant cadres of the Party.

A thoroughgoing rectification movement chiefly directed against the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and modern revisionism should be carried out through to the end among cadres, following the pattern of unity-criticism-repudiation-unity. This rectification movement is a test of the ability of the Communist Party of the Philippines to make self-criticism and to rid itself of longstanding and major errors and shortcomings that have too long undermined the Philippine revolutionary movement and deprived the people of revolutionary triumph. Without this rectification movement, party rebuilding cannot be achieved.

Ideological building with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the first requisite in rebuilding the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought within the Communist Party of the Philippines is doing great service to the cause of the Philippine revolution by propagating Mao Zedong Thought and by playing a decisive role in the present rectification movement.

This rectification movement has to be done, especially at a time that we need to rebuild the Party on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the activities of the local revisionist renegades are being intensified with the aid of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and US imperialism to spread modern revisionism, develop a city-based and city-oriented Party that is afraid of armed struggle, foster relations between the reactionary Philippine government and the revisionist renegade ruling cliques and disarm the peasants politically by relying mainly on the reactionary government's "land reform" program.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said: "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." These are the

three main weapons that the Party and all its cadres and members must strive to develop in order to achieve the present main task of seizing political power.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must be rebuilt as the highest form of organization of the leading class, the proletariat. To be such, it must be armed with Mao Zedong Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in this era. By grasping the proletarian revolutionary ideology, our Party affirms its class nature in a clear-cut way but the ultimate test lies in revolutionary practice and further revolutionary practice. It is not enough to lay down a nicely drafted program.

It is necessary to sustain it with consistent and arduous mass struggle, transforming Mao Zedong Thought into a powerful material force by arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people to take revolutionary action. In other words, our Party as a proletarian revolutionary party must integrate theory and practice.

Our cadres must go deep among the masses of workers and peasants. They must be well distributed on a national scale in order to build up a nationwide party. The Party must concentrate on arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses, including the farm workers, as the main ally of the proletariat and as the main force of the people's democratic revolution.

The Party must implement the great strategic principle of making the countryside surround the cities and put principal stress on party work in the countryside instead of in the city, but without neglecting party work in the latter. Our cadres must conduct their political work with the style of hard work and frugality and in the creative spirit of self-reliance and must always be ready to make self-criticism in order to improve their political work constantly. They must trust and rely on the masses, arousing and mobilizing them against the exploiters.

In the countryside, the people's army should be constantly built up from among the exploited peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat and the Party. A program of agrarian revolution should be implemented in order to fulfil the main content of the people's democratic revolution. To make possible and protect the gains of the agrarian revolution, the Party should develop rural bases and direct a wide range of fighting areas, from stable base areas to guerrilla zones.

The Communist Party of the Philippines makes class analysis and distinguishes its friends from its enemies. The Party recognizes the poor peasants and farm workers as the most reliable allies of the work-

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ing class. To succeed in the people's democratic revolution, an alliance of the working class and the peasantry must be developed as the basis for a national united front which includes the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie as supplementary allies. At the same time, the Party is ever alert to the dual vacillating class character of the national bourgeoisie as an ally in the people's democratic revolution.

The Party, in keeping and utilizing the national united front, realizes that it should maintain its class leadership, independence and initiative. Proletarian class leadership, independence and initiative are best maintained as our cadres constantly build our Party and our people's army. The national united front should be lined up primarily against the class forces of counterrevolution: the US imperialists, the compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists; and serve the establishment and advance of Red political power. In the concrete conditions of the Philippines today, the Party should employ armed struggle and the national united front skilfully and likewise, legal and illegal methods and secret and open work.

Imbued with proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to fulfil its international obligation to fight US imperialism and all its local reactionary agents, the compradors, the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists through to the end. The Party assumes it as an international obligation to combat modern revisionism and a resurgent Japanese militarism now increasingly in alliance with US imperialism to keep the Philippines in colonial bondage.

The struggle of the Filipino people against these enemies of national independence, social liberation and progress is a contribution to the worldwide struggle now being waged by all oppressed nations and peoples. In Asia, especially in Southeast Asia, the Philippines has too long served as the bastion of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. If the Filipino people are to deal powerful blows against these, then they shall have assisted other oppressed nations and peoples through common struggle.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is aware that all other nations and people fighting US imperialism and its reactionary allies are reciprocally assisting the Filipino nation and people through common struggle. The Filipino proletariat is bound by the spirit of proletarian internationalism with all workers and peoples of the world.

B. Armed Struggle

It is the fundamental task of the Communist Party of the Philippines to give proletarian revolutionary leadership to the peasantry. The people's democratic revolution which our Party is waging is essentially a peasant war. The struggle for land among the vast majority of our people is the main content of the people's democratic revolution that we are trying to achieve in our semicolonial and semifeudal country. The liberation of the peasantry from feudal exploitation and its mobilization as the main force of the people's democratic revolution are of decisive significance to the revolutionary triumph of the proletariat as the leading class.

Since industry is not well developed in our semicolonial and semifeudal country, the number of industrial workers is small. The proletariat through its party must therefore develop its alliance with the peasantry and lead the peasantry as the main force of the people's democratic revolution. Because of its exploited condition, the peasantry is the most reliable ally of the proletariat. Its massive strength provides the overwhelming popular support for the proletarian revolutionary party.

By giving this support, the peasantry ensures the victory of the proletarian class leadership. As a proletarian revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines must rely mainly on the peasantry to conduct armed struggle and seize power. The people's democratic revolution is basically a peasant war under the leadership of the proletariat and its party guided by Mao Zedong Thought.

In going to the countryside, the Party must make the correct class analysis and take the correct class line. In our semicolonial and semifeudal society, the peasant problem constitutes the main problem both politically and economically. It is therefore necessary for the Communist Party of the Philippines to conduct thoroughgoing class analysis to be able to understand the problem in the countryside so that in giving leadership to the class struggle in the countryside it will be able to distinguish between its real friends and its real class enemies; so that it can mobilize the correct class forces to train their guns against their class enemies.

The basis for class analysis is the relationship between the exploited and the exploiter and the ownership of the means of production. By knowing the relations of exploitation we determine the economic position of each class or stratum and their corresponding political attitudes.

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Through their ownership of the means of production, the exploiting classes maintain a system of exploitation. In the countryside, they maintain a feudal and semifeudal system of exploitation.

In waging the people's democratic revolution, the Party aims at overthrowing this system of exploitation by launching a peasant war against the feudal and semifeudal exploiters. In the countryside, the main exploiter is the landlord class. This class relies mainly on feudal exploitation. The landlord owns lands tilled by poor peasants who pay rent to him and who are further exploited in several other ways, such as usury, menial service and tributes.

The rich peasant stratum also engages in exploitation; a considerable part of his living depends on exploitation but the rich peasant is distinguished from the landlord in that although he owns lands more than sufficient for his household, he still tills the soil. The rich peasant participates in exploitation by hiring farm workers, renting out surplus land, surplus work animals and implements, by practising usury and other forms of exploitation.

The middle peasant owns a piece of land sufficient for his family; but his status ranges from being on the edge of bankruptcy to having a piece of land a little more than sufficient for his household needs and having other sources of income.

The poor peasants and farm workers are those who have to work mainly for the landlords and be exploited by them. They are the most oppressed stratum of the peasantry and they are, therefore, the most interested in the people's democratic revolution and the most reliable allies of the proletariat. They compose the majority of the rural population in the Philippines.

The correct line in the countryside can be implemented by arousing and mobilizing the poor peasants and farm workers mainly and by winning over and uniting with the middle peasants, especially the lower-middle and middle-middle peasants, into an anti-feudal revolutionary united front. The rich peasants, including those who have traditionally taken leading positions in the barrios, can be neutralized with the growing might of the poor peasants and farm workers.

The Party must do painstaking work to arouse and mobilize the poor peasants and farm workers and raise their prestige so that they can assume responsibility for the revolution. The Party must see to it that a revolutionary anti-feudal barrio committee, controlled by the poor peasants and farm workers must ultimately replace or take over

the “barrio councils” controlled by the landlords, corrupt government official and rich peasants.

The implementation of the class line in the countryside would depend on painstaking remolding of the attitudes of Party cadres towards the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers. The Party must educate its cadres through revolutionary practice to make them understand that once the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers have been aroused and mobilized they are the staunchest supporters of the revolution.

The social base of the revolution in the countryside are the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers. It is important to keep this in mind in our mass work in the countryside among the peasantry. It is not only in the national democratic revolution that we must rely mainly on the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers; after the seizure of state power by the proletariat and during the period of transition to communism, these strata will continue to be the social base for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must rely on peasant revolutionary bases to defeat the reactionary state power in the countryside before capturing the cities. Comrade Mao Zedong has extensively shown with genius in theory and in practice how the countryside can encircle the cities in the course of armed struggle in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. The universal truth of the theory of using the countryside to encircle the city has been proven invincible.

There are, however, the local revisionists who reject the universal truth of this revolutionary theory and who overstress the fact that the Philippines is an archipelago, unlike China with a vast contiguous land area and population, with the view of obscuring and denying the basic class analysis and dialectics involved in the theory of using the countryside to encircle the city.

The theory of people’s war applies to Philippine conditions. Because of the uneven development of politics and economy in the era of imperialism, the weak links of bourgeois state power are to be found in the countryside. The counterrevolutionary army is spread thinly over the country in maintaining control over main communication and transportation lines. This disposition of counterrevolutionary forces would leave the widest areas of the countryside for the development of the peasant war under the leadership of the proletariat.

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In the countryside, the Party must go deep among the peasant masses in order to develop the main force of the people's democratic revolution. The people's democratic forces should develop and accumulate their armed strength in the backward areas in the countryside and turn them into the most advanced political, economic, military and cultural bastions from which a protracted struggle can be waged by the people's army in order to win overall victory over the counterrevolutionary army. The countryside certainly provides so many times vaster an area for maneuver than the cities.

In the Philippines, the area for maneuver in the city is extremely limited for armed struggle. The cities are actually the bastions of bourgeois state power before the people's democratic forces develop the capability of capturing them. The counterrevolutionary army must first be defeated in the countryside. What also makes bourgeois state power weak in the countryside is that contradictions within the counterrevolutionary front keep on arising. By its own laws of motion, whichever group in the counterrevolutionary front is ascendant would keep a big armed force in the city to maintain its city-based political power.

In line with Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines must consciously shift its center of gravity to the countryside. All previous Party leaderships in the Philippines have suffered failures that were singularly characterized by political activity that had its center of gravity in the city of Manila. The shift from the city to the countryside means that the headquarters of the people's democratic revolution should be shifted from the city to the countryside where the main forces of the revolution are to be found.

This shift does not mean the neglect of the urban struggle but it is a matter of determining which is the principal and which is secondary. The principal form of struggle is waged in the countryside; the secondary one, in the city. It is in the countryside that the people's armed forces can take the offensive against the enemy, while in the city the revolutionary forces must take the defensive until such time that the people's armed forces in the countryside can seize the city.

Developing the people's war in the countryside entails three inseparable components; namely, armed struggle, agrarian revolution and rural bases. By engaging in armed struggle and winning more battles, conditions are created for enlarging base areas. The base areas are utilized by the people's armed forces to entrap the enemy forces, whether they are

in the form of “special forces,” big operations or what else the enemy can launch.

By having more base areas, there are more areas where to wage the agrarian revolution. By waging the agrarian revolution, the base areas become more consolidated because the feudal forces and their political power are wiped out. The political power of the revolutionary forces is developed as the peasants become enthusiastic and join the advancing Red army.

Armed struggle, agrarian revolution and rural bases promote each other. The people’s democratic power is developed in the countryside through warfare. As rural bases become consolidated politically and economically, a state within a state is created. An armed independent regime, a base government of the people, is created in the countryside.

The agrarian revolution that the Party should strive for in waging people’s war should entail essentially the confiscation of lands from the landlords and distribution of these lands to the peasants without cost. Feudal land ownership is to be eliminated within the base area. Pursuing the correct class line in the countryside, the Party and the people’s armed forces should rely on the poor peasants and farm workers, unite with the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and wipe out landlordism and promote production.

In waging the agrarian revolution, the Party and the people’s armed forces should be aware of two basic stages of development. At a stage when an area is unstable, they should make constant preparations for converting it into a base area by exercising armed power in wiping out the local tyrants, enemy detachments and spies, bandits and cattle rustlers and in compelling lower rent and lower interest rates in order to weaken the enemy and mobilize the masses.

As the masses are fully mobilized organizationally, politically and ideologically and a well-consolidated base area has emerged from the struggles of the masses themselves, confiscation of lands from the landlords and equal distribution of these lands to the peasants can take place.

The Party and the people’s armed forces should trust and rely on the masses in raising their political consciousness. They should let the masses educate themselves. Initially, they should recognize the roots of suffering among the masses; and subsequently, through reason and struggle meetings, grievances against the exploiting classes can be poured out by the peasants to educate themselves.

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As the Party and the people's armed forces direct the peasant war against the three pillars of feudal power, the big landlords, the despotic landlords and the landlords in authority, the peasants gain experience in class dictatorship over the exploiting classes. Through reason and struggle meetings and through the people's courts and the rendering of sentences commensurate to the crimes of the feudal exploiters and other criminals, the peasant masses become more deeply committed to the people's democratic revolution and they willingly let their best sons and daughters join the Communist Party of the Philippines and the people's army.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally for China and for all other countries. But while the principle remains the same, its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according to varying conditions."

The central task of the Communist Party of the Philippines is to seize political power. In waging armed struggle to achieve the people's democratic revolution, the Party must grasp Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of using the countryside to encircle and capture the cities and likewise his analysis of a semicolonial and semifeudal country. In the Philippines, however, there is the special condition of being an archipelago that requires particular attention.

While it is necessary to build the people's military forces in the main island of Luzon to overthrow the bourgeois state power that is centrally seated in the city of Manila, the other islands of the Visayas and Mindanao can be converted from an initial disadvantage to a long-run advantage by establishing there armed fronts and rural bases that can disperse and dissipate the counterrevolutionary armed power now concentrated in Luzon, particularly in Central Luzon and Greater Manila.

At any rate, taking into consideration all special conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of using the countryside to encircle the city and his class analysis holds true universally, for the Philippines and for every significant island of the Philippines. In the stage of strategic defensive, the development of guerrilla warfare on a national scale will surely dissipate and prepare the total destruction of the strength of the enemy.

Aside from being applicable in specific agrarian countries, Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of people's war may be described as applicable to the countryside of the world, the combination of agrarian countries

in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which veritably encircle the cities of the world. US imperialism, the main enemy of the peoples of the world and principal guardian of reaction, is overextended throughout the countryside of the world. It is in this countryside of the world that the oppressed peoples, like the Filipino people, can have plenty of area for maneuver and deal deadly blows on every weakened link of the overextended imperialist chain.

US imperialism is confronted by the oppressed peoples and nations, by the working class in its own borders and on an international scale, by socialist states and by its imperialist rivals. The manpower and material resources of US imperialism are not limitless. What is most essential is that its aggressive class character is hated by all peoples of the world and is met by just and progressive revolutionary people's wars.

In Vietnam alone, US imperialism and its allied troops cannot win over the valiant and patriotic Vietnamese people. In many more places, it will continue to be defeated resoundingly by revolutionary armed struggles. Armed with invincible Mao Zedong Thought, the peoples of the world are waging people's wars.

C. The National United Front

The national united front is an integral part of the political line of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Philippine revolution is a revolution of the toiling masses against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The national united front must serve this political line.

The highest task of the people's democratic revolution is the seizure of state power by armed force and the consolidation of people's democratic power as the transitional stage toward socialism. The national united front must serve this central task. The Communist Party of the Philippines stands firmly wielding and utilizing both weapons of armed struggle and the national united front against the enemy. Through the national united front, the Party extends widely its political influence and gains the widest support of the masses and other progressive classes and strata as it establishes the independent strength of the leading class, the proletariat, through a national war or an agrarian revolution supported mainly by the peasantry.

For failure to clarify and use correctly the national united front as a weapon of the people's democratic revolution, previous Party leader-

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ships have been responsible for several revisionist misconceptions regarding it. There are those who regard the national united front as the opposite of armed struggle. Violating the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution, they also consider the national united front as the main weapon and parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. The Lavas are mainly responsible for this revisionism, this treason to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Before the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, the Popular Front was considered by the Party leadership as merely the license for engaging mainly in parliamentary struggle; no preparations for anti-fascist armed struggle were seriously made. During the war, the Right opportunists ludicrously maintained the anti-fascist united front against Japan as a “united front” mainly with US imperialism and the Commonwealth government so that the line of opposing the return of US imperialism and its puppet Commonwealth government was obscured.

After the anti-Japanese war, the Democratic Alliance, as a formal united front organization, assumed leadership over all progressive forces; and bourgeois personalities close to the Lava brothers assumed the leadership and initiative therein. The Party lost strength, initiative and independence when its leadership decided to lay down its arms and to engage mainly in parliamentary struggle through the Democratic Alliance.

Until now, there is the false notion fostered by Right opportunists and revisionists that a national united front must always have a definite organizational form like the Democratic Alliance or the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism whose unity, for the purpose of parliamentary struggle, must be preserved by all means and above all. In the broad experience of successful revolutionary movements, the national united front does not necessarily have a formal organization. Neither is its function limited to parliamentary struggle.

As a matter of fact, the best form of united front is one in which the Party has an independent and strong people’s army to command. If the Party is involved in any formal united front organization in the course of either armed struggle or legal struggle, it must always be prepared by having its own independent strength and initiative to meet any betrayal or compromise with the enemy that the national bourgeoisie might make due to its dual class character.

The key question in the national united front is whether a proletarian revolutionary class leadership is at the helm of all other progressive

forces fighting in common against the enemy in the armed and legal fronts. Whether there is a formal united front organization or not, the Communist Party of the Philippines must maintain its revolutionary vanguard role, its independence and initiative.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must engage in the national united front in order to tap all positive forces in the armed and legal fronts against the enemy. The national united front policy is pursued in order to expand the influence of the revolutionary armed forces, isolate the enemy and its diehard elements and recruit the broad masses of the people to the side of the people's democratic revolution.

The special task of the national united front is to win over the middle forces and elements in order to isolate enemy diehards. To be able to do this, the Party must make clear and repeated class analysis which can distinguish the middle forces and elements from the diehard reactionaries, the principal enemies from the secondary enemies, the enemies of today from the enemies of tomorrow; and among friends, the reliable from the unreliable.

The Party's policy of the national united front is a proletarian policy concerning classes in Philippine society. In developing the national united front, we must distinguish our enemies from our friends and vice versa.

Chairman Mao has said: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of first importance for the revolution ... A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitude towards the revolution." The national united front should be based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines. The national united front should include other progressive classes and strata in Philippine society which unite with the masses on the basis of a common political program. This political program, accepted in common by the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, should correspond to the general line and program of the Communist Party of the Philippines. This political program must serve to weld to-

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gether the broadest unity of progressive forces and groups to isolate US imperialism and the diehard reactionaries, composed of the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The program of the Party and the national united front should include mainly the liquidation of feudalism and the free distribution of land to the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and farm workers, and the nationalization of industries and enterprises owned and controlled by the foreign monopoly capitalists and the comprador big bourgeoisie. This program can be achieved fully only with the seizure of state power through armed force by the people under the leadership of the proletariat. The state sector in the present economy and “land reform” under the reactionary state should not be confused with the real nationalization of the economy and agrarian revolution in the liberated areas or in the people’s democratic state.

In adhering to the national united front, the Communist Party of the Philippines must maintain its independence, ideologically, politically and organizationally. It must unite with the progressive forces within the national united front but it should not surrender its fundamental class interests and those of the proletariat and the peasantry to the bourgeoisie. It must always conduct independent mass work, mainly among the peasants, so that it has its own political strength to rely on in any event. The national united front is essentially an instrument to win over the middle forces and elements and to isolate enemy diehards.

It is the relationship of the Party with the national bourgeoisie within the national united front that requires special attention. This is primarily because the national bourgeoisie has a dual class character, one aspect of which is progressive and the other reactionary. In dealing with the national bourgeoisie, we must avoid two dangerous pitfalls; namely, “Left” opportunism and Right opportunism. To dismiss the national bourgeoisie as completely reactionary is “Left” opportunist and sectarian; and to regard the national bourgeoisie as completely revolutionary is to be Right opportunist and capitulationist.

It is necessary at all times for the Party to adopt a revolutionary dual tactic towards the national bourgeoisie, combining unity and struggle. If the Party loses sight of the reactionary aspect of the national bourgeoisie, it would be unprepared for any betrayal of the revolution by this class. Revolutionary vigilance is required in our relations with the national bourgeoisie. If the Party loses sight of the progressive character of this class and does not recognize it as an ally within a certain period

of time and to a certain limited extent, it would fail to take advantage of actual contradictions between this class on the one hand and foreign monopoly capitalism and feudalism on the other.

In order to develop the cooperation of the national bourgeoisie, the Party must have its own strength; otherwise, this class and its representatives would be reluctant to cooperate. The Party must respect the legitimate interests of all middle forces, with concessions actually granted to them without undermining the interests of the people and the leadership of the proletariat. At all times, resolute struggle must be waged against the enemies of the national united front so that trust in the Party would grow among the people and all middle forces.

In its relations with revolutionary forces throughout the world, the Party pursues the policy of the international united front. All revolutionary and progressive forces that can be united against the main enemy of the peoples of the world, US imperialism, should be united. Modern revisionism with its slogan of “united action” should be rejected as the ideology of the international scabs who are serving and seeking peace and détente with US imperialism.

In the international communist movement, the biggest danger today is modern revisionism. Likewise in the Philippines the main danger is modern revisionism in the form of the Lava revisionist renegade line and all other forms of Right opportunism. The collaboration between US imperialism, modern revisionism and all forms of reaction should be continuously exposed and attacked by the international united front and the national united front.

US imperialism and all other reactionaries are paper tigers. All the nuclear weapons and all the military technology of US imperialism cannot frighten us. Although our fraternal people, the Chinese people, have the atom bomb for the defense of the revolutionary peoples, what is more important for all fighting peoples is the human factor, the surging forces of the masses under the inspiration of Mao Zedong Thought and under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party. Mao Zedong Thought is their spiritual atom bomb. They are bound by the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the world proletarian revolution and in the international united front against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

Although our Party and people welcome political and material support from fraternal parties and peoples, under the spirit of proletarian internationalism and within the framework of the international united

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front, we must rely mainly on ourselves first of all and wage the people's democratic revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.

Armed with invincible Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines will surely triumph and the Filipino people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat will achieve people's democracy first and socialism next.

Ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment
of the Communist Party of the Philippines

26 December 1968

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Program for a People's Democratic Revolution

I. The Basic Condition of the Philippines Today

The basic condition of the Philippines today is that of a semicolonial and semifeudal country dominated by the US imperialists, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists. These vested interests mercilessly exploit the broad masses of the people. US imperialism and domestic feudalism are the main problems afflicting the whole nation and from which the masses of the people aspire to be liberated.

The Philippine revolution against Spanish colonialism failed to achieve the goals of national liberation and the elimination of feudalism. The flabby leadership of the ilustrados (liberal bourgeoisie) failed to win the revolution by playing into the hands of US imperialism which brutally massacred the Filipino people and deprived them of their national independence and democratic rights in the course of the Filipino-American war and thereafter.

Since the beginning of this century, US imperialism has made use of feudalism as its social base in the Philippines. With the defeat of the old type of national democratic revolution, which was imbued mainly with the ideas of liberalism, US imperialism has succeeded in employing domestic puppet forces to frustrate the revolutionary aspirations of the Filipino people and deprive them of their national freedom, class freedom and individual rights.

US imperialism has bred and made use of the comprador big bourgeoisie as its principal agent in perpetuating a semicolonial and semifeudal type of economy, culture and political system. The landlord class has persisted as the most important ally of US imperialism and the comprador big bourgeoisie in the perpetuation of feudal and semifeudal relations in the vast countryside. The bureaucrat capitalists have also emerged under the imperialist tutelage for "self-government and democracy" to perpetuate the dominance of US imperialism, the local comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the present reactionary puppet state.

The combined oppression by US imperialism and feudalism involves the inequitable colonial exchange of cheap local raw materials (sugar,

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coconut, abaca, logs and mineral ores) on the one hand and finished products imported chiefly from the United States on the other and also the investment of US surplus capital in the Philippines chiefly to foster the semicolonial and semifeudal type of economy that exploits the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

During the direct and indirect rule of US imperialism in the Philippines, the Filipino toiling masses have been exploited to serve the excessive hunger for profits of the US monopoly capitalists and the local reactionaries. The acute exploitation of the masses of workers and peasants, a general state of backwardness in society and the corruption and brutality of the bourgeois reactionary state characterize the Philippines today.

The Filipino working class has significantly grown in number and experience since the later period of Spanish colonial rule. But its further growth has been stunted because of the limitations on local industrialization and emphasis on raw-material production for export and, lately, on mere reassembly plants, new plantations, mines and businesses in the grip of foreign monopoly capitalism. The Filipino working class has suffered extremely low wages and the whole nation has suffered lack of opportunity and the remittance of superprofits from the Philippines by foreign monopolies and heavy indebtedness to imperialist banks.

Despite the emphasis on raw-material production, there is the stagnation of Philippine agriculture and the exploitation of poor peasants and farm workers in areas where feudalism persists; and in areas where modern plantations are in operation both regular and seasonal agricultural workers also suffer low wages and sub-human levels of working and living conditions.

The rural poor, composed mainly of poor peasants, farm workers and poor fishermen; and the urban poor, composed mainly of workers, peddlers, poor handicraftsmen and the unemployed living in city slums, comprise together more than 90 percent of the population. Though they are the overwhelming majority in the Philippines, they are now the most deprived and oppressed politically, economically, socially and culturally. They are the vast source of revolutionary power against foreign and feudal exploitation.

The urban petty bourgeoisie also suffers from the state of foreign and feudal exploitation. Though it lives in relatively better comfort than the urban and rural poor, its very limited and usually fixed income is subject to the pressure of foreign and feudal exploitation. It can easily

be won over to the side of the revolution because it is not free from the abuses of the state on its livelihood and democratic rights.

The national bourgeoisie is the most wealthy of the forces that may be won over to the side of the revolution. It is restricted by foreign and feudal domination in its goal of nationalist industrialization. Though it wishes to lead the patriotic and progressive classes through its entrepreneurship and its political actions, its kind of class leadership has already been surpassed historically by the revolutionary class leadership of the working class. The vacillating dual character of the national bourgeoisie should be recognized by the working class while working for a national united front of all patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals under the leadership of the working class.

At this stage of Philippine history and world history, it no longer suffices to have the old type of national democratic revolution. The era of modern imperialism has long invalidated the leadership of the bourgeoisie. An exceedingly high stage of the world proletarian revolution has been achieved with the ascendance of Mao Zedong Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in this era. The Communist Party of the Philippines itself can never hope to lead the Filipino people if it does not rid itself of modern revisionism or the bourgeois reactionary line, particularly of the Lavas and the Tarucs, that has marked its history.

The national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the latter, are allies of the working class within the national united front but they have long become inadequate at leading the Philippine revolution in the era of imperialism as demonstrated as early as the start of the armed conquest of the Philippines by US imperialism when the liberal bourgeois leadership capitulated.

The class leadership in the Philippine revolution is now in the hands of the working class. A proletarian revolutionary leadership, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, is what makes the people's democratic revolution a new type of national democratic revolution. By adopting Mao Zedong Thought as the supreme guide for our revolutionary actions, we cleanse the vanguard Party of its weaknesses (as presented by the document of rectification, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party") and strengthen it to become the invincible force at the core of the revolutionary mass movement.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is now reestablished and rebuilt as a Party of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is the most advanced detachment of the Filipino working class leading the

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Philippine revolution forward. It strives to be a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, using the method of criticism and self-criticism and closely linked with the masses of the people. It wields the two weapons of armed struggle and the national united front to deal death blows to US imperialism and feudalism.

There is only one road which the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines must take. It is the road of armed revolution to smash the armed counterrevolution that preserves foreign and feudal oppression in the Philippines. In waging armed revolution, the working class must rely mainly on the mass support of its closest ally, the peasantry.

The peasantry is the main force of the people's democratic revolution. Without the peasantry's support, without waging an agrarian revolution that responds to the peasantry's struggle for land, no genuine and formidable people's army can be built and no revolutionary base area can be established. The peasant struggle for land is the main democratic content of the present stage of the Philippine revolution.

From the countryside, the people's democratic forces encircle the cities. It is in the countryside that the enemy forces are first lured in and defeated before the capture of the cities from the hands of the exploiting classes. It is in the countryside that the weakest links of the reactionary state are to be found and the people's democratic forces can surround them tactically before defeating them strategically.

It is in the countryside that the people's army can accumulate strength among the peasants by combining armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of revolutionary base areas. The Party and the people's army must turn the backward villages into advanced military, political and economic and cultural bastions of the people's democratic revolution.

A true national united front exists only when it is founded on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and such alliance has been strongly welded by armed struggle, by the creation of a people's army mainly among the peasants by the working class party, the Communist Party of the Philippines. A true united front is one for carrying out armed struggle.

The urban petty bourgeoisie can join such a united front. The national bourgeoisie can also lend direct and indirect support to it although it always carries its dual character, its contradictory progressive and

reactionary aspects. In a national united front of workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolutionary party can best guarantee its leadership, independence and initiative only by having the people's army firmly at its command.

In the countryside, a revolutionary anti-feudal united front must also be created. The working class must rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, then win over and unite with the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants. In its close alliance with the masses of poor peasants and farm workers, the working class undertakes armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of revolutionary base areas to build the strong foundations of people's democracy.

While the old democratic leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer applies to the Philippine revolution at this historical stage, the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines cannot accomplish both democracy and socialism at one blow. The Party must first achieve a new type of national democratic revolution, a people's democratic revolution in the concrete semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of the Philippines, before reaching the stage of socialist revolution. Socialism cannot be immediately achieved when the Filipino people under the leadership of the working class still have to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal oppression.

The people's democratic revolution rejects the old liberal leadership of the bourgeoisie. US imperialism has long made use of the jargon of liberal democracy to deceive the people. In upholding proletarian revolutionary leadership, the Party does not mean that socialism shall be achieved without passing through the stage of national democracy.

Neither does it mean that such progressive strata of local bourgeoisie as the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie have no more place in the revolution. They do have a role to play as national democratic allies of the working class.

Indeed, people's democracy is a new type of democracy because of its proletarian, instead of bourgeois, leadership. But this proletarian revolutionary leadership assumes the present democratic task of waging protracted people's war, an agrarian revolution, and organizing a national united front of workers in alliance with the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie. The proletarian revolutionary leadership and the worker-peasant alliance are the most important links between the stage of the people's democratic revolution and the stage of socialist revolution.

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The immediate and general program of the Filipino people and the Communist Party of the Philippines is a people's democratic revolution and the long-term maximum program is socialism. It is dishonest, demagogic and utopian to insist that socialism is the immediate goal under conditions that the people are still dominated and exploited by US imperialism and domestic feudalism.

In the political field, the Communist Party of the Philippines advances the revolutionary leadership of the working class, fights to overthrow the reactionary bourgeois regime and all reactionary classes supporting it and, in its stead, establishes a people's democratic state system, a coalition or united front government of the working class, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie.

In the economic field, the Party fights for a self-reliant economy, a just and prosperous people's livelihood and a national industry and trade emancipated from foreign monopoly capitalism and feudalism which have restricted and exploited the productive efforts of the people including patriotic businessmen, industrialists and petty producers.

In the field of culture and education, the Party fights for the development of a national, scientific and mass culture and education.

In the military field, the Party commands and builds up a people's army that serves as the mainstay of the national and social liberation movement and, consequently, of the people's democratic state system.

II. Program for a People's Democratic Revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to implement its general program for a people's democratic revolution. All Filipino Communists are ready to sacrifice their lives for the worthy cause of achieving the new type of democracy, of building a new Philippines that is genuinely and completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous. We are all keenly aware that the present bourgeois state and the reactionary classes that it serves will never surrender their political and economic power without a fight.

The Party is highly conscious that in rebuilding itself as the principal instrument of the leading class and in building a united front of all patriotic and progressive forces, it must build a strong people's army that can weld together the workers and peasants and destroy the local reactionary state and the interventionist forces of US imperialism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the core of the revolutionary mass movement against foreign and feudal oppression and for the establishment and consolidation of a people's democratic state. In the exercise of its leadership, the Party hereunder states ten guidelines for its general program:

1. Destroy the Forces of US Imperialist and Feudal Oppression in the Philippines.

National sovereignty and democracy can never be obtained without the destruction of the forces of US imperialism and domestic feudalism whose basic interests lie in the continued national and class enslavement and exploitation of the Filipino people. The overriding interest of the Filipino people now is to fight for national liberation and people's democracy.

They must take the road of armed revolution to defeat the armed counterrevolution; and all patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups and individuals must be aroused and mobilized to isolate and then destroy the power and influence of the US imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie, the evil gentry, the bureaucrat capitalists and all their political and armed agents. The political power and influence of these exploiters can be isolated, destroyed and replaced by both waging the armed struggle and building the national united front.

As a proletarian revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines should not be tied down by legalist and parliamentary struggle. The Party should concentrate on building up the people's democratic power in the countryside before seizing the cities and, simultaneously, on discrediting the monopolization of political power by the bourgeois political parties, like the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party and others, which actually perpetuate the same single party of class interests.

2. Establish a People's Democratic State and a Coalition or United Front Government.

The ultimate goal of the people's democratic revolution is the establishment of a people's democratic state and a coalition or united front government. The people's democratic state is under the leadership of the working class and it includes the participation of all democratic

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classes, i.e., the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

Its government is a coalition or united front of all democratic classes. In the course of the protracted people's war, a national liberation front may be created to combine all available forces and elements to isolate and destroy the enemy and prepare for a democratic coalition government.

In the meantime, while a nationwide coalition government cannot yet be established, the masses of workers and peasants under the proletarian revolutionary leadership can establish an armed independent regime in the countryside where they shall learn to govern themselves, defend and advance their independence and democratic gains and manage well their relations with all friends and sympathizers. The armed independent regime is the nucleus of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

3. Fight for National Unity and Democratic Rights.

The firmest national unity founded mainly on the basis of the class interest of the workers and peasants must be created. On this popular basis, all patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals shall enjoy political and economic rights that US imperialism and feudalism have deprived them of.

Individual initiative and enterprise on the part of fishermen, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie shall be respected, encouraged and assisted. All efforts shall be exerted by the state, cooperative and private sectors to provide every citizen a decent livelihood.

All democratic classes, groups and their members shall enjoy all such democratic rights as freedom of domicile, person, thought, belief, religion, speech and assembly in a democratic bill of rights. The interests and rights of overseas Filipinos shall be protected; they shall be allowed to have the amplest contact with their kith and kin in the Philippines or to return from the United States or elsewhere.

4. Follow the Principle of Democratic Centralism.

The national government shall have central authority over the local government at various levels. The government, however, shall base its decisions on the needs and aspirations of the broad masses of the people

and the lower levels of government. This is centralized leadership based on democracy guided by centralized leadership.

At every level of the government (barrio, municipality, city or district, provincial, regional), there shall be elected representative bodies where decisions are taken democratically for every corresponding area. A lower representative body shall be subordinate to a higher representative body.

Any part of the government shall be subordinate to the people's revolutionary congress which represents nationally the sovereign Filipino people. In all elections or voting on any question, the rule of the majority shall be followed.

5. The People's Liberation Army

There can be no people's democratic state without a people's army whose principal and most essential function is to defend and secure it. The people's army, composed mainly of fighters from the peasantry, must be under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The most pressing task of the people's army now is to defeat and destroy the reactionary imperialist-created and imperialist-supported Armed Forces of the Philippines and all other kinds of armed power in the hands of the exploiting classes and the reactionary state at all levels.

The people's democratic government can be established only with the triumphant advance of the people's army. The people's army shall be a fighting force, a propaganda force and a productive force closely linked with the masses of the people. It constantly strengthens itself ideologically, politically and organizationally with Mao Zedong Thought.

The armed strength of the people's army includes its regular mobile troops, the guerrilla units, and the militia and self-defense corps and armed city partisans. The Party should see to it that troops are well-provisioned and the welfare of the families of fighters are well-taken cared of.

6. The Land Problem

The main content of the people's democratic revolution is the struggle of the peasants for land. The people's democratic revolution must satisfy the basic demand of the poor peasants and farm workers for land. The agrarian revolution is the necessary requirement for the vigorous

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conduct of the armed struggle and the creation and consolidation of revolutionary base areas.

Land shall be distributed free to the landless. Usury and all other feudal evils shall be wiped out. Plantations and estates already efficiently operated on a mechanized basis shall be converted into state farms where agricultural workers shall establish proletarian power and provide themselves with better working and living conditions. In the whole countryside, mutual aid teams and mutual labor exchange systems shall be created as the initial steps towards higher forms of agricultural cooperation.

Through agricultural cooperation, production shall be raised and well planned, the sale of produce shall be assured at the best price possible and welfare services guaranteed. The higher purchasing power of the peasantry shall enable the ceaseless expansion of industrial production. The basis of the national economy shall be agriculture because it fulfils the food and raw material requirements of expanding industrialization and because it is mainly the peasantry that absorbs the products of industrialization.

7. The Problem of Industry

Foreign monopoly capitalism and feudalism which have hindered the growth of national industry are firmly opposed by the people's democratic revolution. All efforts towards the growth of national industry as the leading factor of the economy shall be mustered by the people's democratic government. There shall be three sectors in the national economy: the state sector, the cooperative sector and the private sector.

All major sources of raw materials and energy, all heavy and basic industries and all nationalized enterprises shall be run by the state sector. The private sector run by patriotic entrepreneurs and merchants shall be given assistance and support by the people's democratic government. All peasants, fishermen and handicraftsmen shall be encouraged to organize themselves into cooperatives so as to increase their productivity and assure themselves of a ready market.

While building up the state and cooperative sectors of the economy as factors of proletarian leadership and socialism, the people's democratic government shall encourage and support all private initiative in industry so long as this does not monopolize or adversely affect the people's livelihood. The people's democratic government shall exercise

regulation of capital only to protect the people's livelihood and guarantee a people's democracy.

8. The Problem of Culture, Education and the Intellectuals

A people's democratic cultural revolution is necessary to rid the nation of the stultifying dominance of imperialist and feudal culture and education. It must advance instead a national, scientific and mass culture truly serving the interests of the people. It shall see to it that the educational system and the mass media are securely in the hands of the people's democratic forces.

Education at all levels shall be free, irrespective of class, religion, creed, sex or color. It shall promote the national language as the principal medium of communication in Philippine society. It shall give full encouragement and support to scientific experiment and technological progress. It shall see to it that the national language, art and literature shall be given revolutionary content and relate the revolutionary struggles of workers, peasants, soldiers and other participants of the revolution. Old forms as well as foreign forms of art and literature may be adopted so long as these can be given revolutionary content and suit the national aspirations of the people.

The working class assumes leadership in the field of culture and education in line with its leading revolutionary role. But it welcomes the wholehearted support of intellectuals for the revolution. All democratic intellectuals are given all the opportunity to serve the people and remold their own thinking. While freedom of thought and religion shall be accorded respect, proper safeguards shall be taken to keep this freedom from being systematically employed to resist the people's democratic revolution or hurt the people's interests. In the course of the protracted people's war, the Party shall transform backward villages into cultural bastions of the Philippine revolution. Illiteracy and superstition among the masses shall be wiped out and the scientific spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought shall prevail.

9. The Problem of National Minorities

National minorities in the Philippines have been abused and grossly neglected. US imperialism, the local reactionary government and the Christian churches have too long regarded the national minorities

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as mere objects of bourgeois charity and Christian proselytization. The people belonging to the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao and the mountain provinces, can be powerful participants in the revolutionary overthrow of US imperialism and feudalism.

The bourgeois government, reactionary scholars and Christian chauvinists talk loud about national integration but they stand in reality for the exploiting classes that are the main sources of abuse and oppression. The main concern of the national minorities is land; the abuses of landlords, loggers and landgrabbers; and exploitation in mines and plantations. A new type of leadership, a revolutionary one, must be encouraged to rise among them so as to supplant the traditional leadership that has failed to protect them and has merely contributed to and participated in their exploitation.

With regard to naturalized Filipinos and foreign nationals, the class approach must be firmly taken so as to do away with “Malay” racism and chauvinism. Residents or citizens of Chinese ancestry are very often the target of racist and chauvinist attacks launched by the US imperialists, modern revisionists and other local reactionaries in line with their anti-China, anti-communist and anti-people policy. The Guomindang comprador big bourgeoisie should be thoroughly exposed and attacked for its class position and for the fact that it is an accomplice of US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

10. The Problem of Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Philippine bourgeois government is dictated by US imperialism and the internal reactionary classes. The diplomatic relations and foreign trade of the Philippines is dictated upon by the United States, together with its reactionary allies like resurgent militarist Japan. Relations with the revisionist states have been initiated only because of the permission granted by the United States which recognizes modern revisionism as its chief accomplice in maintaining neocolonialism throughout the world, including the Philippines. The imperialists and the modern revisionists are maintaining all-round cooperation to save puppet states like the reactionary puppet state in the Philippines.

The only true basis for an independent and active foreign policy is the overthrow of the internal power of US imperialism and its local lackeys in the Philippines, and the abrogation of all treaties, executive agreements and statutes that define “special relations” with the US gov-

ernment and its imperialist allies. The people's democratic government shall truly broaden its foreign policy by opening diplomatic and trade relations with its powerful neighbor and friend, the People's Republic of China, and all other countries willing to have relations in the spirit of mutual respect for national sovereignty and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The people's democratic government shall give moral and material support to the revolutionary movements of oppressed peoples abroad and shall maintain the firmest alliance with genuine socialist states like the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania. It shall be inspired by the principle of proletarian internationalism and guided by the policy of the international united front. It regards the People's Republic of China as an iron bastion of the world proletarian revolution and as a reliable friend of all oppressed peoples, including the Filipino people.

III. Our Specific Program

Our general program will fundamentally remain unchanged during the entire stage of the people's democratic revolution. But from phase to phase during this general stage, our specific and immediate demands shall change.

Hereunder are our specific and immediate demands:

In the Political Field

1. Attack, isolate and destroy the bourgeois reactionary state, the US imperialists, the landlords and all local tyrants in our country until their doom;
2. Establish the armed independent regime and develop the people's ability in the conduct of the government in the course of armed struggle;
3. Purge our ranks of modern revisionists and all other opportunists who sabotage our revolutionary efforts and expose the bankruptcy of bourgeois legalism and parliamentarism;
4. Campaign for a people's democratic constitution and demand the revocation of the bourgeois constitution and all counterrevolutionary laws, executive agreements and treaties;

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5. Expose the curtailment of the political rights of workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriotic citizens who fight against foreign and feudal oppression, and allow the free operation of or support every democratic party or mass organization;

6. Fight the rise of fascism and the use of murder and all other forms of intimidation against the people and their revolutionary and democratic leaders and organizations;

7. Punish the evil gentry and corrupt government officials and subject them to public trial by the people's court whenever possible;

8. Replace or reorganize the barrio councils and promote the leadership of the poor peasants and farm workers through revolutionary barrio committees;

9. Cooperate with all organizations and groups that help build up the national united front and isolate the diehard enemies of the people's democratic revolution; and

10. Assure low-ranking officials and rank-and-file employees in the reactionary government that they shall be reintegrated into the people's democratic government so long as they do not participate directly in the commission of public crimes and so long as they secretly cooperate with the revolutionary movement.

In the Economic Field

1. Render ineffective the Parity Amendment, the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement, the Agreement Relating to Entry Rights of American Traders and Investors, Agricultural Commodities Agreements and the Investment Incentives Law and all such legal instruments that bind our country economically to US imperialism and all its local lackeys, and reject the old and new loan agreements made by the bourgeois reactionary government, including the "aid" agreements;

2. Encourage the people and the national bourgeoisie to build a self-reliant economy and at the same time confiscate foreign goods that depress or eliminate the local production of goods by patriotic Filipino citizens while urging the broad masses of the people to boycott imperialist businesses and consumer goods;

3. Outlaw bureaucrat capital and all property gained through corrupt and criminal means;

4. Help improve the livelihood of workers, peasants, farm workers, fishermen and handicraftsmen by exercising price control in base areas and providing work for the unemployed; and organize the peasants, fishermen and handicraftsmen into elementary cooperative units (mutual aid teams and labor exchange systems) and support every movement for the economic emancipation of the people;

5. Compel the reduction of rent and interest rates in guerrilla zones and abolish rent in the liberated areas, abolish exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies and establish a consolidated progressive tax, collecting a fair agricultural tax and also a fair business tax from the petty and the national bourgeoisie;

6. Help the workers in the factories, mines, plantations, transportation lines and offices to conduct strikes successfully;

7. Expose the deceptive and reactionary character of the Magna Carta of Labor, the Agricultural Land Reform Code and such other bourgeois measures pretending to support the economic and social struggle of the exploited masses;

8. Protect and encourage Filipino-owned commerce and industry by providing market guarantees, protection, credit and tax relief;

9. Support the national minorities in their fight against landlords, landgrabbers, mining companies, logging concessionaires and plantations; and

10. Safeguard the people's health and expand medical services.

In the Military Field

1. Organize and train units of the people's army: armed propaganda teams, guerrilla units, regular mobile troops, militia and armed city partisans;

2. Campaign against the US military bases and US military assistance and all treaties (US-RP Military Bases Treaty, Military Assistance Pact and Mutual Defense Treaty, the SEATO, etc.) that bind the reactionary government and army to the US imperialists, and also against the anti-democratic intent of "civic action," the "Peace Corps" and other counterinsurgency projects of the US imperialists;

3. Destroy the military units of the reactionary government and of the US imperialists and capture useful military equipment;

4. Punish the spies and all subversive agents (especially members of the CIA and DIA) of US imperialism and their local reactionary cohorts;

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5. Campaign against the drafting of youth, workers and peasants by the reactionaries for military camp training and service and also against the PMT, ROTC and Philippine Military Academy because of their reactionary orientation;

6. Eliminate cattle rustling and piracy, banditry and all other activities that prey on the poor;

7. Destroy the terror squads like the Home Defense Corps and the “Monkees,” and disarm and disband the bodyguards of bureaucrat capitalists, civilian guards of landlords and strikebreakers;

8. Organize the oppressed national minorities to take up arms against imperialist and feudal oppression;

9. Wage a war of annihilation but exercise leniency on captured combatants so as to demoralize the enemy; and

10. Cooperate with all other armed movements or groups fighting against imperialist and feudal oppression.

In the Cultural Field

1. Develop a national, scientific and mass culture responsive to the needs and aspirations of the Filipino people;

2. Campaign against imperialist and feudal or Church control and influence over the educational system and mass media;

3. Propagate the national language as the principal medium of instruction and communication;

4. Develop a people’s democratic culture and put revolutionary content in art and literature while combatting the decadent literature of “universal humanism,” pessimism, escapism, class reconciliation and all other pernicious bourgeois trends;

5. Combat Christian chauvinism against the national minorities;

6. Support the progressive movements and actions among students, teachers and all intellectuals;

7. Guarantee the better livelihood of teachers and other staff members of educational institutions and guarantee academic freedom;

8. Respect the freedom of thought and religious belief and use patient persuasion in gathering support for the people’s democratic revolution;

9. Denounce imperialist study and travel grants; and

10. Fight for free education at all levels and wipe out illiteracy and superstition among the masses and rouse them to a revolutionary and scientific spirit.

In the Field of Foreign Policy

1. Base Philippine foreign policy on the Filipino people's sovereignty and self-reliance, and cooperate with all friendly revolutionary people's governments and movements on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit;

2. Fight against all unjust treaties and agreements imposed by US imperialism;

3. Develop the firmest relations with the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Albania and all revolutionary governments and peoples;

4. Support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and all the neighboring oppressed peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, Thailand, Kalimantan Utara, Malaya, Burma, Korea and others;

5. Expose the United Nations as a tool of US imperialism and its revisionist renegade accomplices in the crime of neocolonialism;

6. Oppose every treacherous maneuver of all revisionist states and parties in their collaboration with US imperialism;

7. Resist the attempts of US imperialism to make use of Japan and the revisionist renegade cliques led by the Soviet Union as tools in the exploitation of the Philippines;

8. Oppose such "regional" arrangements as the Asian Development Bank, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and the like that reinforce the SEATO and other longstanding instruments of US imperialism in the region;

9. Campaign against the imperialist advisers and survey missions in the bourgeois reactionary government; and

10. Uphold the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the policy of the international united front.

IV. Conditions for Revolution Are Excellent

The objective conditions for the implementation of our general and specific programs are excellent. US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionary forces are receiving crushing blows from the oppressed peoples of the world and are in a state of disintegration.

Increasingly, armed struggles in the countryside of the world, Asia, Africa and Latin America, are ever intensifying and expanding to tear

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apart and destroy the overextended power of US imperialism and all its reactionary allies. In the close vicinity of the Philippines, the tide of people's war is ever rising under the powerful inspiration of Mao Zedong Thought. The heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya and others are fighting US imperialism and feudalism. The Filipino people and the Communist Party of the Philippines are fortunate to be within the storm center of the world proletarian revolution.

Because of its losses in the Vietnam war, because of its expensive but futile aid to its puppet governments and because of its failure to further expand its foreign trade, US imperialism is rocked in its very heartland by a serious crisis that is now agitating the American workers and youth, both Afro-American and White, who refuse to be carried away into imperialist wars of expansion and to be abused economically and politically at home. The deepening internal and external crisis of US imperialism is clearly depriving the Filipino reactionaries of a significantly great amount of imperialist protection and support.

The crisis of overproduction severely afflicts the entire world capitalist system today and is profoundly agitating its own working class and youth that it viciously exploits. All capitalist countries are now engaged in cutthroat competition because each is trying to save itself from economic and political crises at the expense of the other. Although all capitalist countries are united in manipulating the revisionist renegade states and parties and shifting the burden of their financial crisis on the backs of their colonies and semicolonies, they only aggravate the hopeless situation of their puppets and intensify the aspirations of the oppressed peoples to be freed of their imperialist yoke.

Modern revisionism spearheaded by the Soviet revisionist clique is failing to be an effective accomplice of US imperialism in their mutual crime of neocolonialism. The Soviet revisionist renegade bloc is fast disintegrating. The Soviet aggression against the Czechoslovak people has demonstrated the treacherous character of modern revisionism. While US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism collude in claiming their respective spheres of influence, they also struggle to redivide the same.

While US imperialism and modern revisionism are in deep crisis, the People's Republic of China has consolidated itself as an iron bastion of socialism and the world proletarian revolution by carrying out the epochal Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and by holding aloft Mao Zedong Thought to illumine the road of armed revolution throughout the world.

Program for a People's Democratic Revolution

Also, in the Eastern European heartland of modern revisionism, the People's Republic of Albania stands forth as an advance post of the world proletarian revolution and Mao Zedong Thought and is encouraging all the oppressed peoples and Marxist-Leninists there to rebel against the ruling revisionist renegade cliques.

The most significant development in the entire history of the Filipino people so far is the reestablishment and rebuilding of the Communist Party of the Philippines as a party of Mao Zedong Thought. This occurs at a time when world and national conditions are extremely favorable for revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

The Philippine reactionary state can no longer rely on the "unlimited" support of the crisis-stricken US and world capitalist system. What the United States and other capitalist powers are vainly trying to do is to shift the burden of their economic and financial crisis on the backs of colonies and semicolonies like the Philippines. This will only aggravate the foreign and feudal oppression of the Filipino people and will only goad them to take up arms.

The Philippine reactionary state is increasingly unable to rule in the old way. Armed opposition to it by the Filipino people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is sure to doom foreign and feudal oppression. It is both a patriotic and internationalist duty to fight US imperialism and all its reactionary allies. The defeat of US imperialism and modern revisionism and all domestic reactionaries in the Philippines is bound to have far-reaching world significance because our country has long served as a bastion of all these evils in this part of the world.

Ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment
of the Communist Party of the Philippines
26 December 1968

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Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Preamble

The integration of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution is the highest task of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is a revolutionary party of the proletariat that draws lessons from all previous revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people and from the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. It is in stride with the advance of the theory and practice of the world proletarian revolution guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The Communist Party of the Philippines firmly opposes modern revisionism and all currents of subjectivism, Right or "Left" opportunism, liberalism and sectarianism, which must all be the target of relentless rectification and revolutionary vigilance. The Party constantly strives to develop the closest links with the masses of workers and peasants in the entire archipelago. It employs criticism and self-criticism to maintain the correct class standpoint and style of work.

The Party determinedly struggles to be the most advanced detachment and principal instrument of the Filipino working class, upholding proletarian revolutionary leadership in the ongoing stage of national democratic revolution against two principal enemies, US imperialism and feudalism, and in the subsequent stage of socialist revolution.

In order to defeat the US imperialists, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlords, the Party uses the weapons of protracted people's war and national united front. The Party upholds the leadership of the working class, builds the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and also attracts the petty urban bourgeoisie and the patriotic national bourgeoisie to the side of the national democratic revolution.

In waging the people's war, the Party relies mainly on the mass support of the peasantry, especially the poor peasants and farm workers. The Party develops the revolutionary forces in the countryside to destroy the pillars of feudalism and the armed counterrevolution there and sur-

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round the cities from revolutionary bases until the people's democratic forces are ready to seize power in the cities.

It is both the patriotic national and internationalist duty of the Communist Party of the Philippines to overthrow US imperialism, feudalism and all domestic reaction. The national and social liberation of the Filipino people shall help weaken the imperialists and all reactionaries on an international scale; strengthen fraternal parties and peoples in their own just and progressive struggles. Through coordinated actions on the basis of proletarian internationalism and according to the policy of international united front the complete overthrow of imperialism and the world triumph of socialism in the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will certainly be achieved.

Let us arm ourselves with invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

ARTICLE I. Name, Flag and Emblem, Anthem and Pledge

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be Communist Party of the Philippines. If necessary, the Party shall differentiate itself by name and content from the Communist Party of the Philippines (Merger of the Communist and Socialist Parties) by adding the phrase Marxist-Leninist or Mao Zedong Thought in parenthesis.

Section 2. The Party flag and emblem shall be red with the hammer and sickle in gold or white at the middle.

Section 3. The Party anthem shall be the Internationale.

Section 4. The Party pledge shall be as follows:

“I, _____, declare my full agreement with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Zedong Thought, with the Program and Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines and with all decisions taken by higher Party organs and the Party unit to which I am assigned to work.

I pledge to perform all my duties and responsibilities to the best of my ability, to raise my proletarian revolutionary consciousness, to serve the people constantly and be close to them, to defend and fight for the interests of the people, to keep high the integrity and prestige of the Party, to safeguard the security of the Party and all my comrades at the cost of my life if necessary, to criticize my own mistakes and weaknesses and those of others with the fullest honesty so as to improve work and style of work and so as to

build up unity and strength, and to advance the interests of the Party and the masses. I shall take every opportunity to propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and implement the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.”

This pledge shall be taken when a person enters the Party as a candidate-member and when a candidate member is accepted as a Party member.

ARTICLE II. Membership

Section 1. Any citizen or resident of the Philippines, of at least 18 years of age, who accepts Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Program and Constitution of the Party and agrees to work diligently in one of the Party organizations, carry out the decisions of the Party and pay the entrance fee and regular monthly dues may be accepted as a member of the Party.

Section 2. Party membership shall be valid only on an individual basis and in keeping with the following methods of arranging the acceptance of members:

- a. Workers, farm workers, poor peasants, poor fisherman or urban poor may become members of the Party on the recommendation of two Party members of good standing after having been accepted by a decision of a branch meeting, or as the case may be, the branch executive committee and after having completed a period of six months as candidate-members.
- b. Middle peasants, middle fishermen, office workers, handicraftsmen, intellectuals or professionals, students and other segments of the petty bourgeoisie may become members of the Party on the recommendation of two Party members each of whom shall have been a member of good standing for at least one year, after having been accepted by the branch executive committee or Party group in a mass organization and after having completed a period of one year as candidate-members.
- c. Persons of social positions other than those mentioned in subsections a. and b. above may become members of the Party on the recommendation of two Party members, each of whom shall have been accepted by the branch executive committee and after having completed a period of two years as candidate-members.

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Section 3. Every Party member who recommends a person to become a Party member shall provide a responsible and true statement to the Party concerning the ideology, political record and personal character and life history of the person concerned. He shall give his recommendee an adequate understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Program, Constitution, policies and decisions of the Party. The recommendee shall formally answer a standard set of questions formulated by the Party.

Before taking any decision accepting a candidate-member, the branch executive committee or Party group concerned shall appoint a Party functionary to hold the broadest possible exchange of views with the person wishing to become a Party members, in order to get to know him and verify all pertinent information.

Section 4. Under special circumstances, higher Party committees and Party groups in mass organizations may directly accept a new member.

Section 5. Party organs concerned shall provide candidate-members with basic Party education on Marxism-Leninism and the Party Program and Constitution, require trial Party work and raise their political quality.

The branch meeting, the Party committee or Party group may prolong or shorten the period of candidacy based on the performance and conscientiousness of the candidate-member.

The status of candidate-member shall be withdrawn if it becomes clear that the candidate-member does not meet the requirements of becoming a Party member.

ARTICLE III. Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. The duties of Party members shall be as follows:

- To build up the unity and strength of the Party by raising the level of their understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and by applying this universal theory on the concrete problems of the Party and the people's democratic revolution.
- To place the interests of the Party, i.e., the interests of the masses of the people, above personal interests, serve the masses of the people without reserve, learn from them as well as clarify to them policies and decisions of the Party and make prompt reports to the Party regarding the people's needs and aspirations:

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- To combat revisionism and all erroneous trends of thinking and action within the Party;
- To abide by the Party Constitution and Program;
- To carry out thoroughly the Party line and all particular assignments given to them;
- To master their line of work and become models of discipline, hard work, modesty and simple living in Party organizations, mass organizations and among the people;
- To conduct criticism and self-criticism in order to present mistakes and weaknesses, to try earnestly to overcome and correct them and to improve political work;
- To work in a particular Party organization and to attend meetings regularly;
- To attend study courses regularly and to read and disseminate Party publications regularly;
- To be loyal and honest to the Party and present all facts necessary for making correct decisions;
- To pay dues promptly; and
- To be alert to anything inside or outside the Party which endangers the Party and to oppose everything harmful to the interests of the Party and the people.

Section 2. The rights of Party members shall be as follows:

- a. To participate freely in discussions during Party meetings concerning theoretical and practical problems regarding the Party line, policies and decisions;
- b. To vote and be elected within the Party;
- c. To submit proposals, statements or complaints to any party organization or organ at any level;
- d. To criticize any Party organization, organ or member in Party meetings;
- e. To check the qualification of any candidate to any position or committee;
- f. To appeal any decision to a higher Party organ up to the Central Committee and National Congress; and
- g. To be present in any meeting called to evaluate their characteristics, work or any disciplinary action to be meted out on them, except when the security of the Party demands otherwise.

Section 3. The duties and rights of candidate-members shall be the same as those of Party members, with the exception that they do not

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have the right to vote or be elected and do not have a voice in decision making within the Party.

Section 4. Candidate-members or Party members shall be free to resign from the Party. Every resignation shall be fully explained within the Party committee concerned.

Section 5. Every Party member regardless of merit and functions who fails to fulfil his duties or fails to respect the rights of his comrades shall be criticized and educated. Serious violations of rights and duties shall be met with proper disciplinary measures.

- a. Any disciplinary action against Party members shall be decided by the branch or group in a mass organization to which they belong, but if the punishment meted out is expulsion, the approval of the Party committee immediately above shall be necessary.
- b. Any disciplinary action against a member of a Party committee shall be decided by the conference that elected him into that office or by a higher Party committee.
- c. Any disciplinary action against a member or candidate-member of the Central Committee shall be decided by the Central Committee plenum.

Section 6. Disciplinary measures shall be meted out according to the gravity of the violation of Party discipline and shall take any of the following forms: warning, strong warning, removal from assignment, provision of trial work, suspension or expulsion from the Party.

Section 7. Every Party member shall adhere to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Party's class analysis of current Philippine society, the general line of new democratic revolution, the leading role of the working class through the Party, democratic centralism, the principle of proletarian dictatorship in the form of people's democratic dictatorship and other basic principles of building socialism. Any Party member who does not or who ceases to adhere to any of the aforesaid shall be asked to resign from the Party and if possible become an ally after an effort is exerted at further education deemed sufficient by the higher organ immediately above.

ARTICLE IV. Principle and Structure of Party Organization

Section 1. The structure of the Party shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism; meaning to say, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership.

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The basic conditions shall be as follows:

- a. Leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be elected and shall be responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them.
- b. After free and thorough discussion, decisions taken by the Party shall be implemented.
 - (1) The individual is subordinate to the organization.
 - (2) The minority is subordinate to the majority.
 - (3) The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
 - (4) The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and to the National Congress.
- c. Leading organs of the Party shall always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and of the masses of Party members and they shall constantly study concrete experiences and render prompt assistance in solving problems.
- d. Lower Party organizations shall give regular and special reports about their work to the organizations and of the masses of Party members and they shall request instructions promptly concerning problems, which require the decision of a higher Party organization.
- e. All Party organizations shall follow the principle of collective leadership and all-important questions shall be decided collectively.

Section 2. A Party organization shall be established on the basis of territorial division or sphere of work.

- a. The Party organ which arranges Party work in a given territory shall be the highest organ in that territory.
- b. The Party organ which arranges Party work in a given territory or in a mass organization shall be the highest organ in that sphere of work or mass organization.

Section 3. The structure of the Party organizations and their leading organs shall be as follows:

- a. For the whole of the Philippines, there shall be the entire national Party membership, the National Congress and the Central Committee.
- b. For the regions, there shall be the regional Party organization, the regional conference and the regional committee.
- c. For the province, there shall be the provincial Party organization, the provincial conference and the provincial committee.

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- d. For the regular district, there shall be the district Party organization, the district conference and the district committee.
- e. For the municipality, there shall be the Party section committee, section conference and section committee.
- f. For factories, mines, plantations or haciendas, barrios, streets, offices, schools and residential areas, there shall be the Party branch, the branch meetings and the branch executive committee.

Section 4. The supreme leadership of the entire Party shall be the National Congress; that of a region, province, district and section shall be the corresponding conference; and that of a Party branch shall be the branch meeting.

Between branch meetings, Party conferences and national congresses, the Party committee shall be the leading organ of the Party organization at each level.

Section 5. All leading organs shall be elected:

- a. The Central Committee shall be elected by the National Congress.
- b. The committees at every level shall be elected by the Party conference at each corresponding area.
- c. The branch executive committee shall be elected by the branch meetings.

The Central Committee shall set the standard requirements and procedures for elections. Where circumstances may not permit the holding of elections the leading Party organs shall be appointed by higher Party committees.

Section 6. Members of the Central Committee must have been in the Party as an active member for at least three years.

Section 7. Leading organs or their members may be dissolved or dismissed by the Party organizations which elected them or by the Party organs that appointed them even before the completion of their term of office.

Between Party conferences at any level, the higher Party committee may, if it deems necessary, remove functionaries of lower Party organs.

Section 8. The establishment of a new Party organization or the dissolution of an existing one shall be decided upon by the organization or party organ immediately above it.

Section 9. Party committees from the section to the regional Party organization shall set up departments, bureaus, commissions and other necessary organs in accordance with requirements.

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Section 10. Party organizations at any level may hold various types of meetings, seminars or conferences of cadres and active members to review or plan their work or to discuss important decisions of higher Party organs.

Section 11. Prior to the policy decision taken by a leading party organ, lower Party organizations may freely discuss the issue and put forward proposals to the leading Party organ. After a decision has been taken, they must abide by it.

However, if they hold the opinion that the decision does not accord with conditions in a certain territory or sphere of work, reconsideration of the decision may be requested. If the higher Party organ stands by its decision after making the proper reconsideration, lower Party organizations shall be obliged to carry it out.

Section 12. The Central Committee shall be the organ that makes decisions and issues statements on questions of policy regarding national issues; although lower Party organizations and leading organs may discuss these issues and are expected to submit their opinions to central leading organs but they shall be entitled to take their own decisions and issue their own statements only on local matters within their territorial scope.

Section 13. All Party publications must popularize the decisions and policies of the Party. All Party organizations must disseminate Central Committee publications. Local Party publications are required to get the approval of the leading Party organ immediately above them.

ARTICLE V. Central Organization

Section 1. The National Congress shall be called and convened by the Central Committee every five years, unless it is deemed necessary to hold it later or earlier. If a majority of regional Party Committees formally requests that the congress be held, then the Central Committee shall accede to the request.

The announcement of the holding of the National Congress shall be made at least one month in advance. The number of delegates and the method of their election by the lower Party organizations or selection by lower Party organs shall be decided by the Central Committee.

Section 2. The power and functions of the national Congress shall be as follows:

- a. To discuss, ratify, review or amend the Program and Constitution;

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- b. To decide upon the political line of the Party;
- c. To elect the members and candidate-members of the Central Committee and other central organs after determining the appropriate size of membership in each organ;
- d. To receive, discuss and endorse reports of the Central Committee and other central organs; and
- e. To create central organs other than the existing organs, if necessary.

Section 3. Between national congresses, the Central Committee shall lead the entire work of the Party, implement the decisions of the National Congress, make current decisions and solve current problems, establish Party organs and lead their activities, direct and allocate Party cadres and attend promptly to appeals from lower Party organizations and individual members in cases of disciplinary action.

Section 4. The Central Committee at its Plenum shall elect the Political Bureau, the Executive Committee, the General Secretariat, and the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Central Committee, the General Secretary and other secretaries of the Central Committee.

- a. The Political Bureau, together with its Executive Committee, shall exercise the power and functions of the Central Committee between plenums.
- b. The General Secretariat of the Central Committee shall take charge of the daily administration, routine activities of the Party under the leadership of the Political Bureau.

The number of members and candidate-members of the Political Bureau, the Executive Committee and the General Secretariat shall be determined by the Central Committee. Vacancies occurring shall be filled ordinarily by candidate-members.

Section 5. The Central Committee shall form and lead such special organs as the Military Commission, the higher Party school (The Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought) and central publications aside from the Secretariat and its departments for organization and education.

Section 6. The Plenum of the Central Committee shall be convened once every six months by the Political Bureau. However, the Political Bureau or a majority of the Central Committee may decide to hold it earlier or later. Members and candidate-members of the Central Committee shall attend the plenum with candidate-members having speaking rights but no voting rights.

ARTICLE VI. Territorial Organizations of the Party

Section 1. Territorial Party conferences shall be held regularly, in the case of regions, once every three years; in the case of provinces and districts, once every two years; and in the case of sections, once a year. Conferences may be held anytime, however, upon the decision of a higher Party organ or upon the petition of a majority of lower Party organs.

Section 2. The powers and functions of regional, provincial, district and section conferences shall be:

- a. To receive, discuss and endorse the reports made by the Party committees and other Party organs at the same level;
- b. To adopt resolutions on organizational and political questions; and
- c. To elect the Party committee after determining the appropriate size of membership.

Section 3. At their respective plenums, territorial Party committees shall elect an executive committee and a secretariat (the secretary and deputies). The Secretary shall chair the plenums, the executive committee and the secretariat.

Regional committees shall hold plenum once every six months, provincial committees, once every three months and district and section committees, once every month.

Section 4. The regional, provincial, district and section committees, shall carry out the decisions of the higher Party organizations, create provisional lower Party organs, direct their activities and allocate Party cadres.

Section 5. The regional, provincial, district and section committees shall call work and study conferences every year to be attended by delegates elected by the Party branches and groups in mass organizations below. These conferences are empowered to make recommendations to leading Party organs, especially to the leading committees, regarding organizational work and, political problems.

ARTICLE VII. Basic Organization of the Party

Section 1. The branch as a basic Party organization shall be established wherever at least three Party members can work together as a collective unit, according to place of residence, place of work and place

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of study. Party branches shall be established in factories, mines, plantations or haciendas, barrios, schools, streets, offices and residential areas and in every company of the people's army. If in such places, there are less than three members, these Party members shall attach themselves to the nearest basic Party organization.

Section 2. If a Party branch exceeds fifteen members, the whole membership shall be divided into branch groups for purposes of convenience and security, unless the branch is in a secure revolutionary base area. Each branch group shall never exceed ten members.

Section 3. The most fundamental task of the basic Party organization shall be to develop the closest links between the Party and the masses of the people.

The general responsibilities of the branch shall be:

- a. To carry out propaganda and organizational work among the masses so as to implement the Party line and the policies and decisions of higher Party organs;
- b. To learn from the masses their aspirations and demands make timely reports to the higher Party organs, give direction to and participate in the political, economic and cultural life of the people;
- c. To muster material and moral support for the armed struggle waged by the New People's Army;
- d. To recruit new Party members and Red fighters, collect dues of Party members, examine reports from Party members and safeguard Party discipline and security among members;
- e. To organize the study of Party members and the dissemination of Party publications; and
- f. To recommend Party members for cadre training at higher levels up to the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought.

Section 4. Branch meetings shall be held at least once a month. These shall be attended only by heads of branch groups if in an unstable and unprotected area it is difficult for all branch members to attend.

Branch meetings shall elect the branch executive committee and a secretariat (secretary and deputy secretaries) and appoint the heads of branch groups. The tenure of office of all these shall be one year.

Branch meetings shall approve applications for Party membership, receive and discuss reports of branch meetings and committees and decide upon the work of the entire branch.

Section 5. A Party member may belong to two basic Party organizations (Party branch or group in a mass organization or institution) and pay his dues to only one, upon the permission of a higher Party committee.

A Party member transferring from one branch to another shall carry the prior authorization of the section committee above the branch from which he is transferring.

ARTICLE VIII. Party Groups in Mass Organizations

Section 1. Party groups shall be secretly created at every possible level in labor organizations and in mass organizations of peasants, youth, student, women, cultural workers, professionals, handicraftsmen and the like where there are at least three Party members. The responsibilities of these Party groups shall include the implementation of Party policies and decisions, strengthening unity with non-Party activists and developing close ties between the Party and the masses within the mass organizations.

Section 2. Party members in bourgeois institutions of broad scope shall likewise organize themselves secretly into Party groups. Their responsibilities shall include the implementation of Party policies and decisions, gathering of information useful to the Party, exposure of the wrongs and weaknesses of the exploiting classes, and the recruitment of Party members from the ranks of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Section 3. The membership of Party groups shall be fixed by the Party committee leading them. Party groups at every level in mass organizations shall have a secretary and deputy secretaries.

Section 4. The status and rights of Party groups in the National Congress and in Party conferences shall be determined by the Central Committee.

ARTICLE IX. The Party's Relationship with the New People's Army

Section 1. The Party, through its Military Commission under the Central Committee and through its cadres at every level, shall lead and command the New People's Army and guide it in the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and shall develop the most advanced fighters into Party members.

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Section 2. The Rules of the New People's Army shall recognize the absolute leadership of the Party and its Military Commission and shall require the assignment of political officers to every armed unit of the New People's Army.

Section 3. The New People's Army shall be the main weapon of the Party in the people's democratic revolution and in the subsequent socialist stage. It fully welds the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. In the countryside, it shall create an independent regime through armed struggle, agrarian revolution and rural bases.

Section 4. A Party branch in every command and a Party group in every platoon and squad shall be organized within the New People's Army. Leading committees shall be created from the level of the branch to the highest military formation.

Section 5. The New People's Army shall develop three main forms of armed forces: regular mobile forces, guerrilla units, and militia or self-defense corps. It shall be a force for fighting, for propaganda and for production.

Section 6. The Party shall develop the closest ties between the army and the people, between the Party and the army and between officers and men in a proletarian revolutionary spirit.

Section 7. The New People's Army shall adhere strictly to the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline are:

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points of Attention are:

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage crops.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) Do not ill-treat captives.

ARTICLE X. Party Finances and Resources

Section 1. The Party shall be financed by members' entrance fees and dues, by productive undertakings of the Party and by unconditional contributions and by fundraising.

Section 2. The urban and rural poor shall pay fixed monthly membership dues of fifty centavos.

Section 3. Persons wishing to enter the Party shall be obliged to pay an entrance fee equal to the amount of one month's dues. Dues shall be paid monthly and shall be equivalent to 2.5 percent of the member's income. However the payment of membership dues may be adjusted based on individual conditions, such as changing income, higher or lower income or greater needs of the family.

Section 4. Special assessments shall be made on members upon the approval of the Party committee concerned.

Section 5. Party members who hold positions made possible by the Party in non-Party entities shall hand over their earnings to the Party and shall receive an amount determined by the Party according to regulations and the necessities of the members.

Section 6. The Central Committee shall receive eighty percent of entrance fees, membership dues and other monthly income and shall apportion the amount at various levels. Twenty percent shall remain with the Party branch.

ARTICLE XI. Amendments and Extraordinary Circumstances

Section 1. This Constitution shall be amended by a simple majority of the National Congress.

Section 2. If the Party or any Party organization cannot function in full accordance with this Constitution because of extraordinary circumstances, the forms of organization and methods of work shall be determined by the Central Committee or the Political Bureau.

Ratified by the Congress of Reestablishment
of the Communist Party of the Philippines
26 December 1968

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Declaration of the New People's Army

March 29, 1969

As surely as the Communist Party of the Philippines is being regenerated, reoriented and reestablished under the supreme guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, the people's liberation army which the Party commands as its principal instrument in the Philippine revolution is likewise being regenerated, reoriented and reestablished under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In the same way that the Party is undertaking a rectification movement in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and of "curing the sickness to save the patient," so does the people's army in order to regenerate itself correctly, cast away degenerates and take in new blood to carry out more firmly and vigorously the tasks of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The New People's Army is definitely emergent after twenty-seven years of hard struggle and sacrifices in the people's democratic interests by those who have persisted in revolutionary armed struggle. This army can take pride in its splendid achievements and in the glorious martyrdom of its heroic martyrs. It can also learn bitter lessons from the failure of previous leaderships to win the revolution or to preserve a single base area during the last more than two decades. It is now arduously striving to intensify the armed struggle in a number of guerrilla zones and girding for the realization of agrarian revolution as the condition for establishing a base area and an armed independent regime.

The universal truth of Mao Zedong Thought is now being consciously and thoroughly integrated with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. After an extended process of rectification and self-criticism lasting for a number of years reflected in the historic document of rectification, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," the Communist Party of the Philippines ratified in its Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968, a new Constitution and a new Program for a People's Democratic Revolution in order to give new guidance, the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, to the people's army and to the conduct of our revolutionary armed struggle.

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The Party Constitution and Program make it clear that the road of armed revolution is the only road for the Filipino people to take in order to liberate themselves from the exploitative and oppressive rule of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This basic stand of our Party recognizes the great role of the people's army in the Philippine revolution. Since armed struggle is the main form of struggle, the people's army is the main form of organization in the people's democratic revolution.

As Comrade Mao Zedong has long pointed out, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." The Communist Party of the Philippines or the Filipino working class can neither lead the revolution nor fight for the people's interest without the people's army. Neither can a true united front be formed without armed struggle and the people's army welding together the workers and the peasants. The people and the Party can have political power only by taking up arms and only by having a genuine people's army as the mainstay of all efforts to overthrow the reactionaries and consolidate revolutionary power. As Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The New People's Army

Today, March 29, 1969, on the occasion of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the people's army, we have the best and happiest reasons for celebration. In line with the rectification, reestablishment and reinvigoration of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the powerful inspiration of the invincible Mao Zedong Thought, we the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and fighters are convened to formalize the adoption of the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party and Mao Zedong Thought, announce the creation of the New People's Army and approve the draft of the Basic Rules for submission to the Party Central Committee, proclaim our irrevocable repudiation of and triumph over the bourgeois headquarters in the army which is lorded over by the Taruc-Sumulong renegade clique and express our resolute determination to combat and remove all vestiges of modern revisionism and Right opportunism, particularly the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs which have besmirched the integrity and prestige of the Party and the army and have hindered for so long the advance of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Declaration of the New People's Army

Today, we speak of the New People's Army because it is under the unified command of Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines, because it truly serves the fundamental interests of the people by being the principal instrument in the agrarian revolution that we are to launch to mobilize the masses of peasants and farm workers and also in the united front against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and because it has a style of being closely linked with the masses of the people by helping them in every possible way.

Our army is new in two senses. It is new in the sense that it is fundamentally different from the reactionary puppet Armed Forces of the Philippines (and all its supplementary forces) that wages armed suppression of the people and defends the exploiting classes. It is also new in the sense that it has repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line that has persisted in the people's army from the period of the Hukbalahap to that of the Taruc-Sumulong clique and sabotaged the revolutionary armed struggle for quite a long time.

That the New People's Army is resplendently new is beyond all doubt inasmuch as it has emerged as the fruit of inner-Party struggle, the concrete result of the triumph of Mao Zedong Thought and the overthrow of the bourgeois headquarters in the Party and army. Following the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has arisen as the fresh formation of Red commanders and fighters who have rejected the bourgeois headquarters of "Commander" Sumulong and who have upheld Mao Zedong Thought against the pernicious bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs.

Within the Party, we the Red commanders and fighters following the lead of the proletarian revolutionary cadres and inspired by Mao Zedong Thought have set ourselves free from the two main sources of modern revisionism and Right opportunism in the Party and army.

One main source is the city-based Lava revisionist clique which engages mainly in legalist and parliamentary struggle and whose principal leaders are in the payroll of the bourgeois reactionary government. This clique conceives of the national united front as something detached from the armed struggle. It is sponsoring a reformist peasant organization that limits its activities to arbitration within the narrow channels of the bourgeois reactionary government and systematically sabotages the revolutionary work of the people's army and harbors surrenderees, swindlers, cattle rustlers and other bad elements.

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The other source of modern revisionism and Right opportunism is lorded over by the Pedro Taruc-Sumulong clique that usurps the name of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the people's liberation army (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan) to advance selfish counter-revolutionary bourgeois and feudal ends that are essentially no different from those of the Lava revisionist clique.

In dealing with the present situation in the army, we have to deal at length with the Taruc-Sumulong clique which has since 1964 formally usurped the leadership over all those units of the people's liberation army that had heroically persisted in armed struggle against the enemy. Though we, the overwhelming majority of Red commanders and fighters, have already overthrown this revisionist renegade clique in the countryside, we must expose clearly its anti-Party and counterrevolutionary crimes so as to make them serve as negative examples and to show to all comrades and to the people that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are capable of rectifying errors and rebuilding themselves as genuine instruments of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Crimes of the Taruc-Sumulong Clique

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has deliberately encouraged the persistence of the ideology and activities of roving rebel bands for selfish counterrevolutionary bourgeois and feudal ends. Though it has usurped the name of the Party and army and even usurped high titles therein through a system of false appointments, it has outrightly taken the counterrevolutionary standpoint on many problems and issues of basic importance and has done so in open violation of the basic norms of a Marxist-Leninist party and people's army.

Like the heirs and advocates of the Lava revisionist line, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has never found it necessary during the period 1964-1969 to put forward a new party program and constitution and other kinds of guide to replace the outmoded ones put out during the 1946-1951 period and also those put out arbitrarily by Jesus Lava until his surrender. There has never been any attempt on the part of the heirs of the Lavas and the Tarucs to study the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and apply it on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. On the other hand, they have consistently violated it.

Despite its presumptions of leadership, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has wilfully failed to give the correct revolutionary direction to the armed struggle. It has completely shunned the principle of agrarian revolution and has never made any significant step to advance towards it. Instead, this clique has merely made use of the armed units of the people's liberation army to compel mediation between the landlords and the peasants. Mediation has been used mainly to favor the landlords who get what they want by making financial or grain contributions to the "revolutionary" fund. In this manner, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has criminally tried to cut off the Red army from the peasant masses. This clique has promoted the outlook of the roving rebel band by its criminal refusal to base the growth and development of the people's army on the peasant struggle for land and on the mobilization of the masses.

This clique has systematically made use of the units of the people's army to apply coercion more on the peasant masses than on landlords whose friendship it would rather cultivate. It uses the flimsy reasoning that the landlords are needed in a "united front" solely against US imperialism. But, when confronted with the specific case of poor peasants being ejected by the US imperialists and their running dogs as in Concepcion, Tarlac to make way for the gigantic radio installation of the Voice of America, this clique ordered the people's army and the peasant masses to desist from fighting the ejection. In many instances, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has acted to discourage mass protest actions and labor strikes against the US military bases on the counterrevolutionary ground that Angeles City would lose plenty of business if the US imperialists were denounced and antagonized.

Shamelessly, this clique has on a big scale dictated the use of some units of the Red army as security guards for the landlords' fields and granaries again on the flimsy excuse of "actually helping out the peasants to cheat the landlords." This is a completely wrong orientation in the revolution because the peasants do not have to limit themselves merely to "cheating" the landlords. The overriding goal of the Party and the army is to arouse and mobilize the peasants into a revolutionary mass force capable of destroying the pillars of feudalism.

The peasants still voluntarily give support to the people's army. This is because we the majority of Red commanders and fighters have always tried to do our best beyond the bureaucratic control of the Taruc-Sumulong clique in helping the peasant masses. We the majority of Red commanders and fighters have always maintained the closest

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links with the peasant masses by constantly siding with them against the landlords, the armed agents and troops of the bourgeois reactionary government and such bad elements as cattle rustlers, swindlers and bandits.

In many areas we have succeeded in reducing land rent and interest rates beyond the promises of the bourgeois Agricultural Land Reform Code. We have used our weapons to reduce the bullying and abuses of the landlord class and the bourgeois reactionary government by wiping out their big representatives and running dogs in many areas where as a result the people now live in conditions better than elsewhere. We have also managed to help the peasants in their daily work and life.

But, whenever the Taruc-Sumulong clique is approached by landlords regarding agrarian disputes with peasants, the interests of the latter are sold out and, thereby, the good work of the people's army is sabotaged. Thus, peasants in particular areas become resentful over the fact that they have to give contributions to an army whose leadership takes the side of the landlords. Also in this manner are the reactionaries and counterrevolutionary reformists given the chance to malign the people's army and to prepare the betrayal and murder of Red fighters in the field, especially in those areas where we are trying to expand for the first time.

In labor and student strikes in Central Luzon, the Taruc-Sumulong clique has not only stood aside while the exploiting classes and their armed agents, the Philippine Constabulary and the local police, wreak their vengeance on the strikers but it has also used its armed units to coerce the strikers and their organizations into submitting to the wishes of the exploiters. This has been done in exchange for a paltry sum of money.

Class capitulation, class collaboration and class betrayal have been carried to the extremest point by the Taruc-Sumulong clique in several ways. Politically, it has kowtowed to the biggest representatives of the exploiting classes such as Marcos, Nepomuceno and Cojuangco. Its ringleaders have made themselves "compadres" of these reactionary politicians and made agreements of "ceasefire" and "political support" with them. This folly of embracing the enemy, of collaborating with reactionary politicians resulted in the exposure and murder of so many comrades after the elections of 1965.

This class betrayal is nothing but a political reflection of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois and feudal character of the Taruc-Sumulong clique. In that regard, this clique has been blatantly spreading the phi-

losophy of survival among the Red fighters. It has recently ordered the stopping of campaigns launched by revolutionary commanders to wipe out enemy detachments and agents in their field commands. To please the big reactionary politicians this clique has for monetary reasons even ordered the surrender of a comrade to the reactionary government. Fortunately, this counterrevolutionary order to surrender a comrade has been frustrated.

The obvious reason for the counterrevolutionary revisionist policy of "peaceful coexistence" is that the enemy has promised to tolerate the landholdings, the investments in Angeles City and elsewhere and also the gang-style collections of the Taruc-Sumulong clique from businessmen, landlords and the peasant masses, all of which are under the one-man control and disposition of "Commander" Sumulong in the name of the Party and army. This unprincipled compromise has always been falsely justified in terms of economism. Yet the financial resources and property accumulated by this clique have been privately appropriated by the clique-masters in the most rapacious manner and have been mainly kept away from the Party and army.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has deliberately limited the growth of the people's army and also smothered Party life therein so as to maintain its selfish capitalist and feudal rule. There is no democratic centralism; there is only the "centralism" of one big shot, "Commander" Sumulong. Abusing his private rule of centralism without democracy, "Commander" Sumulong has criminally made one-man decisions involving the execution of "erring" comrades and other people, the disposition of huge amounts of funds and the like. Without due process and on the flimsiest grounds that usually have something to do with finance collection or some business enterprise, he has judged many comrades as deserving of the death penalty and mass murders have actually been committed on his orders.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique has been directly responsible more for the killing of comrades and other people in connection with some shady business enterprise than in connection with the revolutionary armed struggle against the enemy. Following the old sectarian style of the Jose and Jesus Lava leaderships, cases of "finance opportunism" involving the smallest amounts have been concocted to discredit and justify the mass execution of comrades who dare to criticize or oppose the Taruc-Sumulong clique.

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Since there is absolutely no democracy practiced by the Taruc-Sumulong clique, since there is no committee system, no system of political commissars, no report system and no accounting of funds, the clique-masters have been in a position to make arbitrary decisions, abuse the mechanical discipline of some comrades and armed units and to commit finance opportunism on a grand scale as scandalously manifested by their luxurious and corrupt living, by their having several wives and spending Party funds in such a manner, by their lavish parties for their reactionary friends and “compadres” and also by having close relatives gain private titles over some sizeable property that properly belong to the Party and the people.

Consistently importing the style of the vagabond and the lumpen proletariat into the Party and army and assuming a fascist gangster or petty warlord attitude, “Commander” Sumulong appoints goons and police characters to high positions in his staff, mixes them with dedicated comrades, personally administers beatings to them alike and orders their execution whenever they fail to satisfy his financial demands.

“Commander” Sumulong has also made use of the name of the Party and army in practicing usury among comrades and among the people at the average rate of 50 percent a month, in forcing the sale of properties to him at the price he dictates and in extorting money and grain from the masses. He has actually manipulated units of the people’s army to conduct his evil business practices in the style of a protection gang. This man who has assumed the functions of commander-in-chief and national finance officer of the people’s army is one of the worst scoundrels that has ever infiltrated into the Party and army. Pedro Taruc has to assume full responsibility as the principal accomplice of Sumulong.

Because of its selfish counterrevolutionary interests, the Taruc-Sumulong clique is afraid to see the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party within the people’s liberation army. It is afraid of democracy and the use of criticism and self-criticism. It is afraid of seeing Party cadres and Red fighters raise their quality and the Party and army expand under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. It is afraid of being exposed, criticized and repudiated. Thus, it would rather operate as a crime syndicate.

It is now clear beyond doubt why the Taruc-Sumulong clique has consistently practiced sectarianism and closed-doorism. It wishes mainly to prevent the expansion of the Party and army and the emergence of revolutionary mass organizations in order to keep out the good and keep in the bad and maintain its counterrevolutionary renegade command and

its system of privately appropriating wealth. This clique wishes to lord over the Party and army in Central Luzon as if it were its “independent kingdom.” It does this at a time that the urgent need is to rebuild the Party and army as the intimate and conscientious servants of the people on a nationwide scale.

Historical Roots of the Taruc-Sumulong Clique

The bourgeois reactionary line carried out by the Pedro Taruc-Sumulong clique in Central Luzon has its historical roots. It has the same root cause as the counterrevolutionary revisionism and Right opportunism of the Lava clique. It is merely a branch of the long line of Right opportunism that has run through the history of the Party and that has retarded the growth of the Party and army and prejudiced the consistent advance of the revolution.

It is directly related to the Right opportunist line of the Lavas within the Communist Party of the Philippines for the last thirty-four years. It is immediately related to that bourgeois reactionary line carried forward by Jesus Lava who, when already isolated from the masses of the people, the masses of Party members and the masses of Red fighters, and already preparing to surrender himself to the enemy after failing to get the help of fraternal parties for him to escape from the country, made one-man decisions and appointments that favored his close relatives and also his accomplice in counterrevolution, Pedro Taruc, who in turn appointed his close relative, “Commander” Sumulong, as the commander-in-chief and national finance officer of the people’s liberation army.

Just before he surrendered himself to Macapagal through the Social Security System medical officer, Jesus Lava gave himself the title of Party chairman and appointed a number of secretaries to form the Party secretariat. Independent of the other secretaries all of whom were in Manila, Pedro Taruc made his own one-man decisions and appointments, among which was keeping “Commander” Sumulong as military and finance chieftain of the Taruc-Sumulong clique. Sumulong was appointed to his position despite the fact that the Party’s case against him in 1963 for malversation and rape had never been properly litigated.

It is possible to make an exposure and rectification of errors in the Party and in the people’s liberation army because we, the majority of the Party members and Red fighters, have remained steadfastly true to the Party and to the Philippine revolution. The Party and the army

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have persisted under the most difficult conditions because among the masses of Party members and Red fighters the majority have remained faithful to the interests of the toiling masses and have consistently taken the mass line.

The Taruc-Sumulong clique which has usurped Party and army leadership in Central Luzon has long acted as a hindrance to the advance of the revolution and as a heavy burden on the masses of the people. Its crimes have been utilized by the enemy to discredit the Party and the people's army. This clique has perpetrated the most grievous crimes inside and outside the Party and army. It is best, therefore, that the Party and army should wage a rectification movement, ideological, political and organizational, in order to cleanse the Party and army and make them ever stronger servants of the masses.

Comrades who are passive to or who refuse the call for rectification will only endanger themselves because if the evil practices of the Taruc-Sumulong clique are not repudiated now, then the reactionaries can use them to isolate the Party and army from the people. The Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army cannot carry out the tasks of the revolution without engaging in criticism and self-criticism, without engaging in a rectification movement and clarifying their revolutionary tasks, without arousing the people to feel free to say what they think and what they expect to be done. Certainly not all the particular crimes of the Taruc-Sumulong clique can be included in this document. Only the full play of a rectification campaign among Party members and Red fighters can unfold them most amply and clear the way for the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao Zedong Thought.

However, to be most profound and to be of the greatest benefit to the Party and to the New People's Army, the rectification movement should encompass not only the wrongs committed by the Taruc-Sumulong clique but also the whole history of the Communist Party of the Philippines. With such a scope of criticism, comrades will fully understand why the phenomenon of a Taruc-Sumulong clique has come to pass and why, for instance, many of those who entered the Party and army at various stages have become passive, afraid and reluctant to carry out the tasks of the revolution or have turned the other way only to strike back at the Party and army as counterrevolutionaries.

To understand the present as something that develops into the future, with the true proletarian revolutionaries advancing and the degenerate capitalist roaders being thrown into the dustbin of history, we must

know the past that has brought about certain wrongs and weaknesses and also that has brought about what is good and strong about us today. An understanding of the whole history of the Party is necessary, especially because most of the Party members and Red fighters who are now actively working for the success of the Philippine revolution are literally a new generation. It is most important that we take advantage of the lessons of the past and of the positive and negative experiences of old comrades who compose a minority within the Party and army at the moment.

Hereunder we outline briefly the major stages in the development of the Party and army, with special interest in the latter and with special emphasis on the causes of failure. For an ample view of Party history, it is indispensable for comrades to adopt this document together with the more extensive document, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," issued previously by the Party.

1. Period before the Establishment of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon.

For twelve long years after its formal establishment on November 7, 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines failed to create a people's army to combat the US colonial regime and later the puppet comprador-landlord government of Quezon and its US imperialist masters. Without a people's army, the Party was defenseless.

A few months after its public founding, repressive measures were taken by the US imperialists and the puppet officials against the Party. In 1932, the Party and all the mass organizations associated with it were formally declared illegal by the reactionary government and all principal Party leaders were sentenced, imprisoned and banished to various parts of the country.

Even as the Party had been declared completely illegal, the Party leadership still failed to recognize the importance of Party and army building among the peasants in the countryside. Throughout the decade of the thirties, widespread agitation for independence and land reform was conducted more vigorously by other organizations.

In 1937, the Party was again allowed to operate legally in line with the anti-fascist Popular Front and in 1938, a merger of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party was made under the influence of the Right opportunist leadership of Earl Browder in the Communist

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Party of the USA. The Party leadership continued to concentrate on legal work in the city and no armed preparations were undertaken in the countryside against the impending Japanese invasion.

Only campaigns for the voluntary boycott of Japanese goods were made mainly by the trade union movement under the leadership of the CPP chairman Crisanto Evangelista. The cadres of the Socialist Party continued to engage in purely legal and reformist agitation. At this time, Party members of petty-bourgeois orientation who stood out in advocating civil liberties and whose chief representative was Dr. Vicente Lava started to gain principal influence in the Party.

2. Period of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon

The people's army in the form of the Hukbalahap was established under the leadership of the Party on March 29, 1942 in Central Luzon. Since then, confirming what Comrade Mao Zedong has said that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, the Party and the people gained a certain amount of power and prestige in Central Luzon that they had never held before.

Within one year of waging guerrilla warfare, the people's army grew from a small force to a big one. Its strength grew rapidly as the peasants rallied around it under such favorable conditions as the evacuation of the US imperialists and the Commonwealth government from the Philippines, the disintegration of landlord power in the countryside and the clear need among the people to take up arms against the Japanese fascists.

But after the Japanese raid on the Mt. Arayat base of the people's army in the early part of March 1943, the Party leadership of the Right opportunist Vicente Lava was overcome with pessimism and adopted the wrong policy of "retreat for defense" which was a passive military line involving the dissolution of armed units and prevention of tactical offensives against the enemy.

The Lava leadership also entertained serious doubts about the working class being able to lead under conditions that the trade union movement in the city was in chaos. It did not recognize that the Communist Party of the Philippines as the most advanced detachment of the working class was already in the countryside to lead the peasant masses.

The "retreat for defense" policy was rectified only sometime in September 1944 when the US military forces and their puppet forces were

already starting to make their own offensive. Because of this Right opportunist policy, which covered more than half of the three-year Japanese occupation, the Red army lost the opportunity of building up more massive fighting forces and of expanding as fast as it should have even beyond Central Luzon. On a national scale, the Party and army failed to seize the leadership in the anti-fascist armed struggle.

The plan to send out cadres to other parts of the archipelago to develop armed struggle had been called off even as early as 1942. Thus, the development of armed struggle under the leadership of the Party became limited to Central Luzon and to a small part of Southern Tagalog. Furthermore, the Party leadership failed to use agrarian revolution as the basis of its strength in areas securely held by the people's army. It also glaringly failed to expose US imperialism as an enemy. It utterly failed to implement the policy of the Communist International of using the anti-fascist struggle as an occasion to establish a people's democratic government.

3. Period of the "Democratic Peace" Line

As the US imperialist and puppet forces were advancing, the Party leadership still mainly influenced by the Right opportunism of Vicente Lava and Luis Taruc relied on the word of US agents who contacted them that they could participate in the parliamentary life and economic reconstruction of the country.

The Party leadership passed on to more outright Right opportunists like Pedro Castro and Jorge Frianeza who advocated an open and legal mass party in the style of bourgeois parties and who carried out further the line of separating the gun from the Red fighters. The Party leadership failed to recognize that US imperialists and the landlords were systematically disorganizing the people's army to strengthen armed counterrevolution and reimpose their control over the entire countryside and over the whole country.

Atrocious crimes had been committed by the US imperialists and their puppets against the Hukbalahap and the masses. Entire "squadrons" of the Hukbalahap were massacred or, as in the case of the Banal Regiment, were bought off with US backpay. Hukbalahap leaders were soon arrested and assassinated or imprisoned by the US imperialists and their puppets. Despite these evil deeds of the enemy, the Right opportunists set up the Huk Veterans' League and the Pambansang Kaisahan ng

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mga Magbubukid to supplant the Hukbalahap and the Barrio United Defense Corps (BUDC).

True to its Right opportunist line, the Party leadership shifted its headquarters from the countryside to the city, launched the Democratic Alliance which was dominated by bourgeois personalities and engaged in the bourgeois electoral game only to discover when it was too late that the US imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists would violate their own parliamentary rules to get what they wanted, such as the Bell Trade Act, Parity Amendment and other imperialist and landlord measures.

During the period of the “democratic peace” line the reactionaries were able to reinstall themselves in positions of power all over the country by unhesitatingly using their guns to suppress the people as in the regions of Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog.

4. Resumption of the Armed Struggle and Military Adventurism

As a result of the ouster of the Party-supported members of Congress from their parliamentary seats, the murder of revolutionary leaders, Red fighters and common people, and the just clamor of the people for resuming armed struggle, the Right opportunist leadership in the Party was overthrown and the Party decided to launch armed struggle in 1948.

But as no sufficient rectification movement was waged aside from organizational repudiation of the Right opportunists, the Jose Lava leadership that tried to resume the armed struggle was not able to formulate correctly the ideological, political and organizational basis for a protracted people’s war. Even as the Party was already bent on waging armed struggle, the Right opportunist Luis Taruc, who was commander-in-chief of the people’s liberation army, was allowed to negotiate the surrender and disarming of the people’s army in the same year of 1948.

Taking a dogmatic and sectarian attitude as clearly manifested by its PB Resolutions of 1950, the Jose Lava leadership adopted the impetuous petty-bourgeois line of quick military victory within two years which underestimated the enemy and overestimated the revolutionary forces. It was a complete violation of Mao Zedong’s strategic principle of a protracted people’s war. It was merely a subjective conclusion reached by relying heavily on such external possibilities as a third world war, the absolute breakdown of the US economy and the violent split among

the local political factions in the country which were foretold to occur within two years.

The putschist line of military victory in two years overstrained the limited revolutionary forces, made them leap over unstable areas instead of advancing wave upon wave, and impelled the imposition of bourgeois rules of war and sectarian punishments on the overstrained cadres, fighters and masses. The more the Party and army leadership waved the obnoxious flag of commandism, the more the Party and army became isolated from the masses on whom sectarian abuses were committed. Those sectarian abuses were repeated in a big way by reactionary soldiers in civilian disguise and were blamed on the Party and army, thus isolating the Party and army further from the masses.

The "Left" opportunist leadership of Jose Lava (PB-In and Secretariat) was isolated in the city from which it dictated its adventurist orders. It had a subcommand under Jesus Lava (the so-called PB-Out) which was likewise isolated in a physical base, not a political base, in the Sierra Madre fastnesses of Laguna, far away from the main military forces in the plains of Central Luzon.

After the March and August 1950 raids conducted by the people's army, the Jose Lava leadership was quickly smashed by only a few enemy counterattacks such as the total capture of the central Party headquarters in the city, the massive encirclement of the Sierra Madre, the slicing off of overextended supply and communication lines, large-scale enemy imitation of the roguish sectarian activities of a big number of Red army units and heavy enemy infiltration of the Party headquarters because of a liberal policy of recruitment in the city.

The Jose Lava leadership was criminally responsible for the almost total obliteration of the people's army within the short period of two years and for the most wanton sacrifice of the lives of Party cadres and Red fighters in the entire history of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

5. The Period of Continued Military Defeat

After the enemy had smashed the Jose Lava leadership, Jesus Lava assumed the Party leadership and together with Casto Alejandrino as commander-in-chief, continued the "Left" opportunist and sectarian line of his brother. Adducing the failure of the Jose Lava leadership to mere negligence and tactical errors of some comrades and to mere ac-

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cident, Jesus Lava carried further the line of his brother and failed to launch a much-needed rectification movement.

Revealing its utter ignorance of the theory of people's war, the Jesus Lava leadership asserted that the strategic stage that the people's liberation army had been in since 1949 was neither the strategic defensive nor the strategic offensive but what it muddleheadedly called the "strategic counteroffensive."

The Central Committee conference of February-March 1951 which elevated Jesus Lava to the general secretaryship did not find any substantial ideological, political and organizational errors in the previous leadership. Jesus Lava was more concerned then with outwitting and outmaneuvering the equally careerist renegade Luis Taruc to assume the Party leadership.

Taking advantage of the defeats suffered by the people's army, Luis Taruc and his clique pushed forward the Right opportunist line of seeking peace negotiations with the enemy. This capitulationist line had disastrous results inasmuch as it encouraged the mood of many soldiers to surrender even in areas where the people's army was still strong. In 1954, the renegade, traitor and scab Luis Taruc surrendered to the enemy under the auspices of the US Central Intelligence Agency.

While the enemy launched a series of massive campaigns of encirclement and suppression during the period of 1951, the Party and army were severely split between two factions and the Jesus Lava leadership failed to give the unifying ideological, political and organizational leadership for a protracted people's war.

The relationship between the Party and army on the one hand and the people on the other, between Party officials and army officers on the one hand and soldiers on the other, and among soldiers worsened without letup. The Jesus Lava leadership failed to grasp the mass line, failed to overcome but even increased the harsh sectarian activities of the previous leadership and continued to propagate a purely military viewpoint.

6. The Reemergence of Right Opportunism and Flightism

In 1955, the Jesus Lava leadership was overcome with pessimism about the armed struggle as a result of its ceaseless military defeats and its isolation from the masses. Its dogmatism, "Left" opportunism and sectarianism easily reversed into empiricism and Right opportunism.

As a result of continuous military defeats, this leadership subsequently adopted the line of parliamentary struggle, and it went out of its way to dissolve those armed units of the people's army that it had access to and convert them into "organizational brigades." As Jesus Lava himself prepared to abandon the armed struggle and the countryside, he dissolved his own security unit.

During this period, the Khrushchov revisionist renegades of the Soviet Union were already waging a worldwide campaign for the "parliamentary road" and "peaceful transition." In 1958, Lava took flight from the countryside and began his career of "general secretary" in his secluded city room from which he issued political transmissions and directives without the benefit of collective discussions and concrete experience. This flightism was imitated by other principal Party leaders, particularly by the commander-in-chief of the people's army, Casto Alejandrino.

But even the efforts of the Party in the parliamentary struggle did not directly bear fruit. In political agitation, the Jesus Lava leadership tailed behind the leaders of the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie through whose independent efforts the line of anti-imperialism was advanced. What crippled the Party most during this period was the one-man decision taken by Jesus Lava that the Party must pursue the "single file" policy in organization.

This is liquidationism pure and simple, destroying the collective life of the Party. The vast majority of Party members became disconnected and became passive as they were easily cut off from their "single file" due to the arrest of a single Party member, the increasing passivity and opportunism of others, or the infrequency of contacts. It would only be in 1960 that new Party members in both legal and illegal fronts of the struggle emerged to reinvigorate the Party and army.

Further carrying out his flightist policy, Jesus Lava sought vainly to leave the country. After failing to do so, he tried to cajole President Macapagal with several letters of support for his bourgeois policies and finally wrote him a treasonous letter offering his surrender. Before his "capture" by the enemy in 1964, he alone made appointments to the Party leadership.

These appointments were characterized by nepotism, thinly camouflaged by the nominal appointment of Pedro Taruc as the "secretary for peasants." Other appointees to the Party secretariat were close Lava kinsmen who had never before excelled in Party work or mass work.

7. The Ascendancy of Mao Zedong Thought in the Party and Army

The Right opportunist line of the Jesus Lava leadership resulted in two degenerate and counterrevolutionary trends. Feigning loss of contact with the people's army and Party cadres therein led by Pedro Taruc, the heirs in the leadership of the Lava revisionist renegade clique took the blessings of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, held a conference of their own in April 1968 to perpetuate the "noble lineage" of the Lavas and put forward formally the line of opposing those engaged in armed struggle, of accepting the leadership of the reactionary government in land reform, of contraposing the united front with the armed struggle and of repeating the error of letting bourgeois personalities assume the leadership in what they conceive to be a formal united front organization.

On the other hand, also feigning loss of contact with the barefaced city-based local revisionist renegades, the Taruc-Sumulong clique defined a limited area in Central Luzon as its own independent "kingdom" and put forward its own line of Right opportunism and revisionist treachery in the countryside as explained previously. Pedro Taruc, acting alone, committed the serious crime of appointing Sumulong as commander-in-chief of the people's army and also as national finance officer despite the fact that the latter was still facing the serious charges of malversation and corruption made in 1963.

If there is a bourgeois headquarters within the Party and army and also factions within the same bourgeois headquarters, the counterrevolutionary line it puts forward is bound to be opposed by a revolutionary line put forward by the proletarian revolutionary headquarters within the same Party and army. During the years from 1964 to the present, when the one-man decisions and appointments made by the renegade Jesus Lava were creating confusion within the Party, those upholding Mao Zedong Thought led by Comrade Amado Guerrero rose up to criticize and repudiate modern revisionism and the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs and thus prepared the way for the reestablishment and rebuilding of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the supreme guidance of Mao Zedong Thought.

At the same time, within the people's army, Comrade Dante with the late Comrade Delio, struggled hard to put other Red commanders and fighters on the revolutionary path, continued to wage armed

struggle most militantly and fostered the revolutionary spirit of serving the people and making the Red fighter merge with the people like fish with water.

Today, the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the Red commanders and fighters led by Comrade Dante who remain ever faithful to the people's democratic revolution and to Mao Zedong Thought are crowned with the transformation of the old Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) into the New People's Army under the supreme command of Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The Main Tasks of the New People's Army

Under the Marxist-Leninist principle that the Party commands the gun, the New People's Army follows the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the supreme command of Mao Zedong Thought.

The New People's Army is an instrument for implementing the Party Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. It is, as matter of fact, the principal organization under the command of the Communist Party of the Philippines, an organization for waging the main form of struggle, armed struggle, in the people's democratic revolution.

The tasks of the New People's Army are comprehensively outlined in the Party Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Both the general and specific programs are therein stated. But, in another comprehensive manner, we outline hereunder its urgent tasks:

1. The New People's Army Must Engage in Party Rebuilding.

It is by propagating Mao Zedong Thought in the people's army and among the masses, applying it in revolutionary practice and organizing Party branches and committees inside and outside the army that the New People's Army engages in Party rebuilding. The New People's Army is not only a fighting force, it is also a propaganda and organizing force.

It must propagate and apply Mao Zedong Thought as the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Its cadres, commanders and fighters must all imbue themselves with Mao Zedong Thought by undertaking study classes under the direction of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought, under the army political

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department and under the political officer appointed by the Party to supervise Party life and political education in every Red armed unit.

All Party cadres in the army, commanders and fighters should in turn effect an ideological mobilization of the masses under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought and they should see to it that the most advanced elements among the masses, as among the Red fighters, are taken in as members of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the course of mass struggle. All daily problems of the Party, army and the masses in politics, armed struggle, culture and economic work should be solved by applying the universal truth of Mao Zedong Thought.

As an organized force, the New People's Army must see to it that Party branches at company level, Party groups in every squad and Party committees at every level from the company upwards are established. As an organizing force, it must establish Party branches and local Party committees among the people. The New People's Army must always be conscious that the Communist Party of the Philippines is at the core of the revolutionary mass movement.

In instilling itself with Mao Zedong Thought, the New People's Army instils itself with the spirit of serving the people and repudiating selfishness. It rejects modern revisionism and subjectivism in its dogmatist or empiricist form, Right and "Left" opportunism, sectarianism and liberalism, commandism and tailism and all other weaknesses and mistakes that have obstructed the advance of the people's democratic revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is the most precise instrument for rectifying and weeding out all the weaknesses and the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs and all other evil sources of errors in the Philippine revolutionary movement.

The New People's Army has a conscious iron discipline. It follows the principle of democratic centralism. Centralism is essentially the supreme command of Mao Zedong Thought. At its core is the subordination of the minority to the majority, the lower organ to the higher organ and the individual to the Party. Inner democracy shall be fully enjoyed by all Red fighters and shall serve as the means for the practical and concrete application of Mao Zedong Thought. Criticism and self-criticism shall be given full play in order to raise the political and combat effectiveness of the New People's Army.

There shall be political democracy in the New People's Army with the soldiers having the right to hold meetings and speak out freely on any worthwhile subject or problem that confronts them.

There shall be economic democracy, with all officers and men enjoying equal material conditions, such as allowances and rations, with the men having the right to elect representatives to assist the company leadership in managing their material conditions and with all officers and men having the right to look into the books of accounts at any time.

There shall also be military democracy, with the officers teaching the soldiers, the soldiers teaching the officers and soldiers learning from each other with regard to military plans, methods and techniques of fighting. As much as possible, meetings shall be held before and after battles in order to raise fighting knowledge and effectiveness.

Bourgeois and feudal practices between officers and men, such as bullying, shall be absolutely prohibited. The best of relations shall therefore be developed between officers and men within the army so that the army as a whole shall always be oriented towards the maintenance and development of the best relations with the masses.

The officers and men of the New People's Army shall be strictly bound by Comrade Mao Zedong's Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention and shall always go out of their way to serve the people, aside from performing well their fighting tasks.

2. The New People's Army Must Carry Out Agrarian Revolution, Build Rural Bases and Advance the Armed Struggle.

Since the people's democratic revolution is essentially a peasant war under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines, and since the peasant struggle for land is the main content of the people's democratic revolution, the New People's Army must launch an agrarian revolution and mobilize the peasant masses, the vast majority of the Filipino people, for the people's democratic revolution.

A revolution is a mass undertaking and so the New People's Army as a revolutionary army must rely on the masses for increasing its fighting strength, preserving itself, winning battles, winning the whole war and consolidating the power won.

It is only through agrarian revolution that rural bases can be created as great rears for the emergence of more rural bases and more guerrilla zones and that the great masses of the people are mobilized against US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalist. Only by destroying the feudal base of US imperi-

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alism in the Philippines can the people's democratic revolution be won against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is only by having stable base areas that the New People's Army can wage a protracted people's war. From these stable base areas, it can advance wave upon wave against the enemy. By building stable base areas to encircle the city, the biggest graveyard of the enemy forces is created. It is here in the countryside that the enemy is compelled to spread out thinly, lured in and destroyed piece by piece over a long period of time. It is here in the countryside that the enemy becomes exhausted and defeated before the main forces of the New People's Army march in on the cities to seize power finally with the help of workers in a general strike or in a general uprising together with the urban petty bourgeoisie.

It is now the urgent task of the New People's Army to establish the armed independent regime in the countryside on the basis of agrarian revolution. The armed independent regime shall become the focus of an ever expanding wave of guerrilla zones throughout the country. All commanders and fighters must study with Party cadres how to raise the guerrilla zone to the level of a base area.

The New People's Army must establish its main fighting forces in Luzon to defeat the enemy forces concentrated in Luzon and in the Greater Manila Area, and also big forces at certain points of the Visayas and Mindanao to compel the enemy to disperse its forces at great cost across the archipelago. We must disperse the enemy in two ways: first, throughout the countryside and second, throughout the archipelago. Then we can destroy it piece by piece. For this purpose great rural bases must be created in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. The nationwide expansion of the Party and army should be made in the light of this consideration.

To carry out the armed struggle, the New People's Army should develop four types of armed units: the regular mobile forces, the guerrilla units, the militia or self-defense corps and the armed city partisans. The New People's Army must learn from the experiences of the Chinese and the Vietnamese in conducting people's war and must be trained to employ new and old fighting methods and military techniques.

Aside from developing marksmanship with various types of guns, the New People's Army must train in night operations, bayoneting, using land mines, mortar fire, tunnel warfare and the like. It must also be able to master all the indigenous methods of fighting that the workers, fishermen, peasants and national minorities know.

In building itself, the New People's Army must be guided by the principle of self-reliance. So long as it is closely linked with the masses of the people and enjoys their support, the New People's Army shall find its efforts adequate for a protracted armed struggle. The Party committees in the army and in local areas must closely unite to carry out the tasks of the people's democratic revolution.

3. The New People's Army Must Build the National United Front.

The New People's Army must build the national united front by upholding and following the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, by welding together through armed struggle the workers and peasants whose alliance serves as the basis of the national united front and by attracting the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie into the fold of the people's democratic revolution.

Because of the anti-national, anti-democratic and corrupt character of the state that it seeks to destroy and replace, the New People's Army can easily attract the urban petty bourgeoisie which inevitably joins the ranks of the exploited in sentiment and material condition as the crisis aggravates. Because the New People's Army shall confiscate imperialist goods and deprive the imperialists of markets in the provinces, the national bourgeoisie and all small patriotic businessmen shall be encouraged to produce goods locally and to support the revolutionary forces.

In the countryside, the New People's Army must forge an anti-feudal united front to unite the poor peasants and farm workers as an invincible political base, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants.

The New People's Army shall be willing to establish a national liberation front as an armed united front of all patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals. It welcomes the formation of other armed groups that wage armed struggle against the enemy. The New People's Army shall extend to them as much support and cooperation as it can.

In every instance of cooperative unity, the New People's Army must take firm hold of the revolutionary class line. So long as the goal of any class or group is the destruction of the power of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the New People's Army shall always be willing to extend its cooperation and helping hand. But it shall

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always be alert to enemy infiltrators and revisionist saboteurs of the armed struggle.

In performing its revolutionary duty of fighting US imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction, the New People's Army is highly conscious that it is contributing to the development of the international united front and that it is upholding the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Revolutionary armed struggle in the Philippines is certainly an effective part of the worldwide struggle of all oppressed peoples against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The overthrow of US imperialism and domestic reaction in the Philippines will be a great contribution towards the total collapse of imperialism and the worldwide triumph of socialism.

Long live Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the Philippine Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

Issued by the Meeting of Red Commanders and Fighters, under the Leadership the Central Committee and Military Commission of the
Communist Party of the Philippines,
29 March 1969

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Basic Rules of the New People's Army

Preamble

The New People's Army is under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is the revolutionary army of the broad masses of the Filipino people against US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The New People's Army is the principal organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines which takes the path of armed revolution according to Mao Zedong Thought. It is the main weapon to carry out the central task of the Party which is to seize and consolidate political power. It is the instrument which shall overthrow the present bourgeois reactionary puppet government and bring forth the victory of the people's democratic revolution. It is an important tool which significantly contributes to the implementation of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The New People's Army wholeheartedly serves the national and democratic interests of the people and is the main backbone of the people's democratic dictatorship. It protects the people from the demonic forces of imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation. It constantly tries to help the masses in their daily lives. It detests the smallest damage committed against the masses instilling in its officers and men the strict discipline that will prevent them from inflicting any damage to the people.

The New People's Army which is armed with Mao Zedong Thought emerged after it repudiated the counterrevolutionary revisionist errors of the Lavas and Taruc as well as those others who advocate modern revisionism and opportunism whether "Left" or right. Within its ranks, it struggles against the purely military outlook, ultrademocracy, disobedience to organizational discipline, absolute equality, subjectivism, individualism, putschism and the ideology of the roving rebels.

The New People's Army at present is composed of the best fighters who persevere in pursuing armed struggle and popularize the teachings of Mao Zedong. It continues to apply the universal truth of Mao Zedong Thought to the practice of the protracted people's war in the Philippines.

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While it adheres to the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army primarily integrates within itself the armed peasants waging agrarian revolution which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution. In this context, the people's democratic revolution is essentially a peasant war which is led by the proletariat.

In the countryside, the New People's Army vigorously struggles to change the backward villages and transform them to become the most developed political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the people's democratic revolution. In order to accomplish this heroic task, the New People's Army primarily relies on the masses of poor peasants and agricultural workers, while encouraging the middle peasants so as to neutralize the rich peasants. This is the revolutionary anti-feudal class line in the countryside.

The New People's Army ensures independence, initiative and leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the proletariat over the national united front. This is achieved by waging armed struggle which tightly unites the peasantry and working class, as the genuine foundation of a broad national democratic unity.

All throughout the protracted people's war, the New People's Army shall rely mainly on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, though it is always ready to work with other patriotic and progressive classes, organizations and individuals that sympathize with the armed struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The main strategic principle of the New People's Army is a protracted people's war in which its armed units continuously gather strength from the countryside based on people's war, agrarian revolution and building its bases. This includes the strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside, defeating the enemy by portions until its strength wears out.

The people's army has the determination to build bases and stable local government organs and advance in waves until it has effectively crushed the remnants of the enemy's forces which are concentrated in big cities and military camps. It shall systematically create and develop consolidated guerrilla zones capable of running the local people's government. The consolidated bases shall serve as a wide rear for expansion and creating new guerrilla zones and for the development of other democratic revolutionary forces.

The New People's Army will pass through three strategic stages in waging the protracted people's war. The first stage is the strategic de-

fensive, wherein it maintains the initiative in tactical offensives against the strategic military advantage of the enemy. The second stage is the strategic stalemate, wherein its fighting capacity is more or less equal to that of the enemy. The third and the last stage is the strategic offensive, wherein the forces of the New People's Army have developed their strength capable of assaulting the enemy forces in their very own fortifications within the cities and in big camps.

In the whole period of protracted people's war, the New People's Army has the political initiative because it unites revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice; because it is closely linked with the masses; and because it practices self-criticism for every mistake or weakness it commits.

The New People's Army creates and uses different types of fighting units in conducting the protracted people's war. The guerrilla forces defend the guerrilla bases and zones, pave the way for the formation and development of regular mobile forces. The self-defense units and the militia defend the masses in the localities but are not detached from their daily economic activities. The armed partisans in the cities perform special roles in sabotaging the enemy and punishing traitors in the cities and urban centers. All these fighting units of the New People's Army are coordinated and make use of all methods of warfare brought about by the development of the masses and the objective conditions.

The New People's Army fully understands that in performing its revolutionary task of crushing US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists in the Philippines, it performs a heroic and honorable task for the broad masses of workers and peasants, as well as for the oppressed peoples of the world.

The struggle for the people's democratic revolution as a stage towards socialism is both a national task and a proletarian internationalist act of the New People's Army. The Philippine armed struggle weakens and contributes to the crushing of US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction all over the world. Likewise, the armed struggles waged by all other oppressed peoples weaken and help in crushing the enemy in the Philippines.

The New People's Army has an internationalist responsibility to struggle towards the final annihilation of imperialism led by US imperialism, and for the worldwide victory of socialism.

I. The New People's Army and the Communist Party of the Philippines

Point 1. The New People's Army shall always adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and thus, it must abide with all decisions, orders and directives of the National Congress, Central Committee, Political Bureau and the Military Commission of the Party.

Point 2. The Military Commission is the highest special organ of the Central Committee that receives regular and special reports from the lowest to the highest military command, and it shall issue appropriate policies, orders and directives.

Point 3. The Military Commission ensures that the Party leadership, organization and life is alive within the New People's Army. The Party branch is based on the company level and the Party group shall work within each squad. All nonregular armed units are directly under the local Party committee.

Point 4. Party committees shall be created from branch level up to the succeeding higher levels and shall be responsible in maintaining the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. These committees also see to it that good relations are developed between the army and the masses, between officers and men, among fighters and between the army as a whole and the local Party committees.

Point 5. The New People's Army shall have its own Political Department which shall be responsible for the proletarian revolutionary education of all officers and men, for raising up proletarian revolutionary cadres from the army, for Party building, and mobilizing the masses especially in new areas of military work.

Point 6. A political officer shall be deployed in each regular mobile force unit, as well as in guerrilla forces in order to teach the fighters, and maintain Party organization and life.

Point 7. Territorial and unit commanders are responsible for internal military administration and operation in their respective areas and units while being guided by the Party at their corresponding levels. The number and special tasks of the deputy commanders shall be determined by the Military Commission.

Point 8. All district commanders, platoon leaders, and all succeeding higher officials must have studied in the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought.

Point 9. All nonregular fighting units like the guerrilla, militia, self-defense and armed city partisans are directly under the local Party committee. Nevertheless, they shall receive direct orders from the Military Commission or from the military command to link them with the regular mobile forces.

II. The Tasks of the New People's Army

Point 1. The primary task of the New People's Army at present is to wage a protracted people's war in order to crush the reactionary state power and the interventionist forces of US imperialism, mobilize and defend the masses and advance their national and democratic interests.

Point 2. The New People's Army shall help in organizing the barrio revolutionary committees and other local government organs.

Point 3. The New People's Army shall serve the people in all possible means other than its military tasks.

Point 4. The New People's Army shall conduct revolutionary propaganda work and mobilize the masses.

Point 5. The New People's Army shall assist in organizing the local Party branches, local Party committees and revolutionary mass organizations.

Point 6. The New People's Army shall participate in construction, production and economic work for its own needs, as well as for the needs of the Party and the masses.

Point 7. The New People's Army shall help maintain public order. It shall arrest bad elements and take them to people's courts for trial.

Point 8. Within the New People's Army, different work sections shall be created for office work, training, internal peace and order, intelligence and surveillance, logistics, ordnance and maintenance, medical service, communication and transportation, construction, production and others.

Point 9. The guerrilla forces and regular mobile forces shall be allowed to rest from combat work for a short period of time especially if this shall serve for ideological, political and combat training; consolidation, recuperation and recovery; and the conduct of local political work.

III. Membership in the New People's Army

Point 1. Anyone who is physically fit, regardless of age, sex, race, nationality or religion and has the capacity to fight and ready to participate in a protracted armed struggle against the reactionary state power, may be a member of a fighting unit of the New People's Army.

Point 2. Those who are interested to join the New People's Army must express their intention to any army unit or headquarters, Party committee, Party member or revolutionary mass organization.

Point 3. The local Party committees, armed units of the New People's Army, and the revolutionary mass organizations may initiate to accept individual and collective requests for membership in the people's army or may directly recruit fighters and build new fighting units of the New People's Army.

Point 4. The military command and the local Party committees which are directly responsible in the area shall supervise and administer the recruitment of Red fighters.

Point 5. A higher military command or Party committee has the right to dissolve or rebuild any armed unit based on reasonable grounds.

Point 6. Individuals or groups who escaped from the enemy ranks or captured enemy troops may join the NPA provided that they undergo reorganization and reeducation. Their membership in the army will be confirmed after a thorough investigation done by the military command and the Party committee not lower than the provincial level.

Point 7. The New People's Army shall conduct regular analysis of class origin, performance in work and readiness to fight of all its fighters in order to continue to upgrade their proletarian revolutionary qualities.

Point 8. The broad majority of members of the New People's Army are armed fighters at all times, although some may be assigned to non-combat work but related to the fighting capacity of the army.

IV. Discipline

Point 1. The discipline of all officers and men of the New People's Army is a conscious discipline guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the organizational principle of democratic centralism. The Party committees in the army shall see to it that the line, policies and decisions of the Party are implemented by the military command at all levels.

Point 2. The New People's Army adheres to the following discipline:

- a. An individual is subordinate to the whole army;
- b. The minority is subordinate to the majority;
- c. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and
- d. All members are subordinate to the Military Commission and the Central Committee.

Point 3. All officers and men are prohibited from committing the slightest damage against the interest of the masses and they are always subject to the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention of Comrade Mao Zedong so as to always advance their revolutionary integrity.

- a. The Three Main Rules of Discipline are:
 - 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
 - 2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
 - 3) Turn in everything captured.
- b. The Eight Points of Attention are:
 - 1) Speak politely.
 - 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
 - 3) Return everything you borrow.
 - 4) Pay for anything you damage.
 - 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
 - 6) Do not damage crops.
 - 7) Do not take liberties with women.
 - 8) Do not ill-treat captives.

Point 4. All officers are strictly prohibited to use bourgeois and feudal ways in dealing with the fighters and the masses.

Point 5. All officers and men are strictly prohibited from gambling and drunkenness.

Point 6. The Party committee in the army in the appropriate level or the military court that can be created by it, shall conduct the trial and shall decide on the cases filed against officers and men at the level where the error or crime was committed. The following penalties shall be meted out based on the gravity of the crime:

- a. Strong warning
- b. Strong warning and transfer to another area of work
- c. Demotion
- d. Suspension
- e. Expulsion
- f. Expulsion and death

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Point 7. In all types of penalties, except for expulsion, and expulsion and death, the erring individual or group shall be reeducated for a definite period of time and shall also apologize to the aggrieved party in public.

Point 8. The most severe punishment of expulsion and death shall be imposed to those proven to have committed treachery, capitulation, abandonment of post, espionage, sabotage, mutiny, inciting for rebellion, murder, theft, rape, arson and severe malversation of people's funds.

Point 9. All cases shall be thoroughly investigated and all accused shall be given a just trial.

V. Democracy

Point 1. In order to enjoy democracy while maintaining discipline, and in order to avoid ultrademocracy within the New People's Army, all officers, fighters and Party cadres will conduct discussions and studies among themselves on Mao Zedong Thought, the program, policies and decisions of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Point 2. All officers and men shall conduct together regular and special meetings of criticism and self-criticism in order to ensure their effectiveness in politics and warfare. Ideological, political and organizational errors and weaknesses shall be rectified through criticism and self-criticism.

Point 3. There shall be political democracy. This means that both officers and men shall have the freedom to hold meetings and speak freely on how they can advance their proletarian revolutionary consciousness; how to develop closer relationship with the masses; how to improve their fighting capacity; how to attend to their non-military work; and how to upgrade their material conditions.

Point 4. There shall be economic democracy within the ranks. This means that both officers and men shall share in times of austerity and prosperity, enjoy equal material conditions such as equal rations and budget. They have the right to collectively manage their food and finances whereby the soldiers shall elect their representative to assist the company leadership. Anyone has the right to check the accounting and logistics records anytime.

Point 5. There shall be democracy in the military field. This means that both officers and men together shall hold meetings before and after military operations and campaigns. The officers teach the fight-

ers, the fighters teach the officers, and the fighters teach one another regarding operational plans, methods and techniques in warfare and how to win battles.

VI. Military Conferences

Point 1. The Military Commission shall convene a national conference at least once a year to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army. The conference shall be attended by the Military Commission, the National Operations Command and the Regional Operations Commands. The chairman of the Military Commission shall head the conference.

Point 2. The Military Commission shall convene a regional military conference at least once in six months to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army in the region. This shall be attended by the representatives of the Military Commission, the Regional Operations Command, the operations commands of the provinces and the regional Party committee. The chief representative of the Military Commission shall head the conference.

Point 3. The Regional Command shall convene a provincial military conference, at least once every four months to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army in the province. This shall be attended by the representatives of the Regional Operations Command, the Provincial Operations Command, operations commands of the districts and the provincial Party Committee. The chief representative of the Regional Operations Command shall head the conference.

Point 4. The Provincial Operations Command shall convene a district military conference at least once in three months to discuss the political and military conditions and the corresponding tasks of the New People's Army in the districts. This shall be attended by the representatives of the Provincial Operations Command, the District Operations Command, district Party committee, secretaries of sections of the Party, all the commanders of the units, and all the Party secretaries of the Army. The chief representative of the Provincial Operations Command shall head the conference.

Point 5. All the conferences mentioned may submit recommendations for the Military Commission of the Central Committee to act upon.

VII. The Military Command System

Point 1. The National Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the national and interregional policies and military plans approved by the Military Commission. The Political Bureau and/or the Central Committee shall direct all formations of the armed units of the New People's Army, and shall make regular and special reports and put forward military recommendations to the Military Commission. The National Operations Command shall be composed of the Commander-in-Chief, his deputies, the regional commanders and their deputies.

Point 2. The Regional Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the regional and interprovincial policies and military plans, direct all formations of armed units of the New People's Army in the region, and make regular and special reports, and put forward military recommendations to the Military Commission and the National Operations Command. The Regional Operations Command shall be composed of the regional commander, his deputies, the provincial commanders and their deputies.

Point 3. The Provincial Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the provincial and interdistrict policies and military plans, direct all formations of the armed units in the province, and make regular and special reports, and put forward military recommendations to the Regional Operations Command and provincial Party committee. The Provincial Operations Command shall be composed of the provincial commander, his deputies, the district commanders and their deputies.

Point 4. The District Operations Command shall be responsible for the implementation of the district policies and military plans, direct all formations of the armed units in the district, and make regular and special reports, and put forward military recommendations to the Provincial Operations Command and the district Party committee. The District Operations Command shall be composed of the district commander, his deputies and the commanders of the regular mobile force units, guerrilla units and militia units.

Point 5. The National Operations Command shall be created by the Military Commission. All regional, provincial and district commanders and their respective deputies shall be appointed by the Military Commission, with or without the recommendation of the National Opera-

tions Command. All commanders for strategic companies and special operations with national significance shall be appointed by the Military Commission or the Central Committee.

Point 6. Appointment of military commanders shall be determined on the basis of proletarian revolutionary outlook and fighting capacity. However, the commanders of the nonregular units may be developed from the localities in the process of armed struggle.

Point 7. Territorial commanders are superior to the unit commanders and their respective regular territorial command is usually determined by the higher military command.

Point 8. The size and formations of the people's armed forces under any territorial operations command at any level shall be determined by the development of the people's war in general. Its corresponding deployment shall be decided based on the need to ensure success in battles and campaigns and the people's war as a whole.

Point 9. The commanders of the battalion units and succeeding higher levels shall be appointed by the Military Commission upon the recommendation of the National Operations Command. All company commanders shall be appointed by the National Operations Command upon the recommendation of the Party committee. All platoon and squad leaders shall be appointed by their company commander upon the recommendation of the Party group in the squad.

Point 10. In any coordinated operation of all armed unit formations, the regular mobile force shall perform the central task of crushing the enemy.

Point 11. The system of command should not hinder the execution of any immediate military action of any armed unit in a particular area, unless proven that it can affect a bigger military operation against the enemy.

Point 12. The headquarters of the National Operations Command shall be decided upon by the Central Committee or the Military Commission, while the headquarters of the lower command shall be decided upon by the higher command.

VIII. Formations of the People's Armed Forces

Point 1. The New People's Army shall have the following combat units:

- a. Regular mobile forces

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- b. Guerrilla units
- c. Militia and self-defense units
- d. Armed city partisans

Point 2. The regular mobile force shall be formed in the following manner:

- a. Squad: five to ten fighters and the squad leader.
- b. Platoon: two to three squads and the platoon leader.
- c. Company: two to three platoons with a company commander and his deputies.
- d. Battalion: two to three companies with the battalion commander and his deputies.
- e. Regiment: two to three battalions with the regiment commander and his deputies.
- f. Division: two to three regiments with the division commander and his deputies.
- g. Corps: two to three divisions with the corps commander and his deputies.
- h. Army: two to three corps with the army commander and his deputies. All territorial and unit commanders shall always endeavor to expand the regular units to their full size.

Point 3. The creation of guerrilla units shall be based on the political situation and the available arms in the area. Merging of one guerrilla unit or parts of it to the regular mobile force shall be decided by the Regional Operations Command, National Operations Command or the Military Commission. Nevertheless, guerrilla units shall be formed continuously as support forces of the regular mobile forces.

Point 4. The militia and self-defense units shall be composed of individuals who maintain their daily economic activities. They shall perform the primary role of defense while serving as vast reserve and support forces to the regular mobile force and guerrilla units.

Point 5. Each unit of armed city partisans shall be composed of not less than three members. They shall develop their skills, tactics and techniques in city operations, intelligence and surveillance, sabotaging the enemy and the reactionary government; heighten the morale of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie; and prepare in a protracted manner for a general insurrection in the city as directed by the Military Commission.

Point 6. The unit commanders and their deputies shall compose the unit operations command.

Point 7. The regular mobile force shall distribute arms and ammunitions to guerrilla fighters, militia and self-defense units, and partisan units to increase their fighting capacity; to include them in the regular troops, or to form new fighting units of the same type. Likewise, the guerrilla units shall distribute arms and ammunitions to the militia and self-defense units to increase their fighting capacity, and to create new fighting units of the same type or to develop them into a higher level of combat formation.

Point 8. Party cadres, officers and men of the New People's Army can be deployed in nonregular armed units as mentioned above in Points 3, 4 and 5.

IX. Logistics

Point 1. The regular mobile force and the guerrilla units of the New People's Army shall have a special allotment from the regular budget of the local people's government, local Party organizations, and/or revolutionary mass organizations.

Point 2. The New People's Army shall take initiative in forming production units such as units for agriculture, transportation, repair and maintenance, and other enterprises which may be of service to the people and the army and provide for its financial and production requirements.

Point 3. The central government of the people shall sell war bonds or allot a reasonable percentage from the money that it shall print to support the New People's Army.

Point 4. The New People's Army shall help the people's government in collecting taxes from business and agriculture, from which it shall directly receive compensation.

Point 5. The units of the New People's Army shall help the masses in their work in exchange for material support.

Point 6. Financial and material contributions given by allies and sympathizers particularly for the New People's Army shall be accepted.

Point 7. A definite percentage from the earnings coming from the confiscated businesses, capital and properties of US imperialism, comprador big bourgeoisie, feudal lords, bureaucrat capitalists and traitors shall be allotted for the use of the New People's Army.

Point 8. A committee shall be created to keep accounts of logistics.

X. Amendments

Point 1. The Central Committee, Political Bureau or the Military Commission of the Communist Party of the Philippines may initiate to make amendments in the Basic Principles and Rules of the New People's Army.

Point 2. The National Operations Command or any regional operations command may recommend any amendment it deems necessary.

Point 3. The Military Commission and the National Operations Command may issue guidelines and regulations in addition to this Basic Principles and Rules.

Issued by Meeting of the Red Commanders and Fighters, Under
the Leadership of the Central Committee and Military Commission
of the Communist Party of the Philippines,
29 March 1969

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Message of Condolence on the Death of Comrade Ho Chi Minh

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. I, No. 4, September 15, 1969.

Central Committee
Vietnam Worker's Party
Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Most esteemed comrades:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, on behalf of the Filipino people and all Party members, wishes to express the profoundest condolences and sincerest grief to the Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the passing away of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese Revolution and revolutionary founder of the Vietnam Worker's party and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

By integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Vietnamese Revolution, he has correctly led the Vietnamese people from victory to victory from the stage of the national democratic revolution to the stage of socialist revolution and has contributed tremendously to the world advance of the proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people have greatly benefited and have learned significant lessons from the protracted revolutionary struggles led by Comrade Ho Chi Minh. His passing away is, therefore, a great loss to all of us. But we are comforted by the fact that his greatness, his revolutionary spirit, will always fill our hearts and inspire us to fight even more fiercely against the US imperialist aggressors in order to realize Comrade Ho Chi Minh's lofty aspiration for a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful Vietnam.

We are certain that the Vietnamese people will always pay homage to the cherished memory of Comrade Ho Chi Minh by making all necessary sacrifices and exerting all efforts to liberate the south, defend the north and unify their fatherland. In this manner the Vietnamese people also perform the internationalist duty of helping liberate the whole of

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mankind from national and class oppression. As a true communist, Comrade Ho Chi Minh devoted his whole life to this great and noble task.

On our part, we shall continue to give our most militant support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national salvation and against the war of aggression launched by US imperialism. We shall spare no effort in lending whatever modest support we can to the Vietnamese struggle to liberate the south and build socialism in the north. In this respect, we are striving hard to wage a people's war against US imperialism, the common enemy of the Vietnamese people and the Filipino people. In the process, we are always deeply inspired by the great proletarian internationalist spirit of Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

Long live the great revolutionary spirit of our dearly beloved Comrade Ho Chi Minh!

Long live the most militant fraternal bonds of the Vietnamese people and the Filipino people!

Long live the Vietnam Worker's Party and the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Communist Party of the Philippines
Amado Guerrero, Chairman
Central Luzon, Philippines
September 4, 1969

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Unite on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. I, No. 5, October 15, 1969.

A small number of persons has been complaining loudly that the Communist Party of the Philippines has been “throwing away too many people.” Some of these call themselves “communists” or “nationalists.” Others are blatantly anti-communists like the traitor and scab Luis M. Taruc and Gen. Manuel T. Yan, chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces.

These complainants do things in common. First, they fail to give primary importance to the fact that the rebuilding of the Communist Party of the Philippines is under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Second, they refuse to recognize that in this era Marxism-Leninism has advanced to the stage of Mao Zedong Thought. Third, they always insinuate or harp on the malicious claim that it is sheer ambition or “careerism” that motivates proletarian revolutionaries to keep firmly to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Our single answer to these complainants is that the Communist Party of the Philippines has not thrown away a single person who is a proletarian revolutionary with a clear record of adhering in theory and practice to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Before the actual reestablishment of the Party, what the proletarian revolutionaries did precisely was to analyze and summarize the entire experience of the Party. Everyone who has steadfastly participated in the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line of such renegades as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong is in the Communist Party of the Philippines today. It is not a matter of arrogance but a matter of truth to say that those who have struggled best and with utter clarity for the ideological supremacy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and who have most courageously persisted in revolutionary armed struggle are today concentrated in the Communist Party of the Philippines and are in its Central Committee. This matter of truth should be patiently and modestly explained to all Party members and to those who are outside of the Party or those who seek Party membership.

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The Communist Party of the Philippines is the most advanced detachment of the leading class, the Filipino proletariat. It adheres to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought ideologically, politically and organizationally. While it will never hesitate to keep out modern revisionists, Right and “Left” opportunists, pretenders to centrism or neutrality, doubledealers and traitors, it will always painstakingly develop and temper proletarian revolutionaries in the course of struggle, arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the new democratic revolution and continuously seek allies under its united front policy.

There are those who call themselves “communists” and who feign modesty but who refuse to recognize that Mao Zedong Thought has become the demarcation line between fake communists and real communists. These fake communists are guilty of extreme arrogance. They wish vainly to negate the fact that Chairman Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and that he has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage, the stage of Mao Zedong Thought.

To talk of “unity” without reference to ideological correctness, especially at a time that we are still at the critical stage of repudiating and learning lessons from the errors of such renegades as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong and that modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union is furiously trying to sabotage the international communist movement and the people’s democratic revolution in the Philippines, is to talk of “unity” in the abstract or to talk in a counterrevolutionary way.

Principled unity among all our comrades on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be truly cherished. Both old and new members of the Party who fail or are slow in making criticism and self-criticism to improve their revolutionary practice on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be helped or repudiated if they refuse to be helped. It is not the proletarian revolutionaries who split the Party but it is in the first place those who carry the “communist” signboard but who violate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

At the stage that we are rebuilding the Party and building up its revolutionary integrity from the ruins of the revolutionary mass movement that were wrought by the class enemy and such big opportunists as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong, we should be careful and arduous

in our efforts to fulfil the first requirement in Party building, which is ideological building. Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. This is what Lenin pointed out a long time ago and it is still true today. It is correct theory that can make a revolutionary weather and outlast all kinds of adversities and make the revolution triumph in the long run. We should, therefore, give primary importance to our ideological work. We should never underestimate it lest we lose our proletarian revolutionary unity and integrity and lest we allow the intrusion into the Party of certain elements who carry dubious credentials based on previous failures and isolation from the masses.

Lenin parted ways with the Second International when such scoundrels as Kautsky and Bernstein overran it and opposed Leninism. He never felt compelled to be bound by bourgeois unity with such “Marxists” as Kautsky and Bernstein to be able to lead the Bolsheviks triumphantly. In our case, we could have never reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines if we did not repudiate such renegades as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong who flaunted their “formal authority,” their “artificial majorities” in their narrow clique and their “revolutionary practice.”

Despite their pious protestations, the fake communists who talk emptily about “unity” and hypocritically denounce “personal ambitions” where questions of Marxist-Leninist principles are involved actually set themselves apart from the proletarian revolutionaries and they unite with the reactionary general Yan who wrote conversely about the Communist Party as a “house divided.” Yan creates a straw figure which he calls the “communist movement” and in which he maliciously lumps together the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong and the Communist Party of the Philippines. Certainly, the reactionaries would defeat such a “communist movement” in which the proletarian revolutionaries have become counterrevolutionaries by joining up with such counterrevolutionaries as the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong. But the happy truth is the reverse. The Communist Party of the Philippines has firmly repudiated these scoundrels, and has been correctly rebuilt and has become stronger. That is the reason why the spearhead of attack from US imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction is directed against the real communists who are inspired by invincible Mao Zedong Thought.

In upholding a universal revolutionary theory, it is not immediately a question of numbers at the initial stage in a particular country. The

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question of ideological correctness and applicability takes priority over the question of immediately enrolling a big number of Party members. Neither the Nacionalista Party nor the Liberal Party can belittle us simply because of the present numerical superiority of their members to ours. Ours is a protracted revolutionary struggle against the ruling classes and all their agents in the first place. From the revolutionary mass struggles that we have begun to develop, we shall surely derive a huge number of proletarian revolutionaries to become cadres and members of our Party. And yet the fact today is that the cadres and members and the mass following of the Communist Party of the Philippines are far greater in number than those motley elements misled by the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong and the situation of US imperialism, modern revisionism and local reaction is getting worse everyday.

It is inconceivable to have any unity with revisionist renegades who wildly slander us daily and who concoct such lies as vile as the intrigue fed to a nationalist senator that he is on the “death list” of the New People’s Army. Machiavellian tricks are feebly calculated to isolate us from possible friends and to blackmail us from conducting constant class analysis of our friends and enemies. The revisionist renegades are stupidly helping the reactionary general Yan dig their own graves. The reactionaries are actually planning to assassinate more political leaders both in the city and the countryside and blame the evil deed on the “struggle for power” within the “communist movement.” As a matter of fact, the reactionary authorities have already spread the intrigue that government officials are in the black list of the New People’s Army. This is actually a preparation for the reactionary armed forces themselves to perpetrate their “Monkees” business on a wider scale.

Let it be known to all that the rectification movement being conducted resolutely by the Communist Party of the Philippines is basically an educational movement in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a large-scale campaign for ideological study, criticism and self-criticism, in which all proletarian revolutionaries are further tempered and incorrigible degenerates of the Lava, Taruc and Sumulong types are repudiated and cast away in order to bring about a higher level of unity in revolutionary theory and practice.

We are uniting with the majority of the people who have remained true and faithful to the national democratic revolution. We extend our helping hand to all those who seek the road of armed revolution. We punish only the proven traitors who are only a handful. We consider

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as reprehensible any indiscriminate punitive action and everything else that the broad masses of the people whom we serve do not approve.

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Our Beloved Party Celebrates its First Anniversary under the Supreme Guidance of Marxism- Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. II, No. 1, January 15, 1970.

Our beloved Party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, celebrates with boundless joy the first anniversary of its reestablishment under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. All proletarian revolutionary cadres and all Red fighters of the New People's Army seriously review today a whole year of revolutionary struggle to strengthen further their determination to fulfil definite tasks in the year ahead. They wish to serve the people better and make revolution more effectively, by adopting the style of hard work and simple living and using criticism and self-criticism to achieve the best results.

The most important achievement of the Communist Party of the Philippines during the past year is its embodiment of the truth that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has taken root in the practice of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. Proletarian revolutionary cadres have succeeded to reestablish the Party after a long period of struggle against modern revisionism, subjectivism and opportunism to clear the ground of such counterrevolutionary rubbish that the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas, Tarucs and Sumulong has strewn about in the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties. As a result of the rectification of old and persistent errors, the strong foundation for proletarian revolutionary leadership in the people's democratic revolution has been laid.

Not only has the Communist Party of the Philippines upheld the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought but has also started in accordance with such a powerful theory to engage in the practice of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. The principal activity of the Party now is developing the armed struggle in the countryside in a protracted way and upon the basis of steadfast political mobilization of the masses against US imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, the

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landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists. Because of its firm revolutionary class standpoint, the Party and its army, the New People's Army, are now subjected to the most hysterical, vicious and futile attacks of the reactionary armed forces directed by US imperialism and by the Marcos puppet regime.

Starting early on the road of armed revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines is truly performing its role as the most advanced detachment of the working class and the entire Filipino people. It has opened the correct way for people's war in the Philippines at a time that US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the Philippine reactionary government are inextricably sunk in the most serious political and economic crisis. It has taken a definite and firm step in the worldwide preparedness against war.

It is correct for the Party to fight resolutely the fascist regime of the Marcos reactionary clique which has been resorting to counterrevolutionary dual tactics to embellish the abuses and atrocities it is widely perpetrating against the broad masses of the people in both city and countryside. Marcos describes himself as nationalist but actually he is a fascist puppet of US imperialism and is the chief representative of the most rabid local reactionaries. Marcos describes himself as a protector of democratic rights but actually he attacks the broad masses of the people, especially the peasant masses, with all the force he can command.

He talks of repealing the Anti-Subversion Law but actually he is plotting to destroy the Communist Party of the Philippines with the use of military force and reformism. He talks of independence in foreign relations but actually he is taking every step to implement locally the dictates of the counterrevolutionary alliance of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese imperialism against the people, communism and China.

The Marcos reactionary clique has become so desperate that it is seeking to manipulate certain pseudo-revolutionary groups against the Communist Party of the Philippines. But the diehards of these pseudo-revolutionary groups are increasingly isolated everyday as the ideological and political work and the revolutionary armed struggle directed by the Party are exposing them to public hatred and shame. Efforts to sow intrigues and spread slander against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have miserably failed.

First, the Lava revisionist renegade clique is disintegrating as fast as the Soviet social-imperialists are exposing their true evil nature. Second, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique is already beset with numerous quarrels among its criminal ringleaders and reactionary allies over their loot. Third, the fake “revolutionary council” has been exposed as a mere handful of broker and careerists maliciously usurping the names of people’s organizations. Fourth, the motley bunch of petty bourgeois anarchists and reformists imitating the American “New Left” has become as confused as ever and the greater number of student and intellectual activists are moving rapidly towards the Party.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has achieved so high an ideological, political and organizational unity that it has unanimously and resolutely decided to wage revolutionary armed struggle. That is because it puts Mao Zedong Thought in command of everything. The Party has successfully brought together all proletarian revolutionaries with all the Red fighters who have heroically persisted in armed struggle for a long period of time.

It has been fortified by the resounding triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It has learned positive lessons from all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations that have steadfastly adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It has also learned valuable lessons from the negative examples of parties and groups which had at first condemned modern revisionism only to defect or veer towards it later.

The Communist Party of the Philippines calls on all its cadres and members at every level and in every unit of work in local areas as well as in the New People’s Army to intensify Party building. As everyone knows, Party building involves ideological, political and organizational building. The importance of ideological work, making Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought the guide to all our activities, is made even more urgent by the enemy intensification of counterrevolution. We must always solve our practical problems and march forward by using the correct theory and thereby giving life to it. This is the best and only way of persisting in revolutionary struggle.

Mass mobilization on the basis of a revolutionary class line is the objective of all our political efforts. We must grasp the mass line in order to get the majority at every step and isolate the enemy diehards.

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The Party has made the initial steps in organizing the basic Party and people's organizations all over the country. The urgent task now is to enlarge and deepen the mass base of the Party through persistent mass work and concrete military struggle.

Every step that is taken to bring up the level of armed struggle must always be related to the degree of success achieved in Party building and political work, especially among the oppressed masses of workers and peasants. Failure to do so spells defeat or setback. At the moment, the Party and the people's organizations we have set up in the countryside are coming under the acid test of reactionary violence. That the enemy is attacking us only proves that we are doing well our revolutionary work.

The enemy has the foolish wish of suppressing us at an early stage. That only goes to show that he is in panic, that he is in hysterical fear of Mao Zedong Thought, the ideology that can make us persist in revolutionary struggle. We must continue to fight. But to be able to continue fighting we must fight even better and more vigorously. In order to be invincible, we must always take the revolutionary class line in the countryside, that is to say, we must link up with the poor peasants and farm workers, the semi-owner peasants and all other semiproletariat. They are the superlative allies of the Filipino proletariat.

So that the revolutionary armed struggle that we are preparing and initiating at several strategic points in the countryside will succeed, we must create the broadest national united front to isolate the enemy and put him at the weakest position for our mortal blows. We must make use of the national united front to create a revolutionary high tide nationwide and to prepare the subjective conditions for linking up the several revolutionary base areas that we are bound to develop in the protracted course of the armed struggle. The objective conditions for the rebellious spirit of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie to rise even higher continue to become graver and more insoluble for the enemy classes. US imperialism and the Marcos puppet regime are increasingly oppressing and exploiting the broad masses of the people. Both the national situation and the international situation are already in such a hopeless mess for US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reactionaries.

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino working class!

Our Beloved Party Celebrates its 1st Anniversary

Intensify Party building and the armed struggle!

Fear neither hardship nor death!

Fight through to the end for the people's democratic revolution!

Central Committee

Communist Party of the Philippines

December 26, 1969

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Marcos Is a Fascist Puppet of US Imperialism

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. II, No. 1, January 15, 1970.

Since US imperialism is in a grave economic and political crisis, it is inevitable that its Philippine puppet government finds itself in the same morass. That is because the imperialist master must squeeze more profits and political advantage from its semicolony like the Philippines. In a futile attempt to facilitate the intensification of exploitation and oppression, both master government and subject government collude in a partnership of deception. Thus, have the imperialist chieftain Nixon and the puppet chieftain Marcos adapted their rhetorics to that partnership.

The more the Philippines is laid prostrate by the bloodsucking activities of US imperialism and by the local reactionaries, the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalist, the more are Nixon and Marcos heard preaching “self-reliance” and “nationalism” in order to obscure the oppressive and exploitative relations imposed by the foreign and local tyrants on the Filipino people.

Marcos tries to take advantage of the fact that he was confronted with the kind of opposition put up by such a fossil of outright pro-imperialism as Osmeña in the last elections. Putting himself into false contrast with Osmeña, Marcos declares that his terroristic and fraudulent reelection is a victory of his “platform of nationalism.” In this manner, he tries to conceal the antinational and antidemocratic character of his regime and to put into disrepute the very slogan of nationalism that the national bourgeoisie and quite a number of intellectuals have been using to denounce the unjust impositions of US imperialism.

We can certainly expect Marcos to prate more often and even more raucously about his “New Filipinism” and “new morality” as a measure of his futile attempt to counteract the rising revolutionary mass movement and hoodwink the various classes and strata which are now increasingly suffering from the evils of US imperialism and puppetry. By his nature as the highest bureaucrat capitalist, with large comprador and landlord interests of his own, Marcos will continue to serve US imperialism and all the exploiting classes. He will try to deceive those he can deceive and attack those he cannot deceive with the full force of

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the reactionary state. The more he acts as a fascist puppet of US imperialism, the more he tries to picture himself as a “nationalist.” This is his way of trying to parry off the attacks against his masters.

The broad masses of the Filipino people have been vigorously calling for the abrogation of unequal treaties and executive agreements that oppressively tie down the entire nation to US imperialism and the local reactionaries. But the clever bureaucrat capitalist Marcos, instead of unilaterally and clearly asserting the national sovereignty and democratic interests of the people, prefers to call vaguely for “renegotiation” and puts himself into the position of a broker or fixer. US imperialism actually goes into a duet with the Philippine puppet government in monotonously belching out the line of “renegotiation.” They stop their ugly duet as soon as they presume that they have sufficiently headed off the popular call for abrogation. They merely issue press statements calling for “renegotiation” only when an imperialist abuse, like the murder of a Filipino within the US military bases, occurs and becomes an occasion for the just demand for the abrogation of the US-RP Military Bases Agreement, Military Assistance Pact and Mutual Defense Treaty.

The termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement is scheduled for 1974. Both US imperialism and the Filipino puppets led by Marcos have acted to renew and aggravate the same imperialist privileges contained therein. The Marcos puppet regime has, with canine devotion, continued to implement the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that were first implemented with gusto by Macapagal. The single purpose of these recommendations is to render the Philippine reactionary government financially desperate in preparation for the termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement. After its first four-year term, the Marcos puppet regime now finds its own puppetry, corruption and the resulting bankruptcy of the reactionary government as the very excuse for begging US imperialism to grant trade preferences and “stabilization” loans in exchange for the extension of US privileges in the Philippine economy. Already US imperialism has extorted from the Philippines the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom which are being deliberately propagandized as “nationalist” documents but which actually give all the incentives, guarantees and legal phrases that the US monopolies can easily use to perpetuate their economic and political domination of the country.

Because of the present state of financial bankruptcy on the part of the reactionary government, the US imperialists, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class are riding roughshod over the Filipino people even more viciously. Nevertheless, while the Marcos reactionary regime piously calls for “austerity,” the broad masses of the Filipino people who have always led lives not only of austerity but of dire poverty can see through the hypocrisy even more easily. The inflation that has already started to smash the subsistence income of the toiling masses of workers and peasants will be more telling than any slogan dished out by the Marcos reactionary regime. At a time of deep financial and economic crisis for US imperialism and all other imperialist powers, the local reactionaries cannot perpetually rely on foreign investments in the form of loans and direct investments without getting into deeper economic and political trouble. The United States and other imperialist powers are now extracting every ounce of profit from the colonies and semicolonies in order to make up for their own internal economic crisis. Openly, they now speak frequently of their own nationalism as Nixon does.

The Marcos puppet regime has already dug its own political grave by incurring an extremely huge budgetary deficit and foreign debt. To pull back, it has to cut down credit and dollar support for the national bourgeoisie. It has to lay off government employees wholesale. Local enterprises which are so dependent on imported raw materials, spare parts and fuel will also have to lay off their workers in great droves and will further hold down the wages of those retained. The conditions of employment will worsen as the prices of commodities rise. Widespread strikes of the proletariat are certain to occur. The student masses who are so dependent on the salaries of their parents will intensify their campus and extramural protest actions against the reactionaries. The high prices of commodities and increased landlord and merchant exploitation of the peasantry will produce more armed fighters in the countryside. The reactionary government will increasingly fail to make its farcical tokens of “land reform.” The “civic action” of the reactionary armed forces will also be increasingly exposed as a mere camouflage for spying on and suppressing the people.

Marcos has seen the handwriting on the wall. That is why he is desperately resorting to counterrevolutionary dual tactics by calling himself “nationalist” even as he attacks the beginnings of widespread rebellion. It is his foolish illusion to stamp down the students and workers’

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strikes in the city and the growing revolutionary mass movement in the countryside at an early stage. He obscures the actual depth of the crisis and the truth that more suppression will only engender more resistance.

The reactionary armed forces have been ordered by the Marcos puppet regime in compliance with the dictation of US imperialism to concentrate in Tarlac in a futile attempt to suppress the peasant masses. Yet he is using the same tactics that have failed and that have proven to be disastrous for the reactionary puppet regime in south Vietnam. Mass murders and assassinations are being committed almost daily in Central Luzon. Innocent civilians are arrested arbitrarily and then tortured. Often times, they are misrepresented as “surrenderees.” Homes are ransacked daily by cowardly troops moving in battalion and regimental strength. The people’s democratic rights are abused with impunity. These are all committed by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, especially by Task Force Lawin, by the local PC command, “Monkees” and Home Defense Forces. After being thoroughly exposed and isolated as a mercenary force of US imperialism, the bulk of the Philcag has been brought home to participate in the suppression of the people.

Yet Marcos boasts of respecting civil liberties. To project an image that his regime is “democratic,” he calls for the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law. This only exposes the fact that the reactionary government is colluding with the local revisionist renegades to combat the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army. Jesus Lava who is an idol of the local revisionist renegades has publicly stated with the effrontery of a scab that Marcos is veering towards their cause. Accommodation of the local revisionist renegades within the present system is in line with the counterrevolutionary alliance of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese militarism in Asia today.

Within the Philippines, the fascists and the local revisionist renegades collude and compete with each other under the mutual signboard of “nationalism” and in opposition to the Communist Party of the Philippines. The counterrevolutionary alliance of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese militarism dictates upon the local fascists and local revisionist renegades to serve US imperialism in keeping a “low profile” and in opposing the people, communism and China.

The great Chairman Mao teaches us: “We must be clearheaded, that is, we must not believe the ‘nice words’ of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster.”

Marcos Is a Fascist Puppet of US Imperialism

Correctly describing the general trend of the world today, Chairman Mao says: “The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily.”

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Turn Grief into Revolutionary Courage and Militant Unity for National Democracy

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. II, No. 2, February 28, 1970.

We express the profoundest grief over the death of four student martyrs, the injury and maiming of several thousands of students and other patriots, the wanton mass arrests and illegal detention of several hundreds, kidnappings and tortures in interrogation rooms which were all perpetrated by the counterrevolutionary state in the course of and in connection with the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31.

There is nothing more reasonable and urgent now than to turn our grief into revolutionary courage and to forge the most militant national democratic unity against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism for which the Marcos puppet reactionary regime serves as the bloodthirsty hatchetman.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime has long engaged in the bloody suppression of the people in both city and countryside. It goes down in Philippine history as a regime characterized by white terror and no amount of hypocritical rhetoric and subterfuge can ever wash its hands of the blood of students, workers, peasants and other patriots.

The bloody suppression of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 is part of the systematic fascist suppression of the national freedom and democratic rights of the Filipino people. However, like all the other heinous crimes committed by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime, it has failed and will further fail to intimidate the broad masses of the people from fighting tit for tat and from fighting through to the end for a national democratic revolution.

The more the people are oppressed with counterrevolutionary violence, the more shall they resist with revolutionary violence. The violent actions of the counterrevolutionary state will only temper the people in revolutionary struggle. These will only serve to expose the utter bankruptcy and instability of the reactionary government, instead of cowing the people.

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The people will never permit its finest sons and daughters to die in vain. The revolutionary courage of more than 50,000 demonstrators in front of Congress on January 26 and of another more than 50,000 in front of Malacañang Palace on January 30-31 has inspired them to fight ever more vigorously and steadfastly. A militant national democratic unity is now sweeping the land against the entire system that inflicts fascist brutality on the people and that causes the martyrdom of heroes.

There are now the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army which are guided by the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and which are patriotically implementing the national democratic revolution in the Philippines. We have become more determined to fulfil our sacred responsibilities to the Filipino people as a result of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31.

We can never forget the cries of the unarmed demonstrators for arms and for the succor of the people's revolutionary armed forces at the moment that the counterrevolutionary state was mercilessly attacking them with high-caliber guns and truncheons. To these fellow Filipino patriots, we owe great inspiration and we are grateful that they have made it clear that only through armed revolution shall the Filipino people be able to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation.

Grasp the Historic Significance of January 26 and 30-31

The militant demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 mark a new and higher stage in the national awakening of the Filipino people for the revolutionary struggle for national democracy and against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The unprecedented magnitude and militancy of these demonstrations are the outgrowth of long-term revolutionary efforts. They foretell beyond doubt the doom of the ruthless oppressors and exploiters of the broad masses of the people. They are the opening salvoes for the more massive and more militant revolutionary rising of the Filipino people on a nationwide scale.

Never before has the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside been as well joined with the revolutionary mass movement in the city. The murder, maiming and mass arrests of people in the city by the reactionary armed forces and police have only served to unite them even more firmly with the people in the countryside who have long suffered the atrocities and impositions of the fascist brutes and

their class masters. The militant mass demonstrations in the city have always raised the revolutionary spirit of the people and the Red fighters in the countryside.

It is politically fatal for the reactionary state to have vented its brutality on that particular section of the people, the student youth, which is articulate, mobile and widespread. The student youth are extremely decisive in the preparation of public opinion for revolution on a nationwide scale and in winning over the vacillating sections of the population to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have succeeded in laying bare the basic rottenness of the entire system. To the entire nation have been exposed the rapacity and brutality of the counterrevolutionary state that is in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The picture of the corrupt and fascist terrorist Marcos directly ordering all the services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and all metropolitan police to attack the people can never be erased from the minds of the people.

On January 30-31, AFP chieftain General Yan, Philippine Army chieftain General Ilego, PC chieftain General Raval, Defense Force chieftain General Espino and the commanders of all other major services were in Malacañang to do the bidding of their fascist commander-in-chief. The events of the night of terror are more difficult for all the reactionaries to distort and misrepresent than all the previous massacres and other acts of terrorism committed by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime against the people.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 are certainly a further development of the protest actions of the previous decade. They are also the harbinger of a more turbulent revolutionary storm in the current decade of the seventies. They are clearly the expression of the revolutionary aspirations of the broad masses of the people for national democracy and against foreign, feudal and fascist oppression and exploitation. As US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism increase their oppression and exploitation of the people, there is no remedy but for the workers, peasants, students, the intelligentsia in general and the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie to increase their resistance. The use of counterrevolutionary violence, restrictive procedures and doubletalk will only result in more intensified revolutionary violence.

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The objective conditions for making revolution are extremely favorable both internationally and nationally. We are now in the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In every major contradiction in the world today, the people's revolutionary forces are rapidly isolating and defeating all the forces of counterrevolution. The oppressed nations, especially of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are daily delivering deadly blows on imperialism and social-imperialism. The proletariat is unceasingly fighting the bourgeoisie in capitalist and revisionist-ruled countries. Although the imperialist and social-imperialist countries collide, they also contend with each other; likewise, the imperialist countries maintain the same kind of dog-bite-dog relationship. The socialist countries of the People's Republic of China and of Albania continue to hold high the great red banner of the proletarian dictatorship against imperialism and social-imperialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has transformed the People's Republic of China into the great invincible iron bastion and center of the world proletarian revolution.

US imperialism and all the local reactionaries are in a state of bankruptcy, desperation and hysteria. Like its imperialist masters, the Marcos puppet reactionary regime is frantic about the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, about the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass movement and about the spread of Mao Zedong Thought in the whole country.

US imperialism and the Marcos puppet reactionary regime are so bankrupt and desperate that they are now increasingly allowing the Japanese militarists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists to participate in the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people, in the maintenance of the counterrevolutionary state and in the reinforcement of US imperialist domination. The Marcos puppet reactionary regime seeks to misrepresent its posture as nationalism. The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have exposed it as fascist puppetry.

Reply to the Lies of Marcos concerning the Militant Mass Demonstrations

It is not strange that Marcos, the fascist puppet of US imperialism, should try to pinpoint the most advanced militants of the mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 as "Maoists" or, to use appropriate words, adherents of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. He is utterly afraid of the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is

the force at the core of the revolutionary mass movement in the Philippines. He has the demagogue's illusion that he can isolate the universal ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, by calling it a "foreign" ideology.

He is merely repeating the old tactic of the reactionaries of 1896 who sought to isolate Andres Bonifacio as a "foreign agent" for having been inspired and guided by the old bourgeois democratic ideology of the French revolution. It is a futile and wornout tactic of those who actually represent the counterrevolutionary interests that are alien to the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. It is in a way also equivalent to expressing contempt for bourgeois philosophy or Christian theology by merely dismissing it as a foreign ideology without going into the concrete analysis of its class basis in Philippine history and society.

In this era, it is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that can give ideological clarity to the national democratic revolution of the Filipino people. It is the great red banner of the Filipino proletariat, now leading the national democratic revolution. It is the theoretical guide for the correct and concrete analysis of the history, problems, motive forces, targets, tasks and stages of the Philippine revolution. Even if Marcos, the terrorist puppet of US imperialism, shouts a million times about the "Maoists," he cannot conceal the fact that he is the political hatchetman of the foreign and feudal oppressors and exploiters of the Filipino people. He can only succeed both by his words and deeds in showing the antagonistic difference between his real puppetry and the patriotism of communists who seek to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. He has only succeeded to call the attention of the revolutionary masses and youth to the need for the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Marcos, the fascist puppet of US imperialism, tries to confuse the issues of the militant mass demonstrations by raising the "issue of communism." He has only made a fool of himself by doing so. We communists recognize that the nature of Philippine society is semicolonial and semifeudal and that the pressing issue is national democracy. The issue now in the Philippines is neither socialism nor communism. If Marcos is really raring to have a debate with communists, he should not seek it from modern revisionists and academic bureaucrats under his executive power. All that he has to do is to make a public statement of his views

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on the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Communist Party of the Philippines will oblige him with an answer. The mendacity of the imperialist slogan of "communism versus democracy" will certainly be exposed. By this time, he should know that he cannot make any counterrevolutionary propaganda against the Party and the New People's Army without being rebuffed.

It is as impossible for the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to remove communists from the revolutionary mass movement as it is impossible for it to remove all the fish from the sea. Not only can the Communist Party of the Philippines participate in but also it does lead the national democratic revolution. The revolutionary mass movement today would be lacking in strength and consistency without the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the practical leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The more the reactionary state seeks to attack this truth, the closer that state shall come to its grave.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have thoroughly succeeded in laying bare the counterrevolutionary character of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime. They have also turned Marcos into a blabbering fool in contrast to his posturing as an expert in counterrevolutionary dual tactics.

In his extreme hatred and fear of the people, he has been compelled to show off his criminal, intimidating, cowardly and mendacious character. On January 30-31, he lost all chances to pass on the blame to his subordinates as he was clearly the one directing the concentration of the reactionary military and police in and around Malacañang Palace. It was clear that he was directly responsible for the murder, maiming and mass arrests of demonstrators.

In a futile attempt to rationalize the murder, maiming and mass arrests of students and other patriotic demonstrators and also the mobilization of more than 12,000 troops from the Army, PC, Marines, Special Forces, Tabak Division, Task Force Lawin, Navy, Air Force and the Metrocom and the Manila Police Department, the USAFFE puppet "war hero" claims that he was put under siege by "men with an evil purpose" who were determined to seize Malacañang Palace from his family and that he was such a good commander-in-chief that he succeeded in warding off the attempt at a palace revolution. The truth was that he was surrounded by unarmed people who were engaged in direct

democratic action and who had to arm themselves with stones, placard handles, bottles and the like only when they had to defend themselves from the murderous rampage of the fascist brutes.

The gross misrepresentation of reality inevitably leads to a contradiction of terms that the sleekest liar cannot avoid. At one turn, Marcos claims that the militant mass demonstration of January 30-31 was a well-organized act of rebellion. At another turn, he slanders the militant demonstrators as a mob engaged in destructive anarchy and vandalism. In the same breath he describes the militant mass demonstration as a well-organized plot to seize power that was either “communist-inspired” or “not communist inspired.”

As the present circumstances show, it is patently a big lie for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to claim that the Communist Party of the Philippines or any other group was engaged in deploying unarmed people to implement a putschist policy. It is clear that Marcos is desperately in need of an excuse for the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the demonstrators.

The fascist commander-in-chief Marcos has actually no reason yet to fear a coup d'état by any reactionary faction though his brazen use of fraud and terrorism in the last elections has severely exacerbated the internal contradictions of the counterrevolutionary state. The reactionaries, including the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party and the emergency CIA gangs like the Christian Social Movement, the Citizens National Electoral Assembly or any other, are at the moment mainly concerned with peddling the farce of constitutional convention to deceive the people with the illusion of “democracy” and give new blessings to imperialist and feudal privileges and also with exerting every malicious and brutal effort to stamp out the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and militant mass actions in the city. The Marcos puppet reactionary regime is still one with them in this evil enterprise.

For the general information of Marcos and his cowardly ilk, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are now engaged in a protracted people's war which is at this moment in the initial stage of strategic defensive in the countryside. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are not putschists. They firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside. All counterrevolutionaries should rest assured that the day will surely come when the people's armed forces

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shall have defeated the reactionary armed forces in the countryside and are ready to act in concert with general uprisings by workers and students in the final seizure of power in the city. It is simply malicious for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to claim that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army would violate their basic principles. He seeks to cover up his crimes with an anticommunist hysteria.

The dirtiest slander that the fascist puppet chieftain seeks to make against the Communist Party of the Philippines is his statement that he can turn communist if he wants to but that for his love of democracy he does not want to. The Communist Party of the Philippines hereby tells Marcos that he can neither be a communist nor be a lover of democracy. He represents the counterrevolutionary interests that the Filipino people, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the national democratic revolution are so determinedly fighting against. He has not only robbed the people but he has also directly incurred blood debts in the course of performing his antinational, antidemocratic and anticommunist role of being the top running dog of US imperialism and such exploiting classes as the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. He can seek alliance with or even membership in the local revisionist renegade groups but he should never dare seek it from the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The fascist puppet chieftain himself appeals hypocritically for "calmness" and "unity" after murdering, maiming and arresting en masse unarmed demonstrators engaged in direct democratic action. Not satisfied with the fascist brutality that he has already inflicted, he still threatens to use force against the people and gloats that he has not even used 1/30th of the available force that he can use. He brazenly implies that he can always murder, maim and arrest more people whenever he wants to. This incorrigible terrorist is really in need of a lesson from the people.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime has aggravated the conditions for a revolutionary war. The fascist puppet Marcos can no longer go to any part of the country without fear of facing the wrath of the people. He is no longer in a position to embellish the increasing oppression and exploitation of the people with catchphrases and token acts. He has aggravated the suffering of the people in the city and countryside with too many massacres.

The fascist puppet chieftain Marcos can no longer stay in Malacañang or go anywhere without being conspicuously surrounded by too many

armed guards. But even then the people will always shout their indignation against him and his regime. They show their indignation whenever they merely see the picture of Marcos and the reactionary troops and police.

No amount of trickery on the part of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime can absolve it from its criminal responsibility in the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrators. The Filipino people see through such tricks as trying to use the Catholic clergy against the demonstrators by holding a “thanksgiving mass” on the Malacañang grounds immediately after the demonstration or by putting the notorious military criminal Raval side by side with Cardinal Santos to make a sham appeal for “calmness” and “sobriety”; holding congressional and police investigations to witchhunt particular mass organizations and their leaders or to put the blame on everyone except Marcos and his masters; asking students to separate themselves from the workers and peasants or the students from each other; calling for opportunists; using anticommunist elements in the mass media to undermine the revolutionary mass movement; closing the schools and preventing the demonstrators from giving due honors to their martyrs; advising parents and school authorities to restrict the activities of students; saturating the city with troops and putting the people under military surveillance; putting the blame on the demonstrators for the death of their own fellow demonstrators; using the local revisionist renegades to complain about a “purely anti-Marcos line” and to speak merely of “an emerging pattern of repression” or “fascistic tendencies”; and so many other tricks. All of these tricks have only intensified the just anger of the people against the Marcos puppet reactionary regime and all other enemies of the national democratic revolution.

Expose the Fascist Puppetry of Marcos and the True State of the Nation: On the January 26, 1970 Demonstration

The January 26 demonstration was essentially a demonstration on the true state of the nation to debunk that mendacious “state of the nation” address of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and to condemn the gathering of the people’s oppressors and exploiters in Congress. The reactionaries, including the local revisionist renegades and the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans, sought but failed to misrepresent the

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mass demonstration as a demonstration to endorse such nonsense as a “nonpartisan” constitutional convention or “peaceful revolution.”

Fearing mass criticism and the exercise of the people’s democratic rights, the fascist despot Marcos gave verbal instructions to attack more than 50,000 demonstrators assembled outside the puppet reactionary legislature. He was incensed that a green papiermache crocodile with a US dollar sign symbolizing his greed and puppetry and a black coffin symbolizing his suppression of democracy were hurled by the people at him and his first lady, his well-known partner in corruption.

In seeking to terrorize the people with the brutal attack of 7,000 troops and police on the demonstrators on January 26, he created the immediate conditions for the more militant demonstration of January 30-31 which would unfold even more forcefully his fascist puppetry to US imperialism and the irrepressible aspirations of the people for national freedom and democracy. The two demonstrations, especially the latter one, have sounded the keynote of the true state of the nation. They shall serve for a long time as a clear statement of the irreconcilable contradiction between the counterrevolutionary state and the broad masses of the people.

The Mendiola massacre is nothing but the culmination of a series of massacres and assassinations perpetrated in both city and countryside by the Marcos puppet regime. It is also a dialectical development of the shameless commission of fraud and terrorism in the last elections. In firm opposition to it is the kind of revolutionary courage and militant unity manifested by tens of thousands of demonstrators who counterattacked the enemy troops and police wave upon wave for more than six hours. While from the fascist puppet viewpoint of Marcos he deserves another war medal from US imperialism, the Filipino people have become ever more enraged to give him a one-ton medal. Indeed, in trying to ward off the small stones justly thrown at him and to retaliate vindictively against the people, the fool himself has picked up a big rock only to drop it on his feet.

The Marcos brand of nationalism has resoundingly been exposed by the people as fascist puppetry to US imperialism and to the local exploiting classes. The Filipino people have learned even more sharply the necessity of waging armed struggle to overthrow the national and class oppression and exploitation, precisely at a time that the reactionaries are trying to deceive them with such a farce as the 1971 constitutional convention. The striking truth of people’s war is being embraced by the

people at a time that the reactionaries are at the end of their wits and mean to concoct gimmicks to strengthen their machinery of suppression.

The ugliest features of the reactionary state in a semicolonial and semifeudal society have become too conspicuous to be camouflaged by mere rhetoric. Undeniable to the entire nation now are the bloodthirsty use of the police trained by the US AID and the vicious military manipulated by the JUSMAG in “counterinsurgency” to suppress the people; the operation of murder gangs like the “Monkees,” Special Forces, Home Defense Forces and the Barrio Home Defense; the all-round US imperialist control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines; the combined use of private armies and regular reactionary troops in terrorizing the people, especially during the last elections; the puppet indoctrination of reactionary military officers in the National Defense College and in US military schools; the counterrevolutionary orientation of PMT and ROTC; and the expanded use of the deceptive concept of “civic action” to displace civilian personnel with military personnel and perform espionage work on the people or the concept of “crowd control” to break up workers’ strikes, peasant actions and demonstrations.

It is futile for the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to boast of having a limitless amount of military force to suppress the Filipino people under the slogan of national discipline. The reactionary government is now in a state of bankruptcy after incurring huge internal and external debts in the course of intensifying the foreign, feudal and fascist oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. Even the fascist troops and police have long found their government salaries to be inadequate; that is why they engage in all kinds of extortion activities and in the process they have become isolated from the people. The whole nation, especially the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, is now terribly suffering from inflation, devaluation, increasing unemployment and higher taxes. The national bourgeoisie is finding itself crushed by a tight credit squeeze and the excessive impositions of the international monopoly bourgeoisie led by US imperialism. The masses of workers and unemployed, with the assistance of the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students, are bound to launch soon even more powerful mass actions against the counterrevolutionary state. In the countryside, the people’s war is advancing ever more vigorously against US imperialism and the local tyrants.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime keeps on repeating that it has been for the purpose of “development” that it has incurred extremely

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heavy debts and a huge foreign trade deficit. The truth is that the Marcos puppet reactionary regime has only been implementing consistently the dictates of US imperialism (“recommendations” of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to improve the infrastructure for the colonial exchange of Philippine raw materials and foreign manufactures especially from the US, to facilitate the huge profit remittances of US monopolies and also to extend credit to them for their local operations, to intensify the import-export operations of the comprador bourgeoisie and to reinforce the hold of the hacenderos on agriculture. The Marcos reactionary regime has faithfully served US imperialism and the local exploiting classes because its ringleaders do not only enjoy the status of compradors and landlords but they also exact their own share of exploitation through graft and corruption in their capacity as bureaucrat capitalists.

In intensifying their bloodsucking activities on the Filipino people, US imperialism and its local stooges have also calculated to create the conditions for the reactionary government to beg for “stabilization” loans and preferential trade from the United States in exchange for the perpetuation of parity rights and more imperialist privileges in the various aspects of Philippine society. Already the local reactionaries which include revisionist renegades, pseudonationalists and Christian “socialists” have already set the ground level for the continuation of US imperialist privileges by the terms of such legislations as the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom.

The secret negotiations concerning the Laurel-Langley Agreement and other negotiations concerning other treaties with US imperialism are being synchronized with the worsening conditions of Philippine society and also with the farce of Constitutional Convention in 1971 which can only be expected to sanction once more the foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. To dissimulate their treasonous character, counterrevolutionaries have started to misrepresent themselves as nationalists and to dilute the ranks of democrats in an attempt to mislead them.

Advocacy of relations with the revisionist countries, especially with Soviet social-imperialism, is being misrepresented by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime, the Lava revisionist renegades and other reactionaries as the cornerstone of an “independent” foreign policy. US imperialism is actually behind the plot to cover up its increasing

oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by accommodating Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism in the Philippines. Reeling from its economic and political difficulties, US imperialism is in need of Japan as its fogleman in Asia and the Soviet Union as its collaborator in the strategic imperialist alliance to oppose the people, revolution, communism and China.

Unite for the National Democratic Revolution

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have clearly spelled out the urgent need for a thoroughgoing national democratic revolution. The people who have experienced the fascist terror recognize now the need for such powerful weapons as a proletarian revolutionary party, a people's army and a united front to be able to strike back at the enemy effectively and to achieve national democracy. It has become ever more clear that the vast majority of the Filipino people—the proletariat, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and, to some extent, the national bourgeoisie—must unite under the leadership of the proletariat and its party against all those foreign and local tyrants that use the Marcos puppet reactionary clique as their pet running dog.

The necessity of propagating the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines has become urgent among the participants of the demonstrations and in the entire nation. From the ranks of the militant demonstrators can be drawn those who will dedicatedly spread and put into practice Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Party Program. The Party is now pressed upon to distribute to them the *Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines*, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* and other basic instructive materials that can inspire them to fight US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in the correct way.

The only way by which the Filipino people can carry the Philippine revolution forward at this stage of our national history is to unite with the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army on the basis of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. This program responds to the principal demand for national democracy made by the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31.

We note with pride that the militant majority of the demonstrators of January 26 and 30-31 were the student youth. We urge them to seek

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further the support of workers and peasants, contingents of which were in the demonstrations. It is by enlarging and ensuring the support of the workers and peasants for the militant mass demonstrations of the student youth that the struggle for national democracy can be waged more effectively.

We urge the students to undertake the following:

1. Make a living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution;
2. Raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and practice among the students throughout the country;
3. Go to the workers either in places where they work or live and assist them to assume the revolutionary class leadership;
4. Go to your respective towns or barrios, if you have any, and promote the revolution in the countryside and on a nationwide scale; and
5. Wage a protracted people's war on the basis of mass work against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The student youth can take full advantage of the fact that they come not only from every area in Greater Manila but also from every province in the whole country. They are in a very good position to promote revolution throughout the land and they have the ability to learn from the masses and concentrate their concrete learning into revolutionary demands under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution.

A particular form of organization that the students can adopt is the propaganda team (of at least three members) which assumes the specific task of arousing and mobilizing the students and workers in a well-defined area in the city; or the students, peasants, farm workers, the national minorities and fishermen in a well-defined area in the provinces. The mass work of student propaganda teams in urban areas and in provinces close to Manila will result in bigger and more articulate demonstrations and more powerful general strikes. The mass work of student propaganda teams in the provinces will create the best conditions for getting hold of a gun and fighting the armed counter-revolution successfully.

The minimum that can be done by the student youth is to shatter the superstructure of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. For them to engage in a cultural revolution or revolutionary propaganda is of decisive importance in the national democratic revolution. They can assist

in building up the proletarian revolutionary leadership and the national democratic orientation. They can isolate the enemy diehards in such institutions as the various branches and levels of government, the reactionary parties and organizations, the mass media, business chambers, schools, churches, yellow trade unions, bogus peasant associations, and the whole gamut of the imperialist and feudal culture that are now opposing the main current of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 and are seeking to uphold the present reactionary system.

The student youth who take the initiative of forming their propaganda teams should be confident that many others are doing the same. If they are not yet members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, they shall certainly be approached by the Party for recruitment or for cooperation on the basis of what they have already contributed to the national democratic revolution. The student youth should feel confident that there are cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines at every strategic point in the whole country and among them are former students who have remolded their thinking and are now in the crucible of the revolutionary armed struggle. They must realize at this early stage that to propel a revolutionary mass movement there must be a revolutionary party at the core to serve as the standard-bearer of the revolutionary theory.

The people's democratic revolution is protracted. The student youth should be persistent, hardworking, austere, patient and alert, shedding off their petty bourgeois individualism, impetuosity or excessive caution. So long as they persist in revolutionary struggle, they shall become tempered and many of them shall become proletarian revolutionary cadres.

To you the student youth, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army address three quotations from Chairman Mao concerning the youth:

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a nonrevolutionary or a counterrevolutionary. If today he integrates

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himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a nonrevolutionary or a counterrevolutionary.

The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them.

Workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals, unite!
Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!
Down with the fascist acts of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime!
Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory!
Dare to struggle, dare to win!
Fear neither hardship nor death!
Long live the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31!
Victory will belong to the Filipino people!
Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!
Long live the New People's Army!
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

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On the January 30-31 Demonstration

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The Brutality of the Reactionary State

Not satisfied with the brutal breaking up of the January 26 demonstration in front of Congress, the reactionary regime of Marcos perpetrated on January 30-31 far bloodier and more brutal crimes against more than 50,000 students, progressive intellectuals, workers and peasants who demonstrated in front of Malacañang.

Four student heroes enrolled in various large schools in the Greater Manila area were wantonly murdered with rifle fire by military troops and the police. Hundreds of other young men and women were seriously injured and maimed for life. They filled six large hospitals in the Greater Manila area. The savagery of the shooting and truncheon beating conducted by the reactionary troops and police was such that until now scores of demonstrators continue to be on the verge of death. Hundreds of militant demonstrators were arrested and wounded demonstrators were thrown into PC and Army trucks like hogs for the butcher house. Many of those arrested were subjected to torture and long hours of interrogation by PC investigators. Some of those apprehended are still being missed by their schoolmates and friends.

Even after the demonstration, the fascist brutes continued to kidnap and arrest students and other demonstration leaders in the futile attempt of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to blackmail and intimidate them and forestall more and bigger mass protests against its bloody crimes against the people. Immediately after the demonstration, the reactionary government filed sedition charges against demonstration leaders and other militants, closed the schools in the Greater Manila area and turned its spies against patriotic students and leaders of mass organizations suspected of organizing more protest actions. A ban on protest demonstrations was brazenly imposed.

During and after the demonstrations, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos called all his top henchmen in the major services of the reactionary armed forces and briefed them for more intensified suppression and intimidation of patriotic students and organizations. The US AID-

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trained brutes of the Manila police as well as those of the suburban areas were organized to be let loose on the demonstrators.

Never has there been a more open and bloodier suppression of democratic rights in the city than the suppression of the demonstration of January 30-31.

The Revolutionary Courage of the Students and Other Demonstrators

The militant participants of the January 26 demonstration in front of Congress were never cowed by the brutality of the reactionary state. They came back with more intense patriotism and courage to join the January 30-31 demonstration against the reactionary state and the fascist puppets of US imperialism.

The militant students, constituting the majority of the participants in the demonstrations, came in big numbers from 36 universities, colleges and high schools in Manila. Also participating were representatives from more than 40 universities and colleges in the provinces. Together with contingents of workers and peasants, they gave full play to the revolutionary spirit of "It is right to rebel" against US imperialism and local reaction. They fought tit for tat against the reactionary troops and police with explosives made on the spot, iron bars taken from street railings and stones. They commandeered a firetruck to break the main gate of Malacañang and a bus to break the lines of the advancing hordes of Metrocom men and set fire to several army and police vehicles, including trucks, jeeps and a cop motorcycle.

The patriotic demonstrators shouted revolutionary slogans condemning the fascist brutality of the reactionary state and calling on the workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals to unite against US imperialism, feudalism and the Marcos puppet reactionary regime.

The residents in the demonstration area were inspired by the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the demonstrators as they held their ground against the attacks of the armed brutes of the reactionary state. They took in many wounded demonstrators and even treated them.

Frightened out of his wits, the fascist puppet Marcos gave the order to shoot the patriotic demonstrators and had a helicopter ready for his immediate escape from the ire of the militant demonstrators. Apart from the 2,000 reactionary troops which unleashed the sanguinary suppression against the demonstrating masses, AFP chieftain Manuel Yan

ordered the 12,000-man strong PC on “red alert,” and the air force, navy and army on “blue alert.” He even summoned Task Force Lawin, the Marines and five companies of the Special Forces from Fort Magsaysay in Nueva Ecija to reinforce the troops in and around Manila. This has clearly shown the utter panic of the Marcos reactionary regime in confronting the militant masses of demonstrators. In mortal fear of further mass protest actions against its corrupt and brutal regime, it has kept a large number of reactionary troops in the Greater Manila area up to now.

After the demonstration of January 30-31, the patriotic students and other demonstrators have continuously fought in various forms the reactionary puppet regime and vowed to develop their struggle in scale and depth. Their dauntless revolutionary spirit has inspired and won the sympathy of the broad masses of the people throughout the country. Mass actions are sweeping the country in support of the January 30-31 demonstration and in protest against the fascist terror perpetrated by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime.

The revolutionary courage and heroism of the students have lifted the hearts of the oppressed and exploited people all over the country. They have in a big way fanned the flames of revolutionary struggle. The entire Filipino people are increasingly awakening to the need for armed revolutionary struggle in the face of armed counterrevolution.

Subsequent Tactics of the Enemy

Within 24 hours after the sanguinary suppression of the patriotic demonstrators, the fascist chieftain Marcos babbled in his “nationwide call” through the mass media that the militant mass demonstration was either “communist-inspired” and “not communist-inspired” in a desperate effort to tone down the immediate nationwide condemnation of his bloody crimes. Marcos has tried in vain to cover up the fact that the broad masses of the student demonstrators together with workers and peasants, are united in their common feeling of indignation against and in their resistance to his puppet reactionary regime and his US imperialist masters. He cannot hope to split the ranks of patriotic students, workers and peasants who will always rise up inasmuch as they have reached a new and higher level of consciousness against the enemies of national democracy.

Marcos has tried to wash his hands of the blood of the patriotic demonstrators brutally murdered and maimed by his henchmen—the

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reactionary military troops and police. He even has the impudence to demand gratitude from the people because he has exercised “tolerance” and restrained himself from murdering more students or formally suspending the privilege of habeas corpus. But his hypocritical speech cannot erase the fact of the unprecedented murder of four student youth and the maiming and mass arrests of hundreds of patriotic demonstrators under his regime nor can it hide the truth that all this is but a preparation for further bloody suppression of patriotic militants and organizations and the national democratic movement in general.

Marcos’ January 31st redbaiting statement has set the line for the subsequent bicameral hearings being conducted by Congress. It is evident from the pattern of interrogation in the hearings that militant and patriotic organizations are the object of this witchhunt. This again is a dirty scheme to divert the attention of the people from the bloody crimes of the Marcos reactionary regime and to stifle the growing mass movement of the Filipino people against US imperialism and its local reactionary allies. It is not surprising for such a politically bankrupt regime to concentrate its attack on those who truly speak and act for the national democratic interests of the people. Not a single one of its henchmen who brutally attacked the patriotic demonstrators has been apprehended and tried.

Far from putting the blame on the reactionary troops and police, Marcos even lauded their “exemplary” conduct in the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the patriotic militant demonstrators. Together with his gang of fascist brutes, Marcos led a field mass at Malacañang Park where he took the opportunity to exhort the troops of the reactionary armed forces to prepare for more sanguinary suppression of the people’s struggle for national liberation and democratic rights.

Marcos callously manipulates the Catholic Church through Cardinal Santos, the bishops and the priests to chasten the demonstrators for having militantly acted in defense of their democratic rights. True to his role as an apologist of the counterrevolutionary state which exploits and oppresses the Filipino people, Cardinal Santos is first of all “concerned” about the “destruction” of “private property” than about the wanton killing of four student demonstrators and the serious injury of hundreds of demonstrators by the Marcos fascist gang. He clamors for a “dialogue” only after a monologue of bullets burst out from the guns of the reactionary troops and police to repress the indignant voices of the patriotic demonstrators who gathered on that historic day of January 30

and fought back for more than six hours till the early hours of January 31. In more cleverly couched terms so as not to appear “political,” he has also warned against “ideologies” which “sow disunity” among the people. This is a vicious attempt to hide the truth that never in the history of our country have the Filipino people forged such a militant unity against such a hopelessly corrupt regime which has extremely isolated itself from the overwhelming majority of the people because of its virulent opposition to their national democratic aspirations.

After the murder, maiming and mass arrests of patriotic demonstrators, the Marcos puppet regime would now dangle before the students monetary and other material bribes such as the promise of a \$0.6 million trust fund for so-called “student welfare programs and projects” and the creation of a “national student commission.” But the students know better. They are very much aware that this is but one face of the counterrevolutionary dual tactic of the fascist puppet regime to soften up their struggle against the reactionary state. They are more vigilant than ever about the dirty trick of buying off scabs in the student and youth movement.

In order to attack the surging patriotic student and youth movement, the Marcos reactionary regime is resorting to the use of fascist gangs and even the “Monkees.” It has also sent infiltrators and agents into youth meetings and conferences in the foolish hope of splitting the ranks of patriotic and militant organizations of youth and students.

The Marcos reactionary regime continues to mobilize thousands of military troops for guarding the Greater Manila area. It has ordered the PC authorities of various zones to organize their own “anti-riot” squads to suppress the rapidly spreading wave of indignation rallies and demonstrations against the brutal suppression of the patriotic demonstrators in Manila.

The puppet regime of Marcos in its role as the chief hatchetman of US imperialism and feudalism has been so discredited before the eyes of the broad masses of the Filipino people that only the most rabid counterrevolutionaries will ever try to save it from its inevitable doom as the local revisionist renegades are vainly attempting to do by crying in dismay about the “purely anti-Marcos” line of the recent militant mass demonstrations. Evidently, this is for the sole purpose of begging political capital from the Marcos reactionary regime in the form of allowing them to participate in bourgeois parliamentary politics.

Evaluation of the January 26 and January 30-31 Demonstrations

The demonstrations of January 26 and January 30-31 came close on the heels of the student and worker demonstrations against the visit of US Vice President Agnew last December 29. They signify the new awakening of the Filipino people against US imperialism and the local reactionary puppets. They are a bugle call for more militant mass actions in the city for this year as well as the current decade.

These demonstrations have served to raise the consciousness of the masses of the Filipino people against the reactionary state which serves US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The broad masses of the people have increasingly understood the need for revolutionary armed struggle against the armed counterrevolution and for overthrowing the present reactionary state. The demonstrations have served as a rich source of activists for the national democratic revolution and, therefore, of prospective members and fighters of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

The revolutionary mass actions in the city are bound to develop in coordination with the surging agrarian revolution in the countryside. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, ideological, political and organizational preparations are continuously being made for intensified revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and bigger mass actions in the city against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The entire reactionary system in the Philippines is rotting daily and the objective conditions for waging armed struggle are getting better daily.

Internationally, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are plunging speedily into insoluble political and economic crises while the invincible forces of socialism and national liberation are surging in ever-victorious waves. The revolutionary situation has never been so excellent!

The students and progressive intellectuals who participated in the demonstrations of January 26 and January 30-31 have proven their revolutionary courage and militancy. By constantly studying and implementing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a living way and by integrating themselves firmly with the masses of workers and peasants, learning from as well as teaching them, they will certainly not fall back but march forward along the road of the struggle for national democracy.

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The February 12 Demonstration

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The February 12 demonstration at Plaza Miranda shows beyond doubt that the revolutionary mass movement has already grown to such an extent that it cannot be trifled with. It is the fruit of a long period of consistent revolutionary efforts, especially of revolutionary propaganda during the last decade. The revolutionary mass movement is now thriving on objective conditions that are extremely favorable for advancing the national democratic revolution.

The February 12 demonstration at Plaza Miranda, attended by 100,000 people despite clever counterrevolutionary efforts to sabotage it, has strengthened the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of the Filipino people. It has stirred simultaneous demonstrations in almost all major cities, provincial capitals and other places in the country. It is fired by the selfless sacrifice of four student martyrs, thousands of gravely injured people and hundreds of others arrested en masse by the fascist brutes under the orders of the Marcos fascist puppet clique acting on behalf of US imperialism and feudalism.

The February 12 demonstration proves that the Filipino people are courageous in the face of enemy intimidation and deception. It brilliantly shows that the struggle for national democracy is surging forward ever more vigorously under the powerful illumination of the universal ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Never before has there been such a demonstration as huge as the February 12 demonstration in the entire history of the revolutionary mass movement, not even in the 1946-50 period.

Marcos "Nationalists" and Lava Revisionist Renegades

That the February 12 demonstration was almost completely sabotaged by counterrevolutionaries should deserve the keenest perception and study. The Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades worked in concert with each other in a vicious attempt to scuttle the demonstration by using the tactic of raising the red banner only to attack it.

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In a calculated attempt to minimize the responsibility of Marcos as a top running dog or as a big fascist puppet of US imperialism and as the chief political agent of the local exploiting classes, the Lava revisionist renegades took the initiative of peddling through the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino (MPKP) spokesman as early as February 4 the erroneous line that “Marcos is only a small, although significant part” of “the neocolonial-bourgeois political system” (whatever that means) and to complain about a “purely anti-Marcos line.”

Taking the pretense of being more left than the Left, the Lava revisionist renegades actually tried to maneuver mass organizations into the idealist and rightist position of flying away from the concrete dialectics of the struggle, of glossing over the fascist brutality and puppetry of Marcos under the guise of being concerned with bigger issues beyond the current issue.

The reactionary line of the Lava revisionist renegades runs counter to the correct line that Marcos is a fascist puppet of US imperialism and chief representative of such local exploiting classes as the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. In broadening the issues, we should never belittle the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 (and the criminal responsibility of Marcos) so long as we base ourselves on the mass mobilization ignited by them.

In a counterrevolutionary maneuver, the Marcos “nationalists” echoed the Marcos line of intimidation by spreading fear among the people that if the militant mass movement were intensified Marcos might be forced to seek further support from US imperialism or a CIA coup might occur. And the Lava revisionist renegades, always boastful of their connections in the innermost sanctums of the state and now so hopeful of manna from the Marcos reactionary regime, converged with the Marcos “nationalists” on the line of intimidation against the people.

The rightist essence of their “Left” phraseology is to prettify Marcos as one who neither belongs to the Left nor to the Right, as one who is not at all the principal rightist hatchetman of US imperialism and domestic feudalism today and as one who does not enjoy the support of the CIA. The Marcos “nationalists” and the Lava revisionist renegades would like to exculpate Marcos from the murder of four student heroes and two other people, the maiming of several thousands and the arrest of hundreds of people. What a treachery to the revolutionary movement! There was even the insidious and slanderous attempt by these

counterrevolutionaries to picture the revolutionary mass movement as a plaything of the CIA if it continued to take its militant course.

What was the result of the erroneous line of intimidation and deception of the Marcos “nationalists” and the Lava revisionist renegades? It led to a “dialogue,” empty concessions from Marcos and a vile agreement to call off the February 12 demonstration. The Lava revisionist renegades celebrated their treason the morning of February 12 with a press release in the name of the bourgeois pacifist organization Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF) that “dialogues with President Marcos may be resorted to only as an occasion to further intensify the national democratic struggle.” In another press release of the same morning, the Lava revisionist renegades through the MPKP spokesman announced that they were in a quandary whether or not to join the February 12 demonstration in a vile attempt to confuse the masses.

It was good that the genuine leaders of the revolutionary mass movement were able to counteract firmly the malicious efforts of the Marcos “nationalists” and the Lava revisionist renegades. They realized that the dialectics of revolutionary struggle is concrete and that any political struggle develops step by step. They were clearheaded enough to see that the more Marcos resorts to violence the more will the people resist. Only the Marcos “nationalists” and the Lava revisionists will cower with their philosophy of survival in an attempt to protect their lucrative personal income and employment in the reactionary state.

What were the results of the vicious attempts of the state to suppress the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31? A bigger avalanche of mass protest, which was February 12. Now, Marcos the fascist puppet chieftain should realize that he can no longer intimidate or deceive the people. He can just imagine how he would fare if 100,000 people marched on Malacañang Palace or even if only 1,000 activists would choose to go to the countryside to fight his rightist regime. The more he tries to intimidate or deceive the people the more will he accelerate the downfall of the counterrevolutionary state of which he is now the commander-in-chief.

If the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos should come to the brink of being overthrown and the CIA should try to salvage him or put another puppet in his place, then the revolutionary mass movement will only step up its revolutionary struggle, especially in the countryside. How much nicer it would be if the US imperialists and reactionaries in the Philippines can no longer boast of their regular elections! That would

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be a striking manifestation of how strong the revolutionary mass movement has become.

Indeed, before an entire counterrevolutionary state as that of the Philippines falls, it could come to be steered by a series of tyrants and it will certainly do its worst with the aid of the imperialists. But this would not deter real revolutionaries from fighting continuously from one phase to another phase. It is stupid to blame revolutionaries for the rise of fascism and the supposed possibility of a rightist coup just as it is stupid to blame the heroic revolutionary Vietnamese people for the series of rightist coups and the large-scale invasion of south Vietnam by US imperialism. The Vietnamese people have continued to fight fiercely against the chain of puppet replacements for Ngo Dinh Diem made by the CIA.

The Swindle that Failed

What were those things promised by Marcos in exchange for calling off the February 12 demonstration? He promised thirteen nothings:

1. An interdepartmental committee will be constituted immediately to undertake a comprehensive review of American aid programs and foundations to find out if these are compatible or not with the nationalist aspirations of the Filipino people and whether these should be scrapped or not. Particular attention will be focused on American influence in the military, educational, economic and labor fields.

Our observation: Another committee of running dogs is another farce. A “review” by it is meaningless for the revolutionary mass movement. A comprehensive review of all these have already been made in the programs of militant mass organizations and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

2. The relief of three pro-American cabinet members—Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor, Finance Secretary Cesar Virata and Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile—shall be considered seriously.

Our observation: “Serious consideration” amounts to nothing.

In the same tête-à-tête with the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, Marcos defended these well-known US agents as “nationalists.” What about Ople who has been a CIA asset since his Magsaysay days? And Marcos himself who bragged of CIA support in 1965?

3. The nationalist sector shall have a choice in all appointments to vital government departments and educational institutions particularly

in education, labor, military, agriculture, economic planning bodies and the University of the Philippines.

The recall of the appointment of Alexander Sycip and Leonides Virata to the UP Board of Regents will be studied.

Our observation: What does Marcos mean by “nationalist sector”? Besides, offering government offices to bribe revolutionary activists is malicious. Puppetry to US imperialism characterizes the highest appointees of Marcos.

4. Trade and cultural ties will be instituted with Eastern European countries immediately with the sending of officially accredited representatives. The possibility of securing loans or aid from said countries shall be explored. Official attitude toward Peking and Moscow shall be taken up immediately with the Foreign Policy Council.

Our observation: This is obviously the booty being dangled before the Lava revisionist running dogs of Soviet social-imperialism for their cooperation with the Marcos fascist puppet regime. US imperialism has already instructed the Marcos fascist puppet clique to accommodate Soviet social-imperialism in line with the global counterrevolutionary alliance of opposing the people, communism and China. This is no concession. Relations with Soviet social-imperialism or the so-called “community of socialist states” referred to by the Lava revisionist renegades will only add to the intensification of the exploitation of the Filipino people. The Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country; it has become capitalist, social-fascist and social-imperialist. Soviet social-imperialist “loans” and “aid” are no different from US imperialist “loans” and “aid,” as proven in the cases of India, Indonesia and so many others.

5. Court charges against the staff members of the *Dumaguete Times* will be recommended for dropping. Majority of the cases filed for the January 26 and 30 demonstrations will likewise be dropped. The President will take a “bend backward” attitude towards cases that cannot be compromised in the interest of peace and order.

Our observation: There is no prima facie evidence against the staff members of *Dumaguete Times*. The charges against them should have been dropped a long time ago at the fiscal’s office. With regard to those charged in connection with the demonstrations, the reactionary state has no right to make charges invoking the name of the people if it cannot even pinpoint the murderers of six people and all the perpetrators of the maiming and illegal detention of demonstrators.

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6. The President will order an investigation of military and police authorities responsible for the death of four students and two non-students and the maiming of hundreds in the January 26 and 30 demonstrations.

In the case of Manuel Alabado, US Tobacco Corporation union official, the President will order the prosecution of Tarlac provincial commander Col. Tomas Diaz.

Our observation: “Investigations” and “prosecutions” of military and police authorities have always ended up in their exculpation and commendation in cases where they commit the crime at the bidding of Marcos himself. Is it easily forgotten that Marcos commended and promoted his military accomplices in the murder of the four students and two other people, maiming of thousands and mass arrests of hundreds of people?

7. The military harassment, surveillance and wiretapping of the UP, PCC, Lyceum, the headquarters of the KM, SDK, MPKP and other nationalist groups will be stopped immediately.

Our observation: So many times has Marcos previously made orders for the military to stop its harassment, surveillance and wiretapping of the headquarters of organizations and homes of individuals.

8. Material assistance will be extended to the families of the victims of the January 30 rally.

Our observation: It is callous for Marcos to put on the bargaining table the question of extending material assistance to the families of the victims of his fascist brutality.

9. President Marcos will proclaim a January 30 Educational Fund Campaign to last 60 days to enable youth-peasant-labor groups represented to raise funds for the advancement of nationalism.

Our observation: So Marcos wants to seize the leadership over the revolutionary mass movement by issuing a proclamation to guide it in an educational and fund campaign. The target of the revolutionary mass movement becomes the principal motive force after one dialogue. That is a big joke. He arrogantly underestimates the revolutionary masses.

10. A thorough assessment of the Central Luzon problems will be made. The Monkees will be disbanded. Pampanga Gov. Francisco Nepomuceno and Angeles City Mayor Eugenio Suarez will be requested to go abroad so that armed elements and private armies which are not members of the AFP services in their areas can be disarmed and arrested.

The Home Defense Forces will be reassessed for possible scrapping and the dissolution of the Special Forces and their reintegration to regular services shall be effected.

Our observation: How many times have Marcos and his military henchmen “disbanded” the “Monkees”? This beats the cat with nine lives. Only the New People’s Army, through its policy of annihilation, can do this. Marcos has the temerity to say that the AFP is the best among the devils and it wants to lord over Angeles City in the absence of Nepomuceno and Suarez.

Even as Marcos promises to reassess the Home Defense Forces for possible “scrapping” and “dissolution,” Brig. Gen. Garcia is supposed to have “scrapped” and “dissolved” them by press release. After all, scrapping and dissolutions in the dictionary of Marcos and his military henchmen are synonymous to relabeling or reintegration into the same counterrevolutionary armed forces.

11. The administration will consider an increase in minimum wage both for industrial and agricultural workers. It will undertake a thorough probe of the sacada problem in Negros with the immediate dispatch of 15 impartial investigators. It will also consider a profitsharing plan involving private industries.

Our observation: Real wages have rapidly fallen under the rightist regime of Marcos. Mere consideration of wage adjustment at this stage is meaningless unless the workers themselves hold general strikes which will certainly come again into conflict with the military.

So many times in press releases, Marcos and Ople have investigated the sacada problem and they wish once more to launch an “investigating” expedition.

“Profitsharing” is a device being propagandized by pseudo-nationalists to cover up foreign monopoly control of Philippine corporations. It is also a device for capturing the meager savings of workers and dissuading them from exercising their democratic right to strike.

12. Government hospitals and medical services particularly the PGH and Dr. Jose Reyes Memorial Hospital shall enjoy priority status over other government programs.

The Medicare program shall be implemented and a broader coverage will be proposed to include workers in the private sector.

Our observation: These things were promised so many times before to other organizations and in other demonstrations.

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13. The administration shall give top priority to the demands and problems of state colleges and universities.

Our observation: These things were promised so many times before to other organizations in other demonstrations.

The Lessons that We Have Learned

The Marcos “nationalists” and the Lava revisionist renegades apologize for the Marcos reactionary regime that it should not at all be blamed for the “accumulation” of wrongs left by “history.” The quickest riposte to this bit of counterrevolutionary idealism is that the Marcos reactionary regime is not only trying to perpetuate the imperialist and feudal oppression of the broad masses of the people but in his role as a fascist puppet is also trying to use every possible cruel means to intensify it. Certainly, Marcos all by himself cannot change the accumulation of historical wrongs without “the support of the people” but what he has been doing precisely is to aggravate the oppression of the people.

One important lesson that has been gained by revolutionary militants in the course of preparing for and realizing the February 12 demonstration is to maintain initiative and independence in a united front of various organizations and also not to engage in a “united front” with the Lava revisionist renegades and Marcos “nationalists.” It is impossible to have a united front with these counterrevolutionary scoundrels who will only take every opportunity to sabotage the revolutionary mass movement.

After transforming the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism into an instrument of Marcos “nationalism” and modern revisionism, the Marcos “nationalists” and the Lava revisionist renegades are now maneuvering to sabotage further the revolutionary mass movement outside the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism. The Lava revisionist renegades have been particularly clever in sneaking into the ranks of militant organizations while at the same time slandering the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 as actions going “along a disastrous adventurist line.”

It should always be kept in mind by all proletarian revolutionary cadres that a firm, clear and correct political line is necessary to undo our doubts, fears and vacillations and frustrate the most clever saboteurs who try to creep into the revolutionary mass movement. Those who have been misled by the Marcos “nationalists” and Lava revisionist renegades

should rectify their errors. They should not be misled by any attempt of the Lava revisionist renegades to cover up their ugly tracks even if they go to the extent of attacking the Marcos “nationalists” because the former have bigger pretensions as revolutionaries although they are in fact counterrevolutionaries and they always make it a point to attack real revolutionaries.

To underscore the heroism of the masses in militant demonstrations, the leading activists should cease to make too much protestations about their pacifist intentions and to broadcast that they could be infiltrated by “provocateurs.” The central fact in the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrations was that the masses were frontally and criminally attacked by the fascist henchmen of Marcos and that the masses in turn counterattacked in courageous self-defense. The leading activists and the masses should not flinch from pointing the accusing finger at the enemy in the most forthright manner.

The masses have correctly taken up the battlecry, “*Makibaka, bumag matakot!*” (Fight, don’t be cowed!) This is certainly far better and more inspiring than the bourgeois-pacifist top tune “We shall overcome” of the local revisionist renegades. There would have been no February 12 if there had been no January 26 and 30-31.

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The February 18 Public Meeting

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New Awakening

The February 18 Plaza Miranda public meeting, now widely called a people's congress, has proven that the new awakening of the Filipino people against US imperialism, feudalism and fascism is rising higher and can no longer be brought down by the reactionaries without being inflicted with more powerful blows.

Mass participation was even larger and even more vigorous than the February 12 public meeting. Tens of thousands of people from all walks of life thronged the plaza and filled the streets radiating from it. The public meeting was definitely larger than any held by the reactionaries of whatever party or organization.

The people who came were in outrage and shouted their determination to smash US imperialism and the local exploiting classes—all on whose behalf the Marcos fascist puppet regime is resorting to the use of murder both openly and secretly. All throughout the public meeting, the speakers and mass participants vigorously demanded the overthrow of US imperialism, feudalism and fascism.

A dramatic presentation reenacted the US conquest of the Philippines, the local mimicry of decadent imperialist culture and the brutality of the puppet politicians. It gave focus to the resistance made by the students against the reactionary troops and police in what is now known as the Battle of Mendiola.

Many people also came with numerous placards denouncing Japanese imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as partners of US imperialism. The local revisionist renegades wanting to sneak into the mass action shuddered at the comprehensive scope of the protest. Previously, they had gloated over the fact that the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos had been singling out the “Maoists” as his enemy and making assurances that he would cooperate with the revisionist counterrevolutionaries.

From Plaza Miranda, a wave of people marched in the direction of Malacañang Palace. Completely outwitted, practically all the fascist brutes—from the city police to the crack troops of the reactionaries—deployed themselves in the vicinity of the fascist puppet chieftain's

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fortification. Brilliantly, the people marched wave upon wave towards the US embassy to express their just indignation against US imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of the Filipino people and master of the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

For the first time, the outer and inner gates of the US embassy were broken by demonstrators charging with sticks, stones and homemade bombs. Consequently, the demonstrators were able to make their way into the embassy grounds and buildings to smash whatever they could as a forceful expression of the people's protest against the transgression of their sovereignty and territorial integrity by US imperialism.

The fascist puppets converged on Roxas Blvd. to defend their master. All major services of the reactionary armed forces and the metropolitan police came with all their available forces. Immediately, a fretful US military officer in civilian clothes took command over the puppet troops and police.

But once more they were outwitted when the mass of demonstrators broke up into several groups and attacked such alien establishments as Caltex, Esso, Philamlife and other imperialist enterprises. They carefully avoided doing harm to petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois establishments, with the exception of a gossip center owned by a paid hack of the Marcos fascist puppet regime who has been virulently attacking the national democratic movement. Nevertheless, there were plainclothes and hooligans directed by the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and his notorious co-puppet Villegas to indiscriminately attack private vehicles and small establishments in a futile attempt to smear the high prestige of the demonstrators.

All through the night as the fascist brutes arrested and beat up people at random, the number of those resisting them swelled. The resistance of the people of Manila spread as far as the student quarters of Sampaloc, with that portion of Claro M. Recto Avenue bounded by Legarda St. and Quezon Blvd. as the focus. The patriotic struggle against the fascist brutes continued until the wee hours of the following day. People threw every possible disposable object at them from windows and rooftops.

The Puppets Apologize to their Imperialist Master

The Marcos fascist puppet regime, through an old running dog of US imperialism, had obsequiously prepared an abject note of apology even before the US ambassador and CIA agent Byroade presented his note of

protest scolding the local puppets for their “dereliction of duty.” At the bidding of their imperialist master, all the local reactionaries deplored the patriotic mass action as “riotous vandalism.” The truly deplorable puppetry of these reactionaries became obvious when the people recalled that the US government had not even cared to make a reply to three diplomatic letters of the Philippine reactionary government concerning the murder of Filipinos by US personnel on three separate occasions.

Insinuating themselves in a meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, the counterrevolutionary revisionists masterminded by the Lava revisionist gang raised the question of whether to condemn or not the patriotic attack against the US embassy. The kind of question raised by these scoundrels exposed once more their utterly reactionary character. It also came to light that a small pack of these counterrevolutionary pretenders had joined the Plaza Miranda public meeting only to try vainly to discourage the people from marching to the US embassy.

With all the vehemence that they could command, the enemies of the national democratic movement condemned the revolutionary violence employed by the demonstrators as something veering from the submissive peace that they wished. The reactionaries completely obscured the counterrevolutionary violence unleashed by them against the people. The cruder propagandists among them complained most about the militant assault on the US embassy. The more clever among them attempted to discredit the main current of the public meeting and subsequent demonstration by complaining about the peripheral actions of those plainclothes and hooligans ordered by both Marcos and Villegas to attack private vehicles and small establishments.

The big hullabaloo raised by the reactionaries about the well-placed blows against US imperialism dealt by the demonstrators was actually meant to obscure the fact that scores of patriotic demonstrators were brutally treated by the reactionary troops and police in the vicinity of the US embassy and Malacañang Palace. No greater harm could be made by these fascist brutes only because the demonstrators had learned how to resist and outwit them.

The broad masses of the people, including positive elements in the metropolitan newspapers, wholeheartedly welcomed the patriotic attack against the US embassy. In answer to the reactionary comments that it was uncalled for, they angrily retorted that the demonstrations had cost US imperialism only a few dollars worth of glass and furniture. Even if the US embassy had been levelled to the ground, the amount of

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destruction is nothing compared to a day's profit or bloodsucking by US monopolies on the oppressed and exploited Filipino people.

For the last seven decades, US imperialism has continued to enjoy the fruits of conquest which entailed the murder of 700,000 Filipinos in the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902. Until now, US military base personnel continue to murder Filipinos and go scot-free with the full protection of their government.

More powerful blows against US imperialism and its local puppet diehards are bound to come. The symbolic attack against the US embassy are but an appropriate part of general preparations for more sanguinary struggles to resist and oust US imperialism. Even as the puppet reactionaries threaten to unleash campaigns of suppression, the Filipino people are bracing themselves for a more sustained and more determined revolutionary struggle.

Fascist Puppet Chieftain Marcos Widens Field of Combat

Refusing to learn the lesson that more counterrevolutionary violence begets more revolutionary violence, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos called to Camp Aguinaldo provincial governors and city mayors and instructed them to organize "strike forces" against the people. Little does he seem to realize that he can no longer intimidate the people who are becoming increasingly angry at him for intensifying their exploitation at the bidding of US imperialism and the local ruling classes.

Many, if not most, of the students now fighting him in the streets of Manila will themselves go very soon to their respective home provinces to explain the issue of imperialism, feudalism and fascism in the most concrete terms that they can learn from the masses themselves. As of now, people in the provinces have already started to manifest their indignation against Marcos as the chief political representative of the entire rotten system. As armed force is being prepared against them by the local tyrants, they should consider as a good opportunity for exposing in a sharper way the tyranny being suffered by the people and for proving the necessity of people's war in the countryside. As the field of combat widens, the Marcos fascist puppet regime and its imperialist masters as in Vietnam will find their financial and manpower resources more depleted.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime cannot always fool the people. It cannot indefinitely shoulder the expenses for "loyalty" rallies and

for a bigger military machine. It will do so only by aggravating the inflation that has already beset the nation and by exposing further the malevolence of his puppetry to US imperialism. US imperialism itself is now disastrously overextended all over the world and is suffering grave political and economic crises. In the long run, the foolish effort of the Marcos fascist puppet regime to save itself with more vicious means will only result in its more rapid downfall.

At the moment, the counterrevolutionary dual tactics being employed by the Marcos fascist puppet regime only reveal the desperate situation into which it has plunged itself. At one turn, it tries to sound ferocious in boasting about 50,000 fascist brutes and yet even at this early stage militant demonstrations have already shown greater number and unprecedented militancy. At another turn, it tries to sound sweet and cajoling and yet it is ruthlessly exposed as hypocritical by the objective course of events and by the powerful analysis made by the Communist Party of the Philippines, now employing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the theoretical weapon.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime wishes to silence the revolutionary mass movement by murdering its leaders and activists. But it can no longer do so without attacking the people and committing serious political errors. The Communist Party of the Philippines is now deeply embedded among the broad masses of the people.

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The February 26 Resistance

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Bankruptcy of the Entire Reactionary State

The bankruptcy of the three branches of the reactionary government was laid bare on February 26. First, Philippine fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and Manila fascist puppet chieftain Villegas, personifying both the Nacionalista and Liberal parties, conspired to make use of their executive powers over the military and police to quell what was planned by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines as the third session of the people's congress. Second, the joint Senate-House committee allowed a paid agent of the Marcos fascist puppet regime to hog the limelight in casting slander against the activists and organizations participating in all previous demonstrations. Third, the Supreme Court which always takes pride in its seeming aloofness and black-robed pomposity once more displayed its ugly nature as a callous apparatus of the state. The reactionary state has resorted to the use of all its apparatuses for coercion, the army, the police, the prisons and the courts, to suppress the raging national democratic movement.

At so early a stage in the cultural revolution for the people's democratic revolution, all branches of the government have become exposed to the people as instruments of national and class oppression. Indeed, it is starkly clear that revolution is the best form of education. Without revolution, there would only be miseducation and the perpetuation of lies. National and class oppression would go on so long as wrong ideas and false hopes still pervaded society. Truth which cannot be had in the classroom is now flaming out from the crucible of the revolutionary mass struggle.

Despite the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the privilege of Villegas to use his police power to prevent people from assembling, thousands upon thousands of unarmed people still courageously assembled at Plaza Miranda on February 26 and were able to demonstrate that the real minority of reactionaries in Philippine society are riding roughshod over the real majority of the people.

Encouraged by the stupid decision of the Supreme Court, over 1,000 Manila policemen and another more than 1,000 Metrocom and armed

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forces men came in full combat gear and chased people out of Plaza Miranda and beat them up.

Those who were indiscriminately harmed by the police included people who were merely crossing the public plaza. By its own acts, the reactionary state has shown that it is merely usurping the name of the people to oppress and harm the people. The only reason why the real minority of oppressors and exploiters in Philippine society has been able to boast of a “silent majority” is because previously there was yet no revolutionary struggle of such intensity as the present to show who truly compose the majority and who truly compose the minority.

The real minority is composed of the exploiting classes whose die-hards do not even make one percent of the population. The real majority is composed of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the patriotic businessmen who together make more than 90 percent of the population. It is in the absence of revolutionary struggle that the real minority can usurp the name of the real majority by employing deception and violence. The real minority hates revolution because the reactionary government, parties, organizations, schools and other paraphernalia would be debunked as nothing but tools of oppression and exploitation. Revolution brings out the real majority and isolates the real minority.

After challenging and exposing the brutishness of the police at Plaza Miranda, the people proceeded in a series of waves to the Sunken Garden. The reverse of what Marcos and Villegas expected occurred there. The demonstrators sharpened their determination there and clarified who are the friends and who are the enemies of the Philippine revolution. They took special note of the fact that the reactionaries were trying to discredit the national democratic movement by infiltrating provocateurs into the demonstration in order to wreck petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois establishments and also evoke anti-Chinese chauvinism.

From the Sunken Garden, all the ten thousand demonstrators marched to the US embassy. From other points of the city, other demonstrators came to reinforce them. The police, Metrocom, PC and air force men were there in full force. Defiantly, the demonstrators threw stones, sticks and homemade bombs over the heads of the fascist puppets guarding the US embassy.

A running battle ensued between the patriotic demonstrators and the fascist puppets. The main force of five thousand demonstrators stood calmly in front of the US embassy as the battle of the puppet defenders of US imperialism cowered and became tied down across the long fence

of the US embassy. At the same time, the rest of the demonstrators in compact groups ran around in circles as fast as they could to lob homemade explosives at the US embassy. Not a single militant was caught in the process. At the same time, demonstration marshals saw to it that the hired goons of Marcos and Villegas would not inflict as much damage on small establishments as before. Thus, several of these goons were caught and pummelled with blows by the demonstrators.

The Lie of Liberal Democracy

Upon the instructions of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos through a hot line, the city fascist puppet chieftain Villegas gave orders to go all out once more against the demonstrators. This was after the fascist brutes estimated that the demonstrators had run out of ammunition. But then at the same time the demonstrators had decided to move out in groups and in various directions.

Under their theory of “hot pursuit,” the fascist brutes gave chase to the demonstrators who seemed to be vanishing into thin air in the Quiapo and Sampaloc areas where student dormitories abound. Caught in a quandary, the puppet fools resorted to the braggadocio of throwing tear gas bombs at mere spectators and into the windows of student dormitories and other private residences. When the people simply rushed out of the area or were smoked out of their homes, the reactionary troops and police assumed them to be demonstrators, gave chase and mercilessly beat them up. As more people got hurt with truncheons, rifle butts and tear gas bombs, resistance and anger spread fast in the neighborhood as on February 18.

Tearing to shreds all pretensions of the reactionary state to academic freedom, the reactionary troops and police smashed their way into the Philippine College of Commerce over the objections of the college president, arrested and beat up everyone in sight inside the campus and ransacked every room. Faculty members and students were forced at gun point to sit down at the college quadrangle, were beaten up some more and were taunted by police and constabulary men. The uniformed rascals also went around picking up things to pocket and planting what they would consider as evidence of “subversive” activities.

The events of February 26 unfolded the irretrievable rottenness of the entire reactionary state. At the same time, they bore out the revolutionary courage of the people in the face of adversity. As a negative

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teacher, the reactionary state showed that when it speaks of democracy and constitutional rights it actually speaks of the privilege of the people's enemies to oppress the people. This truth is borne out especially in time of crisis for a decadent political system.

On February 27, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos pompously declaimed about liberal democracy. He said that the reactionary state was in no danger of a revolutionary overthrow but at the same time he threatened to employ more force against those who dare to demonstrate against his fascist puppet regime. He even boasted of having under his employ conservatives and radicals, as proof of his "liberal democracy." This could be nothing but a bigger lie than "liberal democracy" in this period when the Filipino people are profusely shedding blood for the new democratic revolution.

Deftly making use of Villegas who is under his blackmail, Marcos is masterminding an anticommunist hysteria calculated to silence the people. He is now adopting the tactic of espousing "liberal democracy" and of blaming everyone else (Osmeña, CIA, CSM, Jesuits, etc.) for a possible palace revolution or assassination plot against him to smoke-screen his insane plan of assassinating those he frenziedly attacked as "Maoists" on the day following the massacre of four students and two others. The practice of assassination has characterized the Marcos fascist puppet regime, especially in the provinces. It would be foolish for one to fail to see the sinister reason behind the well-publicized Marcos fear of assassination and insistent references to the principle of self-preservation. It is nothing but a flimsy excuse for the assassination of others, in the face of the growing mass protest movement against his fascist puppet regime.

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On the 1971 Constitutional Convention

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A. An Instrument of National and Class Oppression and Exploitation

The essential nature of the Philippine Constitution since the very start has been its being an instrument of national and class oppression and exploitation. It is a constitution designed to synthesize and synchronize the interests of US imperialism and those of the local ruling classes under the camouflage of pious bourgeois populist expressions and the myth of self-government.

The making of the Philippine Constitution was part of the rotten deal to effect the false grant of independence by US imperialism to the Philippines under the Tydings-McDuffie Law. The convention of 1934-35 that drafted the constitution was packed by the political agents of US imperialism and those of the local ruling classes. Inevitably, the interests of the US imperialists, the big compradors, the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists were given blessings by the convention. The constitution as a colonial piece of document was approved by the president of an alien government, the United States.

Never has the Philippine Constitution been free from its origin and nature as a legal instrument of national oppression and exploitation. Its colonial validity hinged on the Tydings-McDuffie Law. The constitution contained special provisions (Article XVIII) and the first ordinance appended in 1939 which demanded allegiance to the United States and which ensured the perpetuation of the political, economic, military and cultural control of the Philippines by the United States during the entire period of the Commonwealth. These made sure that even upon the false grant of Philippine independence by US imperialism the Philippines would still be under its control. It is a big crime to accede to this kind of constitution as has been done by the old merger party of the Communist Party and Socialist Party.

The US-RP Treaty of General Relations was signed on July 4, 1946 by both the US government and the Philippine puppet government so that corporations and citizens of the former would enjoy property rights like those of the latter in the Philippines, so that US military bases and

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reservations would remain in violation of territorial integrity and so that Philippine foreign relations would be under US control.

Not satisfied with the constitutional provision expressly allowing 40 percent foreign equity in Philippine corporations engaged in the exploitation of natural resources and operation of public utilities, the US imperialists extorted the Parity Amendment in exchange for war damage payments and trade preferences for the benefit of the big comprador-landlord-bureaucrat sector in the country. The Parity amendment which extends not only parity rights but even superior rights to US monopolies in law and in practice remains the most blatant manifestation of the colonial character of the Philippine Constitution. Until now, the Parity Amendment remains intact in the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

To protect its huge economic interests in the Philippines, US imperialism further extorted the US-RP Military Bases Treaty, the Military Assistance Pact and the Mutual Defense Treaty. These military treaties ensure US extraterritorial rights, control of the puppet reactionary armed forces and the privilege of imperialist intervention in Philippine affairs under the guise of mutual defense. All of these violate the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and make the Philippine Constitution a rag of scorn.

At present, the Philippine Constitution is patently a colonial document on incontrovertible grounds. It completely disregards the principle that for a colony or semicolony to liberate itself genuinely and fully from imperialist tyranny, there has to be a revolutionary assertion of the people's sovereignty and democratic rights. Instead, there is the cowardly acceptance of puppetry and the false notion that independence can be granted by an alien power to the people. It does not show how the political, economic, military and cultural dominance of US imperialism can be undone within the Philippines. The Parity Amendment and also the provision allowing 40 percent foreign equity in Philippine corporations nullify the very preamble which preaches the conservation of the national patrimony. There are so many executive agreements, treaties and statutes that have been passed to perpetuate puppetry to US imperialism in an all-round way. The constitution has often been invoked by the reactionaries to justify these.

The present constitution is essentially an instrument of class oppression and exploitation. To conceal the fact that it is the biggest piece of class legislation, it obscures the basic class differences in Philippine society and dishonestly tries to incorporate in the general category of

people the very ruling classes that oppress the democratic majority of the people, the masses of workers and peasants. By denying the existence of classes and class struggle, the present constitution seeks only to bless the kind of order where the reactionary state is used by the US imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists to oppress and exploit the broad masses of the people.

The high-sounding terms of the preamble, declaration of principles and the bill of rights are mere bombast in the absence of clear class distinction. To take up one basic point: so it is recognized as a matter of constitutional right to be secure in one's property. Certainly, it would be a fundamental principle of democracy to recognize the right of workers and peasants to be secure in their hard-earned private property. But it is utterly wrong to recognize in the same breath the "equal" right of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class to own property for the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. Under the present constitution, the reactionary state can only claim to "regulate" labor-capital and landlord-tenant relations and it is empowered to exercise compulsory "arbitration" in favor of the exploiting classes. In practice, the intervention of the reactionary state in the class struggle means the use of the police, armed forces, the courts and prisons against the workers and peasants.

All the twenty-one sections of the Bill of Rights (Article III) are negated essentially by the reality that it is the US imperialists and their local stooges, the big compradors, landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists, who monopolize the "freedoms" under the guise of enjoying them in their capacity as individuals or as corporate entities. The truth is that these tyrants in their class roles actually deprive the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, of their national, class as well as individual rights.

A constitution would not be useful to these oppressors and exploiters if it did not dangle deceptive promises before the oppressed and exploited masses. After recognizing the right of the ruling classes to be secure in their right to own the means of oppressing and exploiting the people, the constitution boasts of the right of expropriation and police power belonging to the state in the "public interest" or in time of its own emergency. The US imperialists, compradors and landlords can feel secure that their constitutional demand for "just compensation" will only reinforce, instead of decrease, their wealth and power. The present government is their own government. Their reactionary

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government is in no economic and political position to expropriate or cause the expropriation of the capital of the big bourgeoisie or the lands of the landlord class for redistribution to the peasants except for token purposes or when the landlords can exact a good price.

B. The Forthcoming Constitutional Convention

False hopes are being raised about the 1971 constitutional convention as a possible means of “revolutionary” change to head off a real armed revolution of the broad masses of oppressed and exploited people. Reformists of various stripes and undisguised counterrevolutionaries play down the fact that this constitutional convention shall be held within an unchanged system under the sponsorship of a counterrevolutionary government in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Erroneously, they play up the fantastic expectation that by a mere stroke of the pen after long-winded debates fundamental changes can be effected irrespective of the basic colonial and class character of the constitutional debaters.

A constitution can be nothing but a mere reflection or summing up of the general situation or particular balance of forces in a society. It cannot escape from the reality that antinational and antidemocratic forces, US imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists dominate Philippine society. It is nothing but a fig leaf for a reactionary state. Never has it occurred in the entire history of mankind that a piece of document alone would suffice to persuade the foreign and local tyrants to leave their well-entrenched positions and ways.

It can never be hoped that US imperialism and the local exploiting classes shall allow themselves to be written off without a sanguinary fight. On the other hand, it can only be expected that these malefactors will exert every effort to have their political representatives elected to the constitutional convention in order to design the new constitution in such a manner as to deceive the people with glittering generalities and essentially permit national and class oppression and exploitation through some general terms in the same constitution or through the actual operation of the present system.

During the last whole decade, US imperialism and the local ruling classes have taken full advantage of the semicolonial and semifeudal status of the Philippines in preparing for the formal termination of the

Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974 and for the perpetuation of their privileges. By manipulating the Philippine financial situation alone, US imperialism has succeeded in maneuvering the Philippine reactionary government into its position today of begging for “stabilization” loans and preferential trade in exchange for the recognition of US “vested rights” in the Philippines and the extension of “national treatment” (a synonym of “parity rights”) for its new investments.

By following the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, two US-controlled financial institutions, the Philippine reactionary government has implemented the policy of decontrol which has facilitated the huge profit remittances of US monopolies and the aggravation of the colonial exchange of Philippine raw material exports and foreign manufacture imports benefitting the US monopolies and such evil local forces as the compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Under the same recommendations, the Philippine reactionary government has made heavy expenditures mainly to provide the infrastructure for the imperialist domination of the country and for further reinforcing the economic and political power of the US imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. At the present moment, the external and internal debts of the reactionary government for such purposes have resulted in a crisis (inflation, balance of payments problem, increasing unemployment, heavy taxation and tight credit) especially during the fascist puppet regime of Marcos.

At this early stage, US imperialism and its puppets have clearly established the ground level for the retention of imperialist privileges as this is evident from the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom, two pro-imperialist documents misrepresented as “nationalist.” Furthermore, the US-RP panels renegotiating the Laurel-Langley Agreement are colluding secretly to give more and bigger privileges to the US monopolies and are biding their time. Already the US imperialists have clearly exacted assurances for the extension of national treatment and incentives such as the privilege of monopolizing “preferred areas,” non-expropriation, investment insurance, tax exemption, tax credit and the like.

It is being made to appear by the reactionaries that it is progressive enough to limit foreign equity in the Philippine corporations to 40 or 30 percent but at the same time the reactionaries are determined to extend

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parity rights to US monopolies upon the “case to case” decisions to be made by an executive agency like the Board of Investments.

The US imperialists see clearly that it remains the policy of the Philippine reactionary government to attract foreign investments. But fearing the growing revolutionary mass movement that is profoundly aware of them as evil bloodsuckers, they are subsidizing the gang of Manglapus, the Christian Social Movement, to propagandize the finance capitalist idea of “profitsharing.” This sinister tactic of US imperialism is to dangle before the people the false hope of being able to buy out the incumbent US assets or to buy additional shares that US-owned or US-controlled corporations in the Philippines may issue. This is calculated not only to keep intact US involvements here but even to trap a big mass of small Filipino shareholders in corporations controlled by a solid bloc of US monopoly capital. The finance capitalist idea of “profitsharing” leads to the reactionary line of proportionate or relative decrease of US assets through “joint ventures” and through the stock market.

The idea of “democratizing” a \$100 million corporation by selling \$90 million incumbent shares or \$900 million additional shares to ill-paid Filipino workers is as fantastic as the old preposterous idea of liquidating or reducing landlordism by selling land to impoverished tenants as in the Agricultural Land Reform Code. The advocates of Christian socialism or “bayanicracy” (with “universal capitalism” as its main formula) are not simply playing the role of idiots. They have the sinister purpose of fooling the workers and peasants into accepting US imperialism and feudalism.

Under the present dire situation of the Philippines, the 1971 constitutional convention will only prove to be an occasion for updating the present reactionary constitution in a way as to express in a more deceptive language the impositions of US imperialism and their comprador-landlord-bureaucrat puppets. The political organizations and personalities that will prevail in this year’s election of convention delegates are organized, supported and manipulated by US imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

These antinational and antidemocratic forces will use their well-tested political machineries, the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party and such other partisan groups as the Christian Social Movement and other allied organizations under the influence of the Catholic clergy. No matter how much politicians and narrow partisans of the type of Manglapus, Pelaez, Araneta and the Catholic bishops and parish priests try to misrepresent

themselves as “non-political,” the Nacionalista Party and Liberal Party will be the major determining forces either in a direct or indirect way. It is foolish to expect that the Pelaez bill or any such legislation will stop NP and LP partisans from running for the constitutional convention under the banner of the Cursillo or the Rotary Club.

The various organizations formed recently in connection with the constitutional convention will not have much say in the election of delegates different from the usual bunch of politicians. Some of these organizations misrepresenting themselves as “civil” or “non-political” can only lend bourgeois prestige to various personalities. The only political force with some amount of independence from the NP and LP but without any basic independence from US imperialism and the local ruling classes which might succeed in making a significant number of its candidates win is an organization or a group of organizations enjoying the support of the Catholic clergy.

The purpose of the Christian Social Movement and other religious-sectarian political organizations in agitating for the exclusion or reduction of NP and LP influence in the forthcoming constitutional convention is to give the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans the biggest possible opportunity in their sinister attempt to dominate the constitutional convention on behalf of US imperialism and the local ruling classes and, of course, on behalf of the special interests of the Catholic Church. Truly progressive elements will be an extremely small minority in the constitutional convention.

The growing political activism of the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans under the guise of moral superiority will not reduce the filthiness of counterrevolutionary politics. The political intervention of the clergy is but an ingredient in the rise of fascism in this country. It is but another camouflage for the social cancer and reign of greed.

The manner of elections for the constitutional convention will be no different from that of previous elections for the bureaucracy. The constitutional convention will not simply be an occasion for debate among populist orators who take the name of the people in vain. US imperialism and the local reactionaries will grab as much privileges as they can. They will subsidize their political agents in their bid to get seats in the convention. The stakes are too big for them to be indifferent.

Especially now, they need the constitution to give blessings to the aggravation of their oppression and exploitation of the people. The candidates will fight bitterly for a position in the convention not only

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to gain prestige to be able to run for other elections later. They will fight bitterly because there is plenty of money to be gained by them by running and also by selling their delegate votes to the highest bidders when such big issues as foreign investments and feudal privileges come up in the agenda of the convention.

Within the convention, the delegates will be subjected to the same pressures and manipulations that those in the present reactionary government are subjected to. Money will flow in the constitution convention to make sure that privileges and compromises will be decided in favor of foreign and local tyrants. The people will be afforded only with debates comparing advantages and disadvantages of a number of alternatives within the range of puppetry to the foreign and local tyrants. The people will be provided with the spectacle of parliamentary debate with regard to mere questions of form. The reactionaries will exert every effort to focus public attention on such questions of form as whether to have a parliamentary or presidential form of government; a six year term without reelection for the president or otherwise; a two-party system or electoral inspectors for all parties; suffrage for those 18 years of age; foreign loans or foreign direct investments from the same imperialist sources; and the like.

These questions of form will be used to obscure questions of substance such as the continued violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity; plunder of the national patrimony by US imperialism and the antidemocratic and feudal right of landlords to own vast lands and exploit the peasant majority of the people. The extension of special privileges to the Catholic Church such as the medieval privilege of indoctrinating the youth, tax exemption in its business enterprises and possession of vast landed estates is also a major question of substance.

C. What Is to be Done

The main task of all proletarian revolutionaries and all those who adhere to the people's democratic revolution is to expose and oppose the 1971 constitutional convention as a farce. In doing so, focus must be put on questions of substance. These questions can be drawn from the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of Philippines. By raising the most important questions involving the national freedom and democratic rights of the people, the 1971 con-

stitutional convention can be more easily shown up as a mere pretense to deceive the people once more.

The constitutional convention will certainly fail to liberate Filipino people from US imperialism and such other oppressors and exploiters as the compradors, the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists. It is only through an armed revolution that these can be overthrown by the workers, peasants and all patriotic and progressive strata of this society and that a new democratic constitution can be effected to sum up the correct relations and express the true aspirations of the people without being shamed and frustrated by clever provisions and escape clauses that in practice negate the most bombastic preamble and the most pious declaration of principles.

During the constitutional convention, mass actions assailing the basic reactionary pattern of convention deliberations will even be more important than the speeches and debates made by those few in the minority who will seem to be patriotic and progressive within the convention hall. Those few in the minority who will make positive actuations in the constitutional convention will be proven worthy of admiration only to the extent that they can expose and oppose both the covert and overt maneuvers of the reactionaries to use the constitution as another instrument for oppressing and exploiting the people. However, the moment that they start arranging compromises with the reactionaries they become the object of our just contempt. All those who will sign the final draft of the constitution despite all its counterrevolutionary provisions will only affirm their opposition to the true national and democratic interests and aspirations of the Filipino people.

Before, during and after the 1971 constitutional convention, the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution is the guide for taking the correct road of armed revolution. Only after an armed revolution has overthrown the exploiters with their oppressive laws can the Filipino people convene a revolutionary congress to draft and ratify a constitution that truly expresses their sovereign and democratic interests and aspirations.

The Lava revisionist renegades are condemnable for helping the barefaced counterrevolutionaries spread the false illusion that a constitutional convention can be the occasion for a peaceful putsch or that all legal possibilities can be exhausted. The reactionary state may favor them with more liberties and bigger opportunities for relations with their revisionist masters, the Soviet social-imperialists. But the true

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proletarian revolutionaries correctly view the constitutional convention as another swindle perpetrated on the people.

We should cease to be duped by the counterrevolutionary idealist cliché that “those who have less in life shall have more in law.” Laws are deliberately passed by the foreign and local tyrants of this society precisely to deceive and oppress the broad masses of the people. What is pompously called the “rule of law” by the reactionaries is nothing but their own class rule.

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On the March 3 People's March

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It is now clear that the issues against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are widely understood and grasped by the Filipino people. A strong proof of this was the People's March which was launched last March 3.

The March 3 People's March earned the cheers, sympathy and support of the city residents as it started from the boundary of Manila and Quezon City passing through the districts of Sampaloc, Sta. Cruz, Tondo and Binondo where the masses of workers and poor people in the city dwell. Like an onrushing wave, the ranks of the marchers grew bigger and larger numbering more than 20,000 when it reached its converging point at Plaza Lawton.

Afterwards it proceeded to the US embassy and besieged this hated symbol of US imperialism in the country. This is a hard blow to the reactionary enemies who have been desperately smearing the militant demonstrators and organizations in the city by spreading the lie that mass actions and demonstrations do not enjoy the support of the masses of the people. The 23-kilometer march which lasted for six hours shook the whole city. Angry slogans "Down with US imperialism!" "Down with Feudalism!" "Down with the fascist puppet Marcos!" and "Long live the Filipino people!" thundered everywhere. The ever-rising enthusiasm of the marchers was further animated by their spirited chant: "*Makibaka, huwag matakot!*" (Fight, don't be cowed!)

In mortal fear of the angry protests of the workers, students and intellectuals, the Marcos fascist puppet regime panicked like a mad dog. Hurriedly, the reactionary state sent thousands of reactionary armed troops, police, Metrocom and special forces to suppress mercilessly the demonstrators. As before, guns, truncheons and tear gas bombs were used to disperse the marchers. Many were beaten and maimed. Many were unjustly arrested and jailed. During this fierce attack by the fascist beasts unleashed by the reactionary state, a student again died fighting—Enrique Sta. Brigida—adding one more to the list of heroes who have sacrificed their lives in the city and in the countryside to continue through to the end the struggle for national democracy.

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The people once more witnessed how the Marcos fascist puppet regime acting on behalf of US imperialism and feudalism would ruthlessly suppress the democratic rights of the demonstrators. However, the bloody suppression of the March 3 People's March failed to intimidate the masses of workers, student and youth who joined the historic mass action. It only goaded them more to wage a resolute struggle for national democracy. With revolutionary courage, they fought back the fascist puppet military troops with stones, bottles, placard handles and homemade bombs.

While this revolutionary and courageous struggle in the city has inspired the armed struggle waged in the countryside by the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, it has also shown how armed struggle in the countryside would enliven with news of victories the revolutionary mass actions and struggle in the city.

The Meaning of the People's March

The March 3 People's March is another wave in the high tide of mass actions and demonstrations in the past months of January and February. It is a part of the national democratic cultural revolution which is now increasingly raging all over the country. This cultural revolution clearly explains the national democratic character of the present stage of the Philippine revolution. It shows that its main targets are US imperialism, local feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and that its motive forces are the workers, peasants and the revolutionary section of the petty bourgeoisie.

This cultural revolution sharply points out that the only road towards the triumph of the national democratic revolution is armed struggle under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines. The cultural revolution is a basic preparation for nationwide advance of the people's war in the countryside.

The People's March has brought closer and made more urgent to the broad masses of the people the necessity of the struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is now widely understood by the broad masses of the people that the ruthless exploitation of US imperialism and its local reactionary allies is the root cause of poverty and oppression of the Filipino nation. Now they can correctly interpret the present devaluation of the peso, high prices of commodities, un-

employment, widespread hunger and suffering, graft and corruption in the government and decadent culture. It is also widely understood that only through armed struggle can the people bring about the downfall of the enemies of national democracy.

The People's March is a clarion call for more widespread and more intensified mass actions, especially among the toiling people. The strike called by tens of thousands of drivers in Manila and suburbs paralyzed transportation in the metropolitan area. That these strikers coordinated with the demonstrating youth and students is a sign of a rapidly growing unity among the people, especially the proletariat and the student youth. There is no doubt that the March 3 People's March gave testimony to such a patriotic unity. There is now a very strong indication that a storm of workers' strikes would shake the cities in the near future side by side with the intensified armed struggle of peasant fighters in the countryside.

Enemy Tactics of Deception

At present, the enemy is cudgelling his brain to think out ways to destroy or weaken the movement for national democracy. The policy of deception is the other face of the same coin of the fascist suppression of the people. It is important in the struggle for national democracy to recognize the various tactics of deception, to expose and oppose them.

Heading the list of the targets of slander and intrigue of the reactionary state and the pseudo-revolutionaries are the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and other revolutionary mass organizations. An example of this is the fake letter published in the *Philippine Collegian* of UP and carrying the patently forged signature of the commander-in-chief of the New People's Army. It is stated in the fake letter that it is dangerous for the students to continue their demonstrations against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism because it might end up in a coup d'etat like what happened in Indonesia or that it might pave the way for a more ruthless puppet of US imperialism.

This is a shameless attempt to cover up the condemnable puppetry of the reactionary Marcos administration to US imperialism and to wash its hands of the blood of those it has murdered in the city and in the countryside. This trick of branding genuine revolutionaries as enemies of the people can no longer deceive the masses who now recognize who

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their friends are and who their enemies are. More and more people now accept and grasp the correct line and leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines for a victorious national democratic revolution.

Another counterrevolutionary intrigue which is aimed at whipping up hatred against staunch supporters of the people's democratic revolution is the racist anti-Chinese line peddled by CIA agents like Bagatsing, scabs like Oca and Hernandez and others. Through a put-up and fake student organization, the reactionary state has attempted many times to mislead the masses of the Filipino people in their struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism by espousing a so-called "anti-Chinese imperialism" battle cry. Yet the anti-Chinese racists are actually agents of both the CIA and the Chiang bandit gang.

The Filipino revolutionaries appreciate and recognize the fact that the People's Republic of China is the iron bastion of the international revolutionary movement and the staunchest ally of the peoples of the world in struggle against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The redbaiting tactic of the diehard anticommunists becomes ridiculous now that the masses of the people themselves are fighting their real class enemies.

The reactionary state has been getting the help of the counterrevolutionary revisionist Lava clique to discredit and sabotage true revolutionary organizations. By hoisting its banner of "peaceful approach," the revisionist Lava clique has betrayed the masses of the people by closing its eyes to the murder, torture, illegal arrest and other forms of persecution used by the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

An undeniable example of the despicable counterrevolutionary trait of the counterrevolutionary revisionist Lava clique is the slander leveled by the Lava-controlled Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino (MPKP) against the participants of the March 3 People's March. While the demonstrators fought back in self-defense against the fascist military troops guarding the US embassy, the extremely small band of revisionist traitors separated itself from the masses of demonstrators, sat it out there in front of the embassy unmindful of the bloody suppression of the People's March and enjoyed the protection of the police and Metrocom no less. The MPKP also issued a statement to the press denouncing the revolutionary violence resorted to by the workers and students in their defense against counterrevolutionary violence. This group even boasted that they had nothing to do with the US embassy struggle.

Not satisfied with accusing the demonstrators as “vandals,” the reactionary government fielded its hired goons and agents to infiltrate the ranks of the demonstrators. These goons and agents were instructed to stone and destroy small private establishments making it appear that the demonstrators were responsible for these acts of destruction. The flushing out of a plainclothes Metrocom agent who lobbed a tear gas bomb amidst the demonstrators was a clear proof of this dirty tactic of the reactionary military to paint a bad picture of demonstrations.

It is argued by the enemies of national democracy that mass actions and demonstrations are causing the crisis in the economy. The truth, however, is that the growing discontent of the masses of the people in the countryside and in the cities is caused by the very servitude of the Marcos reactionary regime to US imperialism and feudalism.

Through its hired publicists, the reactionary state is desperately trying to describe the demonstrations as the making of a “noisy minority.” The series of people’s marches have belied this. Everybody knows how the masses of city residents have appreciated, joined or supported the demonstrations.

No counterrevolutionary propaganda can deny the fact that the national democratic revolution will achieve victory because more than 90 percent of the masses—the workers, the peasants and progressive intellectuals—are on the side of the revolution. The vilification campaign and tactics of deception of the enemy against the national democratic movement will never cease, and the more they will be intensified as the revolution advances. Indeed, to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing.

Broaden the Revolutionary Front

While we lay bare and fight the counterrevolutionary schemes of the enemy of the national democratic revolution, it is necessary to expand the revolutionary front. The present excellent revolutionary situation offers the best opportunity to unite under the banner of national democratic revolution all the classes oppressed and exploited by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The past mass actions and demonstrations which have been mainly participated in by the youth and students have shaken the whole nation and have brought fear among the ruling classes. It must be recognized that these patriotic actions constitute a forward step towards a more

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intense struggle of the broad masses of working people for national democracy.

Every revolutionary must devote his full attention and efforts to firmly integrating the activities of the youth and students to the workers' movement in the city and the peasant movement in the countryside.

The fast rising revolutionary movement can no longer be stopped. The broad masses of the people are now certain of victory because there is now the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines which is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In the months to come, there will occur more intense and more widespread mass actions that will surely shake the regime of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The mighty crushing blows that this movement will deal the enemy will certainly open wider the road of the national democratic revolution.

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On the March 17 Poor People's March

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Hundreds of thousands of people once more thronged the streets of Manila and suburbs on March 17 during the Poor People's March. It culminated the series of mass actions, in what is now called the First Quarter Storm of 1970 launched by the masses of workers, peasants, student youth and progressive intellectuals in the cities and countryside to demonstrate their persistent struggle against the evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The March 17 Poor People's March was another declaration of support made by the masses in the city for the people's democratic revolution, particularly for the armed struggle now being resolutely waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

The March 17 Poor People's March completely isolated and excluded the bourgeois reactionary gang of the Lavas, the Philippine agents of modern revisionism. Many of those previously hoodwinked by this counterrevolutionary tool of US imperialism saw through the political bankruptcy of the revisionist ringleaders, and adopted the slogans raised by the revolutionary masses.

The March

The March 17 Poor People's March started before noon with the four groups of marchers coming from four separate points: Quezon City, Makati, Caloocan and Tondo. Wave upon wave, the marchers converged at the university belt in Sampaloc area. Already numbering tens of thousands, they were to be met and joined by thousands more of cheering students coming from the many colleges and universities in the area. From Sampaloc, the marchers swelled through the main streets and avenues of Manila on its way to Plaza Moriones in Tondo to convoke the public trial for US imperialism, feudalism, the Marcos fascist puppet regime and other big enemies of the Filipino masses.

Hundreds of thousands filled the sidewalks as city residents poured out of their houses to applaud or join the march. Everywhere still more people from side streets hurried to reach up with the gigantic march. The people cheered and shouted words of support and encouragement. They,

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especially the poor people of Sta. Cruz and Tondo, manifested their support by handing out to the marchers food and refreshment, cigarettes and cash contributions. The marchers became even more enthusiastic in holding high their banners and placards. Newcomers reinforced the march and made it even more vigorous and militant.

Workers came out of the factories to cheer the marchers and express their support. Thousands of them left their chores and joined the march. The busy people in stores and markets paused from their work to watch and cheer the massive march. The March 17 Poor People's March once more exposed the lie that national democratic mass actions do not enjoy the support and sympathy of the masses of the people.

The intense summer heat and the blistering 30-kilometer meandering trek to Plaza Moriones never broke the revolutionary spirit of the marchers. Hunger and thirst and fatigue never made them desert the ranks of the march.

Thousands of leaflets and manifestos explaining the issues of the struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism were distributed to the people along the way. Grasping the correct line of people's democratic revolution, the marchers lofted banners and placards proclaiming: "Long live people's war!" "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," "People's war is the answer to martial law" and "Long live the agrarian revolution!" Through their placards and banners, the marchers denounced and condemned US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. All throughout the long march they sang revolutionary songs and chanted the now famous chant: "*Makibaka, huwag matakot!*" (Fight, don't be cowed!). The Poor People's March as part of the growing cultural revolution was clearly aimed to arouse and mobilize the masses further for a people's democratic revolution.

The People's Court

The public trial for US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism was the highlight of the March 17 Poor People's March. The big criminals exploiting and oppressing the Filipino people were named and tried. Effigies of the criminals were displayed on the stage at Plaza Moriones. Various speakers representing the participating organizations and groups in the march took turns in stating and proving the colossal crimes of the people's enemies.

Pointed out as among the biggest crimes committed by US imperialism against the Filipino people were:

(1) The devaluation of the peso and the practice of international usury through the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, US private banks and other imperialist banks; (2) Economic plunder of the Philippines and superprofit remittances by the US monopolies; (3) Masterminding the fascist suppression of the Filipino people and the manipulation of the Marcos puppet regime, the military and police against the patriotic mass movement; and (4) Transgression of Philippine sovereignty and territory and criminal acts inside and outside of US military bases in the country.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime was held responsible for the following crimes: (1) Rising prices due to puppetry to US imperialism; (2) Complicity in the oppression and exploitation of the workers, peasants, students and other patriotic elements of the population by US imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists; (3) Colossal graft and corruption; (4) Fascistic acts of his regime like massacres, assassinations and other coercive activities suppressing people's democratic rights in both city and countryside; and (5) Fraud and terrorism in the last elections. The masses of workers, peasants and student youth attending the public trial shouted their judgment and condemnation of US imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

The Manila fascist puppet chieftain was also put on trial for his complicity with US imperialism and the fascist puppet Marcos regime in the brutal suppression of mass actions and demonstrations in the city and for the murder of seven young demonstrators. Genuine labor leaders took turns in assailing fake labor leaders like Ople, Oca and others and pointing out their crimes against the Filipino working class.

The clerico-fascists, the Anti-Communist League and the local Guomindang reactionaries were likewise exposed and denounced. The reactionary courts, Congress and the reactionary mass media were also tried and condemned as instruments of US imperialism and domestic feudalism.

Peasant leaders also denounced the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique for its crimes against the peasants in Central Luzon and against the revolution. The Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique was exposed for its counterrevolutionary acts of class collaboration, capitulationism and class betrayal like begging for amnesty from the Marcos fascist puppet

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regime, collaboration with landlords to oppress the peasants and extortion activities among the masses.

After the repudiation of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, the thousands of people attending the trial publicly acclaimed the New People's Army as the true army of the people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. A fiery speaker was cheered the longest when he courageously said: "As we have the people's march, the people's congress and the people's tribunal, we have the people's army, too, the New People's Army. Long live the New People's Army!"

This expression of support for the New People's Army, which is under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, is to be expected from the masses of demonstrators and marchers in view of the fact that they clearly recognize the truth of Chairman Mao's statement: "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." The people's army is the instrument for executing the people's judgment.

Once More Fascist Violence

Before, during and after March 17, the local reactionaries led by their fascist puppet chieftain tried to make use of their power to counteract the Poor People's March. Through the reactionary mass media, the Marcos fascist puppet regime spread the lie that the marchers would commit acts of vandalism and destruction to property. At the same time, it gave orders to the Manila puppet chieftain Villegas not to issue any rally permit.

Villegas at first refused to grant the permit for the march on the flimsy ground that he did not know personally the person who applied for the permit. But knowing that the broad masses of the people would push through with the march even without the permit, Villegas issued it at the eleventh hour after much dilly-dallying. Having failed miserably to stop the Poor People's March, the Marcos fascist puppet regime resorted to violent means.

At the start of the march, police, hired goons and plainclothes military infiltrators lobbed tear gas bombs at the ranks of the marchers. Obviously, it was an attempt to disrupt and disperse the marchers from proceeding to Plaza Moriones. At Plaza Moriones before the start of the public trial, secret agents of the reactionary government hurled a tear gas bomb in the direction of the stage. They missed their target and instead the bomb exploded near a group of children. This resulted in serious

injuries to the children and discomfort to the entire neighborhood in the vicinity. The demonstrators alerted themselves and caught one hired goon in the act of lobbing a homemade bomb at the assembled marchers.

A battle between the marchers and the fascist military brutes came when the march proceeded to the US embassy. Thousands of military troops sealed the bridges leading to the US embassy. But the marchers overpowered them and broke through the cordon. Near the US embassy, the brutes hurled their tear gas bombs at the marchers. The marchers retaliated by throwing their own homemade bombs at the enemy. The police and military troops soon attacked the marchers with their truncheons and guns.

Many marchers were injured but they fought courageously with their placard handles, sticks, stones, bottles and homemade bombs. Utterly confused, the fascist brutes fired their guns at the people, hitting one seriously and injuring several others. The battle lasted for some hours until the marchers dispersed. From then on, the police and the military troops beat up and arrested the remaining marchers who were not able to slip through the cordon of the reinforcing troops and who were helpless as they were unarmed.

The fascist brutality inflicted by the Marcos fascist puppet regime on the participants of the March 17 Poor People's March will long remain in the minds of the people. It shows how so utterly afraid the Marcos fascist puppet regime is of mass criticism that it would resort to brutality and murder.

The Prairie Fire

The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the Filipino people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is vigorously developing throughout the country. Never before have the major cities and provincial centers witnessed a storm of massive rallies, demonstrations and strikes as in the months of January, February and March. By the end of February alone, the masses in the countryside have launched a succession of more than 40 national democratic mass actions of unprecedented strength.

Even before the historic January 26 and 30 massive demonstrations, students, teachers and progressive intellectuals in numerous colleges and universities in places outside of Manila were already holding protest strikes against the reactionary educational system and against the

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national crisis bred by the Marcos puppet regime. The storm of rallies, demonstrations and strikes in Manila greatly stirred the masses of the people in the countryside to action.

Open mass struggles soon caught fire among the peasants especially in such provinces as Negros and Laguna which are under extreme landlord oppression. Not to be muffled by the deliberate silence of the reactionary mass media were the indignant voices of the workers in many cities and provincial centers who struck and staged demonstrations to demand increase in wages to cope up with the decreasing value of the peso brought about by devaluation.

Following the March 3 People's March and the March 17 Poor People's March, the masses of workers, peasants and student youth in a significant number of provincial cities and capitals persisted in holding their own people's marches. Aside from tackling local issues and problems, the people in the countryside joined the attack against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Through their manifestos and banners they expressed their support for the national democratic struggle.

The revolutionary mass actions in the countryside were likewise brutally suppressed by the Marcos fascist puppet regime. In Baguio, Cebu and Davao, many demonstrators and youth activists were beaten, arrested and charged in court. Through the local bureaucrat capitalists, the PC provincial command and local police, the Marcos puppet regime unleashed fascist violence upon the masses in the countryside. The provincial "strike forces" was purposely organized to terrorize and cow them. However, despite all these, the struggle of the masses in the provinces became more widespread.

Undeniably, the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people in the city and countryside has been inspired by the heroic armed struggle of the New People's Army under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Northern and Central Luzon. The victorious and successful military operations of the New People's Army in inflicting deadly blows to enemy troops have greatly encouraged the masses of workers, peasants, student youth and progressive intellectuals all throughout the country to step up their fight against their exploiters and oppressors.

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Greetings of the Military Commission to the Red Commanders and Fighters of the New People's Army

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The Military Commission of the Party Central Committee extends its warmest and most militant revolutionary greetings and congratulations to the ever-courageous Red commanders and fighters on the occasion of the first anniversary of the New People's Army and also on the 28th anniversary of the people's army in Philippine history.

The New People's Army is the worthy heir of the glorious revolutionary experience of the Filipino people. It stands today as the pillar of the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed nation and masses. It is the principal organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines in carrying out the Philippine revolution. It valiantly carries forward the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In its first year of fighting, the New People's Army brilliantly reaped a rich harvest of victories. It wiped out 15 US military personnel and at least 200 puppet troops, military spies and various types of local tyrants and bullies. The punishment of the class enemy was carried out in more than 80 operations. In the course of such operations, arms and ammunitions were captured and a number of enemy vehicles were destroyed.

The military victories of the New People's Army have been possible because its Red commanders and fighters enjoy the firm support of the revolutionary masses and they zealously conduct mass work to mobilize them. Every military operation is carried out in the service of the masses who are brutally oppressed by the class enemy.

The New People's Army is so closely bound up with the masses that whenever the reactionary armed forces resort to coercion or deception the level of revolutionary armed struggle rises even more rapidly. The last ten military operations conducted to this date have demonstrated the capability of the New People's Army in regularly annihilating a whole enemy squad. It could even wipe out scores of reactionary troops as in the attack on the enemy camp at Jetmin Village in Concepcion, Tarlac.

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The revolutionary achievements of the Red commanders and fighters have so lifted the hearts of the broad masses of the people that in the streets of Manila and other urban centers of the country the people protesting the fascist puppetry of the Marcos reactionary regime to US imperialism are jubilantly hailing the New People's Army and are openly clamoring for people's war against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The road of armed revolution has become brighter with the successes of the New People's Army and the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement.

In both city and countryside, the Filipino people are rising. The main fighting slogans raised by the workers, peasants, students and intelligentsia in their mass actions are "people's war is the answer to martial law" and "armed revolution is the only solution." These mass actions have attained unprecedented scope and intensity. Their militant participants are aware of the need to promote revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and to carry it out in a protracted way. They are eager to deliver deadly blows to the puppet reactionary regime that is now conspicuously bankrupt financially, economically and politically.

The establishment of the New People's Army last year by the Communist Party of the Philippines is definitely timely and correct. It is a turning point in the history of the people's army in the Philippines and likewise in the Philippine revolution.

The people's army in the Philippines has undergone three periods of development. In the first period, it carried the name of the Anti-Japanese People's Army (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon). The Red commanders and fighters valiantly fought the fascist invaders from 1942 to 1945 and gave strength to the revolutionary masses. Upon the return of US imperialism, the Right opportunist leadership of the old merger Party dissolved and converted it into the Huk Veterans' League, an instrument for parliamentary struggle. In the second period starting in 1948, it assumed the name of the People's Liberation Army and resumed the struggle against the reactionaries. But alas, the Jose Lava leadership in the old merger Party betrayed the revolutionary masses by pushing the people's army along a disastrous "Left" opportunist line in 1950 and subsequently in 1956, the Jesus Lava leadership formally shifted to a Right opportunist line that completely surrendered initiative to counterrevolution. In both first and second periods, the traitor and scab Luis Taruc prominently took part in sabotaging the revolutionary armed struggle by either harping on "amnesty" or "peace" negotiations

until he surrendered to the enemy in 1954. Ultimately, the bourgeois reactionary line of the Lavas and the Tarucs gave rise in 1963 to the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, an out-and-out counterrevolutionary outfit usurping the name of the Party and the people's army and conniving with the class enemy in aggravating the oppression of the masses.

The Red commanders and fighters have brought the revolutionary armed struggle to a higher and completely new stage by summing up the past experience of the people's army, by repudiating the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, by rectifying past errors and by gaining new revolutionary experience—all under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the practical guidance of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Learning warfare through warfare, the New People's Army has proven its revolutionary mettle against the class enemy.

The victories of the New People's Army are hard-earned victories. They have been earned through perseverance, fearlessness in the face of hardship and death, arduous work, resourcefulness and austere living. Revolutionary heroes have laid down their lives to make certain the triumphant advance of the New People's Army. To them we pay our most profound revolutionary tribute and to them we pledge to avenge their death. Let us be consoled by the fact that for every one of their lives the enemy has already paid at least more than thirty. We should constantly increase this ratio at the expense of the enemy and in favor of the revolutionary cause.

Since only a year ago, the New People's Army has gained ideological, political and organizational strength. We must resolve to become even stronger and to win even bigger victories. The conditions in the country and the world are excellent for making revolution. We have every reason to be optimistic.

The New People's Army can guarantee its success only by putting in command Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in all its work, whether it be in fighting, propaganda or production. It must strictly adhere to the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention. It must give full play to the initiative and common resolve of both Red commanders and fighters by observing political democracy, military economy and economic democracy.

The New People's Army must grasp the four "firsts." As between man and weapons, give first place to man. As between political and other work, give first place to political work. As between ideological

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and routine tasks in political work, give first place to ideological work. As between ideas in books and living ideas currently in people's minds, give first place to living ideas currently in people's minds.

The Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army must be good in political and ideological work, in working style, in military training and in arranging daily life. In having the correct working style, they must have a firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style of work and a flexible strategy and tactics. They must be thoroughly united by the correct proletarian revolutionary ideology, alert, earnest and lively.

March 29, 1970

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Long Live Leninism!²

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We celebrate the 100th anniversary of V.I. Lenin, the great immortal leader of the October Revolution and founder of the first socialist state. On this jubilant occasion, we call on the Filipino people and the proletariat to unite and wage resolute revolutionary struggle against US imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and all their local lackeys.

We owe to Lenin the development of the theory and practice of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in the era of imperialism. We owe to him the discovery of the law of uneven development of capitalism. This law supported the correct thesis that the victory of the socialist revolution is possible in one country and also clarified the continuity and distinction of the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. We owe to him a clear understanding of the revolutionary role of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The great proletarian thinker and fighter, Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism with genius, creatively and comprehensively.

The revisionist scoundrels of the Second International flaunted their philistinism, sought to misrepresent Marxism and sabotage the proletarian revolution. But Lenin stood courageously to develop the theory and practice of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and led the victorious advance of the Bolsheviks and revolutionary classes. He ceaselessly fought opportunism inside the Soviet Union as well as abroad. Without mincing his words, he made it clear that to fight imperialism we must resolutely fight revisionism at the same time.

It took some decades of “peaceful evolution” for the revisionist renegades in the Soviet Union to undermine the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. Before they openly declared that “the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary,” these betrayers of Leninism spread the lie that “there are no more antagonistic classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union.” Then in the infamous 20th Congress of

² Statement of the Central Committee on the centenary of the birth of the Great Lenin, April 22, 1970.

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the CPSU in 1956, Khrushchov viciously attacked Marxism-Leninism by completely negating the socialist achievements of Lenin's successor, Comrade Stalin. Instantly, he began to peddle raucously throughout the world such wornout bourgeois wares as "parliamentary road" and "peaceful transition" in scandalous violation of Lenin's theory of state and revolution.

The Party and state founded by Lenin have been usurped by the revisionist scoundrels. The proletarian dictatorship has been replaced with bourgeois dictatorship. Communists have been thrown into prison camps and mental asylums by the revisionist renegades in the malicious campaign to get rid of them. Delegates of the 19th Congress of the CPSU have been put away in every succeeding congress. Counterrevolutionary violence is unhesitatingly employed against the proletariat and the people of various nationalities.

The Soviet revisionist renegade rulers have made all kinds of counterrevolutionary agreements with US imperialism, against the people, revolution, communism and the People's Republic of China. All over the world, US imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism have colluded inside and outside the United Nations to oppose and sabotage the people's revolutionary struggles. The nuclear test ban treaty and other such sham steps to prevent nuclear war have served only to endorse nuclear monopoly by the imperialists and adorn their strategic nuclear stockpiles.

The Soviet economy has been transformed into a capitalist economy. Centralized planning has been discarded in favor of a supply-and-demand market economy. In industrial enterprises, bourgeois managers have gained the power to make profits for themselves and to lay off workers arbitrarily. In agriculture, private plots have been expanded at the expense of collective farms and collective farms have been placed under a bourgeois "group" management which owns the machine and tractor stations on a private basis. "Free markets" have been established all over the Soviet Union to make way for agricultural profiteers. The Soviet people are now suffering from such evils of capitalism as unemployment, rising prices, devaluation, hoarding, shortages, blackmarketing, low-quality products and the like.

US investments have been made in the Soviet Union to manufacture automobiles for private use. Japanese monopolies have been allowed to plunder the timber, marine and mineral resources of the Soviet people. Cultural agreements have been signed by the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegades to fan up decadent imperialist culture among

the Soviet youth and people. Cooperation in outer space exploration is being intensified to cover up the increasing exchange of scientific and technical information, military secrets and strategic war materials.

Under the revisionist renegade leadership of the Brezhnev gang, the Soviet Union has become notorious for its social fascism and social imperialism. The Brezhnev gang loudly preaches “peace” but it employs fascist violence on the Soviet people and other peoples within its sphere of influence. Its imperialist aggression against the Czechoslovak people has completely exposed its evil and rotten nature. It has concocted such catchphrases as “limited sovereignty” and “international proletarian dictatorship” to justify its domination of revisionist countries through the COMECON and the Warsaw Pact.

As the new tsars, the Soviet social-imperialists more than violate Lenin’s proclamation ceding to the Chinese people the territories grabbed by the old tsars. Not satisfied with standing on the unequal treaties imposed by the old tsars, they make new intrusions into Chinese territory, kidnap and attack Chinese nationals, encourage US imperialism to continue occupying Taiwan and inflate the chauvinism of the Indian reactionaries so they would insist on the imperialist McMahon line. Worst of all, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are frenziedly making full-scale war preparations against the People’s Republic of China. They keep on harping together that they can destroy China in a blitzkrieg. However, no matter how the imperialists make trouble, the world’s people have grasped the truth that either the revolution will prevent war or war will lead to revolution.

Soviet social-imperialism has become completely discredited before all revolutionary people. Its treacherous support for fascist reactionaries like those of India, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand and other countries are well-known. It openly colludes with US imperialism in trying to sabotage the Vietnamese and all-Indochinese struggle for national liberation and salvation and the Palestinian and all-Arab struggle against US aggression and Israeli Zionism. The crimes of Soviet social-imperialism against the people of the world have piled up so enormously.

As the Lenin of the present era, Comrade Mao Zedong has carefully studied the experience of socialist states and Communist Parties that have turned revisionist and has formulated the correct handling of contradictions within the socialist countries. He has developed the theory and practice of continuing revolution under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. He has created the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

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as the powerful weapon to combat revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism in socialist society. He has in effect shown how the proletariat in revisionist countries can regain the power temporarily seized by the revisionist traitors.

Mao Zedong Thought has emerged as the Leninism of the present era. Comrade Mao Zedong has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Having turned a bad thing into a good thing, we can state with certitude that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought illuminates for an entire historical epoch the transition of socialism to communism.

The People's Republic of China, with its several hundreds of millions of people and with its formidable proletarian vanguard, has become the iron bastion and center of the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and reaction after one mighty storm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

To all true Communists, Soviet social-imperialism is nothing but a passing phase of imperialism on its downward course, having experienced the great revolutionary leadership of Lenin and having seen the continued ascendance of proletarian dictatorship in China under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the true Communists and the oppressed people of the Soviet Union will in due time rise up to overthrow their revisionist oppressors. It is not impossible for the betrayers of Leninism to suppress the Soviet proletariat without incurring revolutionary resistance. The spiralling process of historical development will ultimately lead to the overthrow of their bourgeois dictatorship and the reestablishment of proletarian dictatorship.

Modern revisionism is already in the throes of disintegration as it suffers defeat after defeat. It has to contend with the oppressed peoples and nations all over the world, the revolutionary proletariat within the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, the imperialist countries and the socialist countries such as the People's Republic of China and Albania. While colluding with Soviet social-imperialism against the people, revolution, communism and China, US imperialism is at the same time always trying to outmaneuver it and take full advantage of its weaknesses.

US imperialism is allowing Soviet social-imperialism to extend its influence in the Philippines only to the extent that it shares responsibility in maintaining a puppet government that is basically under the

imperialist control of the United States. The special errand that Soviet social-imperialism can do for US imperialism in the Philippines is to conjure the illusion that the Marcos puppet reactionary regime is broadening its foreign policy and also to give support to the Lava revisionist renegades in performing once more their malicious role of deceiving the revolutionary masses.

Before the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades can effectively perform their filthy work for US imperialism, the Communist Party of the Philippines has boldly advanced under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and has exercised correct leadership over the surging revolutionary movement in both city and countryside.

The comprador, landlord and revisionist diehard stooges of US imperialism have never been more isolated than now by the steady, relentless and powerful blows of the Party, the New People's Army and the broad masses of the people.

Long live Leninism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

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1970 May Day Statement

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. II, No. 3, June 1, 1970.

May Day is a glorious day for the world proletariat. It is a day for the Filipino workers to rededicate themselves to the cause of the world proletarian revolution under the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a day for them to strengthen their resolve to carry out the Philippine revolution even more vigorously in furtherance of the national democratic interests of the people against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The Communist Party of the Philippines stands forth as the proletarian vanguard of the Filipino people and as the firm defender of proletarian internationalism in the Philippines. The cadres of the Party are now resolutely striving to arouse and mobilize the Filipino working class as the leading force of the Philippine revolution. In this regard, the cadres are heroically combatting the overt and covert agents of US imperialism who keep on trying to mislead and disunite the Filipino working class. The powerful ideological weapon, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, is now in the hands of an ever-increasing mass of workers. They are sure to smash the Lava revisionist renegades, the yellow trade union bosses and such other counterrevolutionary reformists as those who try to spread the illusion that workers can seek adequate relief within the present reactionary system or become capitalists themselves by buying shares from the corporations that oppress them.

In the decade of the seventies, the revolutionary storm in the Philippines will certainly grow ever stronger with the militant mass actions of the Filipino working class against the bestial system of exploitation. Real wages have been forced down far below the subsistence level by a series of steps taken by US imperialism and its reactionary puppets to increase their profits and step up the subjugation of the people. The devaluation of the peso in relation to the US dollar means concretely higher prices of essential commodities. At this stage, it is blatantly clear that the state is incapable of legislating a minimum wage level adequate to maintain the old hand-to-mouth existence of the vast majority of workers.

The Filipino working class has clearly no alternative but to unite and fight fiercely against its oppressors who never hesitate to use all apparatuses of the state (the army, police, courts and prisons) to suppress

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workers' organizations and strikes. In the countryside of the Philippines, the Party and the New People's Army are resolutely creating revolutionary bases. These are areas where proletarian leadership has emerged and where all revolutionaries are welcome. These are areas from where the Philippine revolution is rapidly advancing in concert with the militant mass actions in the city. The campaign of intimidation being carried out in actual deeds of terror and sabre rattling by the Marcos reactionary regime is nothing but a sign of its desperation in the chasm of its own bankruptcy and in the face of the growing avalanche of the revolutionary movement.

The Party and the New People's Army are engaged in the broadest national united front with all revolutionary patriots. A definite national united front organization for waging revolutionary armed struggle is now being formed to further isolate the enemy. The working class is firmly uniting with all other patriotic classes and strata interested in the triumph of the people's democratic revolution.

The Philippine revolution is now in progress under extremely favorable conditions. US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction are inextricably sunk in crisis. The Chinese working class has risen to take firm hold of the material base and superstructure of Chinese society. In the process, it has consolidated the most powerful socialist base in the present era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. As Chairman Mao has so lucidly put it, "The enemy rots with every passing day while for us things are getting better daily."

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Preliminary Report on Northern Luzon³

August 8, 1970

Northern Luzon can be divided into three areas: the Ilocos at the western side, the mountain provinces at the center and the Cagayan Valley at the eastern side. The Ilocos includes the province of La Union, Abra, Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte. The mountain provinces include Benguet, Mountain Province (formerly Bontoc), Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao. The Cagayan Valley includes Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, Cagayan and Batanes. Batanes is a group of small islands at the northernmost tip of the region. Northern Luzon is the most mountainous region in the whole country. It is more than 90 percent mountains and valleys. The Cordillera mountain ranges occupy close to two-thirds of the whole region. Hills roll into the elongated Ilocos provinces and into the China sea. The Cagayan Valley is enclosed from the north to the south through the west by the Cordilleras and blocked off from the Pacific Ocean by the Sierra Madre.

Excluding Batanes, the most distant points of Northern Luzon lengthwise extend from Claveria, Cagayan to Santa Fe, Nueva Vizcaya by 280 kilometers and crosswise from Sta. Lucia, Ilocos Sur to Palanan, Isabela by 220 kilometers. These distances can be traversed in a number of days on foot trails and off the highways and main roads. Based on the 1960 census, 9.25 percent of the national population is in northern Luzon. In 1970, the population should be already 3.5 million. According to the 1966 population projections, the population density of the Ilocos and mountain provinces is 70.3 per square kilometer and Cagayan Valley is 47.9 per square kilometer.

According to the Diokno Report, Northern Luzon has the lowest average income and rate of growth of average income. While the 1965 national average income is ₱2,541.00, the average income of Cagayan Valley and Batanes is ₱1,322.00 and the Ilocos and mountain provinces is ₱1,633.00. While the national growth rate of average family income from 1957 to 1965 was 72.7 percent, Cagayan Valley and Batanes registered the extremely low rate of increase of 3.8 percent and the Ilocos and mountain provinces, 26.4 percent.

³ Distributed in mimeographed form to Party cadres and members.

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These figures on average income from the reactionary government lump together the income of all classes. So had the income of the US-owned and US-controlled mining companies, the tobacco and rice landlords, the logging companies and other exploiters been set aside, the average family income of the proletariat and the semiproletariat would amount to much less than those stated above. But the above figures clearly show that Northern Luzon is the most poverty-stricken region in the whole country.

The dominant ethnic group in the region is the Ilocano people and their language is the lingua franca of the entire region, including the mountain provinces and the foothills occupied mainly by non-Ilocano minorities. During the last seven decades, the Ilocano people have continuously spread out wave upon wave northward into the Cagayan Valley and southward into Central Luzon. They have even leaped over to Mindanao in big waves. Directly from Ilocos, they have also thrust sideways into the mountain provinces. Outside of northern Luzon, the Ilocano people have become numerically superior in such provinces as Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and Zambales, and in many extensive areas in Mindanao.

Because of such conditions as severe exploitation of the people, a well-populated and well-vegetated mountainous and hilly terrain and a common language, all the areas of Northern Luzon are extremely favorable for guerrilla warfare. US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are at their worst in Northern Luzon. One can easily cite the extreme poverty and the constant migration of the people, the depression of tobacco price by US tobacco imports, the superprofits of the US mines, the low crop-share of the tenants and the usurious rates of interest in the land-scarce Ilocos and mountain provinces or in the haciendas of Cagayan Valley and the ruthlessness of armed gangs under the local warlords.

All reactionary parties never fail to consider the enormous Ilocano vote that exists both in Northern Luzon and in other regions. A notable fact under the present puppet republic is that three of the six presidents (Quirino, Magsaysay and Marcos) have been Ilocano. But these puppet chieftains and their political system have not at all raised the Ilocano people from grinding poverty. In fact, all the people of Northern Luzon have unceasingly become more impoverished as the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in the whole country remain unchanged and worsen.

The Ilocos

The contradiction between the local production of Virginia tobacco and the importation of the same type of tobacco from the United States has taken a turn extremely aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the peasantry in Ilocos. In the exercise of its imperialist power, the United States has dictated to the local puppet government to import more US tobacco and cigarettes and to remove the subsidy for the local production of Virginia tobacco.

The main advocate for the removal of this subsidy for more than a decade now is Raul Manglapus of the Christian Social Movement who claims himself to be an Ilocano but who obviously wants to put the interests of the US tobacco monopolies above those of the people of Ilocos. The implementer of the policy to kill the local production of tobacco is another Ilocano, Ferdinand E. Marcos who as a congressman grew fat on the tobacco business with the collusion of Harry Stonehill but who has now shifted his interest to the more lucrative business of importing Virginia tobacco and holding investments in sugar production and trading favored more than ever by US imperialism.

The tobacco subsidy is a paltry amount in comparison with the enormous financial support that has always been extended to the sugar landlords. But a puppet government like the present has no alternative but to follow the dictation of its foreign master. Thus, it has come to pass that the local Virginia tobacco is suddenly unwanted and subject to the low price dictation of the Phil-Asia Trading Corp. (a dummy corporation of Marcos), the redrying plants and their “Facoma” and “Procoma” (fake cooperatives controlled by local bureaucrat capitalists) and other merchant entities financed by Manila cigarette manufacturers.

US imperialism has always been antagonistic to the local production of Virginia tobacco in the Ilocos. That is why it has always prevented the railroad from reaching farther north than San Fernando, La Union. It is not only in depressing what was once a tobacco boom that US imperialism oppresses and exploits the Ilocos. By imposing semicolonial and semifeudal conditions on the Ilocos, US imperialism perpetuates a general state of backwardness and poverty. US manufactured commodities dominate the local market and Japanese goods have also invaded it. As a result of the repeated devaluation of the peso plus the depression of tobacco prices, the people of Ilocos have great difficulties purchasing basic commodities.

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The people of Ilocos produce hardly enough rice for their own needs and tobacco production has restricted crop diversification. Though the Ilocos is strung along the China Sea, the fishing grounds are far from shore. Fish come from Pangasinan or as far as the fish market of Navotas, Rizal. Handicrafts, especially weaving, have been smashed a long time ago by imported US commodities. About two decades ago, a textile factory was established in Narvacan, Ilocos Sur by the National Development Corporation but it served only as an excuse for bureaucrat capitalists to steal government funds and was promptly crushed by the high cost of imported cotton and yarn and the continued inflow of finished fabrics from the United States. There is no manufacturing in Ilocos, with the exception of cement-making in Bacnotan, La Union. The extraction of magnetite ore and other minerals from the seashores of the Ilocos is being undertaken by the Japanese.

In the Ilocos, US imperialism maintains several military installations. In San Fernando, La Union, it has the Poro Point naval station, the Wheeler Air Base and the powerful radio transmitter of the Voice of America. The Port of San Fernando, La Union is the outlet for the mineral raw materials (copper, gold, silver, nickel, zinc and iron ores) from Benguet which are destined for the United States and Japan. In Pasuquin, Ilocos Norte, US imperialism has a major air base which is secretly equipped with nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons and is posed against neighboring peoples. It also has radar stations at a number of strategic points. In addition to these, it has military reservations. A number of Ilocos ports has been categorized as “international ports.”

It is widely held that Ilocos has no big landlords. This is not true. Abra has 21 landlords owning 51 to 252 hectares of agricultural land. Ilocos Norte has 32 landlords owning 50.9 to 758 hectares. Ilocos Sur has 13 landlords owning 51 to 783 hectares. La Union has 29 landlords owning 52 to 630 hectares.

There are also landlords who own less than 50 hectares. The magnitude of land in the hands of each landlords is not the sole determinant of feudalism. More importantly, it is the relations of production obtaining between the non-tilling landowners and their tenants. The exploitation of the peasantry in land-scarce areas is even more severe than in land-extensive areas. A concrete investigation of the sharecropping arrangements, usury practice, system of tribute and the high value of land will

easily bear this out. A non-tilling landowner with 20 hectares is no less a landlord when he exploits his tenants.

What is “50-50” sharecropping in Ilocos is actually 60-40 to 70-30 in favor of the landlord. Tenants enjoying 70-30 sharecropping in their favor are rare. Usury is at the rate of 20 percent to 100 percent a month. Tribute in the form of menial service, unpaid labor or commodity such as chicken, vegetables or fruits is generally required by landlords. A hectare of land that could be bought for ₱4,000.00 in Central Luzon can hardly be bought for ₱12,000.00 in Ilocos.

The poor peasants can never hope to get their own piece of land in Ilocos. Land is so scarce here that there is actually stiff competition among the poor peasants just to become a tenant on a piece of land. The right to tenant a piece of land is usually sold by one poor peasant to another at a high price whenever the former chooses to migrate. In many cases, feudal and semifeudal exploitation is obscured by some familial kinship no matter how actually distant between the landlord and the tenant and between the moneylender and the debtor.

In areas along the Ilocos range, landgrabbing has been perpetrated by provincial and municipal bureaucrats, especially in the course of making land surveys and determining territorial boundaries.

The relative scarcity of land and the harshness of exploitation in Ilocos explain why the Ilocano people are to be found in areas beyond their ancestral homes. The landless peasants have for decades flowed out of the Ilocos to the Cagayan Valley, Central Luzon and Mindanao either to become farm workers, tenants or homesteaders. They also join the proletariat in the mines of Benguet, the cement plants of Bacnotan, the port of San Fernando and elsewhere in the whole archipelago. US imperialism has for decades hired cheap Ilocano labor for its plantations, docks and fisheries in Hawaii, the West Coast or in US military bases and aboard US naval vessels.

The poor Ilocano peasants have been prey to recruitment into the reactionary armed forces. That is why 60 percent of the rank and file in the reactionary armed forces today is Ilocano. It is ironical that these poor Ilocano peasants are pitted by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes against the peasants of other provinces who have learned to fight oppression. It is worthwhile in waging revolutionary propaganda within the counterrevolutionary armed forces to recall to the reactionary troops their miserable peasant background in the Ilocos and elsewhere.

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The members of the Ilocano petty bourgeoisie are acutely conscious that to maintain their status, they have to acquire formal education and acquire some government or private office or sink into the penury of the jobless and the landless. They have been actually the main support and at the same time the protégés of the bureaucrat capitalist factions that are the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party in the region. Since the emergence of warlordism in the Ilocos area, there has been an increasing awareness among them that democracy does not really exist in their provinces and home towns. They privately condemn the abuses of bureaucrat capitalists irrespective of parties. This is especially true among the student youth, public schoolteachers and lower government employees.

The principal problem in the Ilocos area today takes the form of warlordism. It is bureaucrat capitalism operating on a provincial or interprovincial scale and using every fascist means to keep itself in power. Such warlords as the Crisologos, the Ablans and the Barberos are already bywords in the national scene because their frequent and flagrant use of armed power to abuse the people has at certain times found publicity in the Manila press. They maintain their own private armed gangs which strut about with the police and constabulary men. The reactionary armed forces and the goons combine in making a farce of the reactionary elections and in making daily extortions from the people. The Marcos fascist clique keeps these uniformed and non-uniformed criminals as its closest armed cohorts. This clique depends on them for the large-scale commission of fraud and terrorism in elections. As a matter of fact, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos himself still directly maintains his own private armed gangs in Ilocos Norte.

Under the Marcos fascist regime, warlordism has been given further blessings with the organization of the so-called “provincial strike forces” for “counterinsurgency” purposes. The warlords have been given license to commit murder, arson, rape, looting and extortion and have been given new facilities (arms from the JUSMAG and communications equipment from the AID) to tighten their control over districts and provinces. They are now directly manipulated by the CIA through the First PC Zone and the Polcom, and are poised to attack the best sons and daughters of the Ilocos who have emerged to bring about revolution in their own home provinces.

The booty of the warlords or bureaucrat capitalists in the Ilocos includes control and manipulation of public lands, monopoly over the

tobacco trade and the nefarious practice of tobacco misgrading, private levies on merchants and control of coastlines for smuggling purposes. Crisologo has become most notorious in establishing the so-called tobacco blockade and in robbing the Philippine Virginia Tobacco Administration of its funds. The stakes are big enough to compel bureaucrat capitalists to commit all kinds of crimes to keep themselves in power.

Warlord chieftains like Crisologo, Valdez and Barbero have put up tobacco redrying plants in Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte and Abra, respectively. These serve as their economic and armed bases. With so much filthy capital getting into their hands, they are expanding their landholdings by buying off lands from coerced and bankrupt peasants and even from the decadent gentry. Security guards in their plants double up as their political goons.

Warlord oppression and exploitation in the Ilocos from town to town have become so unbearable that the people, especially the peasant masses, are willing to fight the landlords tit for tat. They can no longer bear the misgrading, arbitrary confiscation or non-payment of their tobacco. They can no longer bear goons and constabulary men voting on their behalf during elections. It has become utterly clear to every patriot in Ilocos that only by using guns and bolos can they free themselves of well-armed bureaucrat capitalists and their armed minions.

The warlords have so excessively exposed with their unbridled abuses the antipeople and antidemocratic character of their power. To settle their own differences, they characteristically make use of armed force. The atrocity committed in Bantay, Ilocos Sur is but one instance of so many criminal abuses suffered by the people under the heels of the Philippine Constabulary and its goon partners. The courts have long become useless. Religious organizations have bared their impotency before the warlords. They could only beg Marcos, the biggest fascist puppet, to send more troops to suppress the people further. There is no more alternative for the people of Ilocos but to develop a strong underground movement and organize secret armed groups to free themselves from their powerful tormentors.

To start an armed mass movement in the Ilocos, strong bases can be developed among the peasant masses and Tinggians in remote barrios on hilly and mountainous areas and also along the national highway in coordination with a strong underground in the towns. The people can easily be mobilized because the abuses of the warlords and their henchmen have become too widespread and severe. A united front against

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warlordism can be made with a broad range of people, including aggrieved political personalities, civic leaders so-called, and merchants.

The warlords may have the illusion that they can easily control the national highway that runs through the length of Ilocos. But they certainly can never control movement on rice paddies and the mountains and hills. The revolutionary mass movement in any Ilocos province can easily coordinate with that in adjoining provinces. At any point in the Ilocos provinces, one has simply to walk 20 kilometers eastward to be in another province. Revolutionary rebels have traditionally crossed the distance between the Ilocos and Cagayan Valley through the Cordilleras.

The people of the Ilocos are not bereft of revolutionary tradition. Their ancestors fought the Spanish conquistador Salcedo. In the 17th century, they joined and supported the revolts led by Almazan and Malong. The revolt of Diego Silang and his wife Gabriela after the first half of the 18th century was the biggest and widest resistance to Spanish colonialism in Luzon before the outbreak of the Philippine revolution in 1896. In the early part of the 19th century, the people of Ilocos repeatedly raised their arms against the wine monopoly and landlord exploitation.

In the revolution against Spanish colonialism, and then against US imperialism from 1896 to 1902, the people of Ilocos rose unanimously and formed large fighting contingents. The best sons and daughters of the Ilocos were in both the revolutionary leadership and rank and file. Even when the main detachments of the Philippine revolutionary army had been defeated, New Katipunan associations emerged in the Ilocos provinces to wage guerrilla war against the US aggressor troops and the puppet constabulary.

Again when the Japanese fascists invaded the country during the last world war, the people formed guerrilla contingents which wiped out a great portion of the total Japanese soldiery and puppet forces. The unfortunate thing about this resistance was that the USAFIP-North Luzon leadership was principally interested in welcoming the return of US imperialism and the reimposition of imperialist and feudal rule in the Philippines.

The Mountain Provinces

The principal problem afflicting the mountain provinces is direct US imperialist oppression and exploitation. Since the beginning of this century, US mining interests have robbed the people of their mineral

wealth and lands in this area. Huge mining camps are like independent regimes with their own armed guards and checkpoints. To extract mineral wealth, the local proletariat has been subjected to wage slavery. There are now even more vigorous attempts by US and Japanese mining interests to open new mines not only in Benguet but also in the three other mountain provinces, Kalinga-Apayao, Ifugao and Mountain Province.

It is shamelessly boasted by the US imperialists that they brought progress and light to the mountain provinces. Their local running dogs echo the boast. But the widespread poverty of the mountain people is a clear testimony to the stagnation and backwardness imposed on them by their foreign exploiters. It is educational to repeat the story: "In the beginning, the foreign exploiters had the Bible and the mountain people had gold. In the end, the mountain people have only the Bible and the foreign exploiters have all the gold."

The US mining companies came to Benguet practically without investing a single cent of their own. The US colonial government subsidized these companies from the very beginning with taxes collected from the Filipino people. Even after the proclamation of the present puppet republic, these companies still manage to have their Gold Subsidy Law passed. Of the gold subsidy ranging from \$50.00 to \$65.00 per ounce (far more than the \$35 per ounce fixed value of gold), only a measly 7.5 percent has been formally consigned to the workers and yet the subsidy has always been misrepresented as a boon to the workers.

The people are cheated several times over. First, huge profits are drawn from the labor of the workers but the workers are not paid decently on the basis of the value that they create. Second, the subsidy is extended with the idea of benefitting the workers but it is gobbled up by the company which arbitrarily determines the costs of production and always concludes that it needs the subsidy more than the workers do. Third, the cost of mining equipment, spare parts, mining chemicals and other materials which are imported from the United States or Japan is manipulated in company accounts. Fourth, the ores or concentrates produced are destined for US and Japanese companies abroad and their actual value is understated or obscured before they leave Philippine ports. Fifth, the mining companies bring profits out of the country to US investors. Sixth, if there is a yellow trade union or labor contractor around, union dues are drawn from the workers essentially for the benefit of the crooks and, therefore, of the company.

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A local running dog of US imperialism, the chairman-general manager of the pompous Mountain Province Development Authority, stated in an official report and, therefore, in a serious vein the old sick joke that Benguet has a “favorable international balance of trade” with mineral exports outbalancing the consumption of US commodities in the area.

There are ten producing mines in Benguet today. They are the Acupan and Antamok mines of Benguet Consolidated, Inc.; the Atok Big Wedge Mining Co.; Benguet Exploration, Inc.; Baguio Gold Mining Co.; Black Mountain, Inc.; Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co.; Philex Mining Corp.; and Sangilo and Suyoc mines of Itogon-Suyoc Mines, Inc. These mines represent 36 percent of the total producing mines of the whole country, responsible for 90 percent of national gold production and 31 percent of national copper production. Benguet Consolidated, Inc. is the biggest gold producer and Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co. is the biggest copper producer.

At least one-half of Philippine copper production shall be in the mountain provinces upon the completion of the Boneng copper project of the Itogon-Suyoc Mines, Inc.; the Botilao copper project of the Lepanto Consolidated Mining Co.; the Copper Belt in the Mountain Province; the Batong Buhay Mines in Kalinga-Apayao; and the OMICO’s Macawiwili copper project and also upon the expansion of Black Mountain, Inc. and Philex Mining Corp. At the moment, copper concentrates with various other components are mainly exported to Japan and only the US-Japanese monopoly capitalists know how much gold, silver, nickel and other by-products are contained.

The frenzied efforts of US imperialism and Japanese militarism to open new mines all over the mountain provinces have aroused the mountain people to resist. The opening of new mines entails the confiscation of communal and private lands, the depletion of the woods and destruction of watersheds, the drying up of rice fields and the pollution of rivers by copper wastes and mining chemicals which adversely affect even those lands not directly taken over by the mining companies. The mountain people have seen the adverse effects of mining on farming in Benguet where wide fields have been laid waste and the poor peasants have become more destitute.

In several instances, the mountain people have risen up to oppose the mining companies and destroy their quarters and implements. They say that it is more honorable to die in battle than to die a slow death when their fields are laid waste. The most outstanding examples of

people's resistance have been made in Balbalasang and in Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao. In the former place, the people have repeatedly held demonstrations against the opening of new mines and in the latter place the people once took up their spears and guns, surrounded the Botilao mining camp of the Lepanto Consolidated Mines, Inc., confiscated the mining implements, sent the landgrabbers and river polluters scampering away for their lives and burned the entire camp.

In this glorious instance, the struggle against US imperialism, the struggle for land and the struggle against puppetry became joined. It is fast becoming clear who are the enemies of the Igorot national minorities. They are the US imperialists and their local running dogs. With its strange land and mining laws, the reactionary government insists that it has the privilege of disposing "public lands" and "public wealth" in favor of foreigners.

It uses corrupt provincial and municipal officials to deceive the people. It uses the courts and the Philippine Constabulary to have the people arrested, jailed and coerced. It uses the Mountain Province Development Authority to make false and vague promises about royalties, scholarships and barrio funds from the mining companies. It uses so-called mining associations to coerce and slander the people and grab lands in order to get a few crumbs from imperialism.

While all-out violence, including a large-scale military operation, is threatened against the people, the local agents of US imperialism and Japanese militarism talk of developing tourist spots in the mountain provinces as a pretext for demanding "hospitality" to foreign exploiters and destroyers of the people's livelihood. They talk of progress being brought to the mountain people but they only mean outsiders enslaving the people, hiring only a few to dig the wealth from the land and putting away more people from their livelihood.

The mountain provinces have a strategic value to US imperialism not only because of its mineral wealth but also because political and military control of it means control of Northern Luzon. That is why, in addition to operating mining camps like independent armed regimes, the US imperialists maintain John Hay Air Base at Baguio City ostensibly as a rest and recreation center. This camp occupies 5.5 million square meters of highly valued urban real estate in a city abounding with the landless who are derisively called "squatters" in their own country. The area of the camp far exceeds the land owned by the puppet city government.

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US imperialism also maintains the powerful transmitter of the Voice of America at Mount Sto. Tomas. It controls radar stations all over the mountain provinces. Several airstrips ostensibly under the private ownership of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Lutheran Church Mission and the mining companies are found in various parts of the mountain provinces and are clearly airfields for military purposes.

There is not only a system of US military protection for the US mining companies but there is also a cultural and educational system which supports them ideologically. American and other foreign missionaries beholden to US imperialism for mission funds and commodity aid run 82 private educational institutions which are well-distributed all over the mountain provinces and which conduct elementary schooling to college education. Sixty percent of the religious-run schools are run by the priests and nuns of the Congregation of the Immaculate Order and 40 percent by various Protestant sects.

Despite the fact that these religious institutions invoke the name of the “poor heathen” in soliciting contributions from various sources, they charge the highest fees and rake in the biggest profits in their schools, hospitals, printing presses, dormitories, houses and land for rent, fake cooperatives favoring farm capitalists and merchants, and other business enterprises. On top of that, they are even exempted from paying taxes.

Other subversive foreign organizations which make it a point to reach the barrio level are the US Peace Corps and the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. The former specializes in meddling in the public schools and the latter in pretending to be agricultural experts. These lately are the most aggressive agencies of US imperialism and Japanese militarism in aggravating the economic and political subservience and colonial mentality in the area. They have already become notorious for conducting political and economic espionage.

In the Benguet mines, the proletariat can be mobilized to wage a struggle against their daily exploitation and can become conscious of their revolutionary role and the need to nationalize foreign enterprises. They can also smash the maneuvers of the Marcos puppet clique to use its dummy corporation, the Hercules Mineral and Oils, Inc., in putting up a false facade that the US mining companies are already going national under the neocolonial legislation, the Investment Incentives Law.

There is no liberation from imperialism so long as the foreign investors can resort to stocks manipulation and so long as mineral ores in the mountain provinces are brought to the United States or Japan under

the pretext of paying for loans and interest. At the moment, US and Japanese plunder of the mineral resources of the mountain people is even being intensified. There is no hope for the nationalization of the mines except by revolutionary action of the mine workers.

Based on 1968 employment records, there are supposed to be around 12,000 mining workers in Benguet. Obviously, this figure does not include “temporary” or “probationary” workers who are categorized as such for the capitalist purpose of depriving them of the basic rights of workers and extracting more profits from their exploitation. But this figure shows immediately that it is in Benguet where the proletariat is most concentrated in Northern Luzon.

Though the mining camps today are armed enclaves of US imperialism in Northern Luzon, the proletariat can become conscious and revolutionary and can ultimately transform the mining camps into proletarian command posts. About 35 percent of the mining workers come from all the mountain provinces; about 33 percent from Pangasinan and about 25 percent from the Ilocos and Cagayan Valley. The rest come from various parts of the country.

Farm workers are also concentrated in the Benguet vegetable farms from La Trinidad to Abatan. They come from all over the mountain provinces, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan Valley. Either they cannot be accommodated in the mines or have preferred farming to mining. They are also subjected to extreme wage slavery. They receive a monthly farm wage of ₱40.00 to ₱70.00 with no overtime pay for a 12-hour work day from Monday to Sunday, are put into unsanitary quarters and are subject to usury.

Additional workers in Benguet are to be found in transportation, in the two hydroelectric plants (Ambuklao and Binga), logging and saw mills, public works, reforestation and construction. With the exception of the hydroelectric workers, all of these workers have their counterparts in the other mountain provinces. There is no significant manufacturing, only marginal handicrafts like basket weaving and woodcarving, notwithstanding the proximity of the hydroelectric plants. Darkness reigns where the source of light is and stagnation weighs heavily on the people where the source of power is.

The biggest logging firm in Benguet is US-owned Herald Lumber Company which supplies the wood requirements of the mines. This company is notorious for denuding the watershed of Benguet, especially that surrounding the hydroelectric plants. In all other mountain prov-

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inces, especially Kalinga-Apayao, there is more extensive logging but it is conducted by logging companies based in Cagayan Valley.

The vast majority of the mountain people are peasants. Most of them till lands which are categorized as “public lands” by the puppet reactionary government. Thus, the mountain people, like all other national minorities of the whole country are subject to the evil of landgrabbing which is perpetrated more easily in areas adjoining Cagayan valley than in the interior where landgrabbers have to reckon with the strong tribal and intertribal unity of the people. There is extreme land scarcity in Benguet, Bontoc and Ifugao where the people are limited to developing agriculture in small valleys and mountain slopes. Clans resort to communal farming from generation to generation because there is not much land to divide. But still the evils of feudalism operate as in the Ilocos provinces even on lands of less than 50 hectares which are owned by non-tillers.

In Kalinga-Apayao, there are 12 big landlords owning 50 to 1,543 hectares. In Benguet, there are 56 big landlords owning 50 hectares to 1,643 hectares. There are also 26 private mineral lands ranging in size from 52 to 703 hectares. In Ifugao, there are 8 big landlords owning 50 to 311.7 hectares. In Mountain Province, there are 15 big landlords owning 50 to 1,000 hectares. In dealing with these figures, one should bear in mind that there are more extensive valleys suitable for agriculture in Kalinga-Apayao (especially in Tabuk, Liwan, Flora and Luna) than in the three other mountain provinces where the topography is more rugged.

Seventy-five percent of the rice crop of all the mountain provinces is produced in the wider fields of Kalinga-Apayao. Though this province is considered the rice granary of the highlands, rice merchants find it more profitable to carry away the local rice produce to Cagayan where wholesale transportation is more accessible. The roads linking the mountain provinces beyond the Benguet roads used by the mining companies are utterly neglected by the reactionary government.

Bureaucrat oppression comes from the reactionary government center in Manila and also from the local puppet officials. Previously, the old Mountain Province was centered in Bontoc and the idea was to use throughout the highlands the provincial share of the taxes paid by the mines concentrated in Benguet. Even at that time, the mountain people were already terribly deprived of these taxes from the mines by the reactionary government center in Manila. So little a share was conceded to the provincial puppet government.

Now bureaucrat oppression is worse. Because the bureaucrats of Benguet are allowed to monopolize these concessions directly granted by the US mining companies and because there are now four sets of corrupt bureaucrats where before there was only one set sucking up and misappropriating public funds drawn from local taxation or congressional appropriation. Thus, the uneven development of the mountain provinces has become even worse.

The old Mountain Province was divided into four provinces ostensibly for the purpose of gerrymandering, specifically for satisfying the bureaucratic aspirations of the local Igorot petty bourgeoisie. But the actual purpose was decided by US imperialism and its running dogs in Manila who thought that it was a bright idea to deprive mineral-rich Bontoc, Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao of government appropriation so that the people would be compelled to allow the opening of new mines. In other words, the sinister idea has been to make the people jump from the frying pan (government neglect) to the fire (destruction of their fields in favor of foreign monopolies and local traitors).

The bureaucratic oppressors of the mountain people are experts in manipulating public funds and public bids and in land speculation. But they are not satisfied with the old sources of graft and corruption. They look up to the nefarious example of Benguet bureaucrats who receive sizeable retainers' fees from the US mining companies. As a matter of fact, the bureaucrats of all the mountain provinces have already started to receive retainers' fees and other concessions in payment for their efforts to maneuver the opening of new mines against the wishes and interests of the people.

Ostensibly to help develop the mountain provinces, the puppet government in Manila has put up the Mountain Province Development Authority (MPDA) and the Greater Manila Terminal Food Market (GMTFM). The MPDA is nothing but a milking cow of do-nothing bureaucrats who openly suck up 80 percent of MPDA funds in the form of salaries and allowances and dispose 20 percent in dubious ways such as honoraria, printing expenses, purchases of office equipment and transportation expenses. The MPDA, like its counterparts in other regions of the country, is mainly a device to bribe local opinionmakers into supporting the Marcos puppet clique. Thus, its head is the publisher and editor of the largest non-religious publication in Northern Luzon (*The Midland Courier*).

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The MPDA has been trying to deceive the people to accept such things as the opening of new mines and the economic espionage and propaganda work of the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers who take the guise of experts in mushroom culture and sericulture. The GMTFM, on the other hand, has only increased the costs of handling the vegetable and fruit produce of Benguet and made the cost of these commodities in Manila and other places prohibitive.

The bureaucrat oppressors of the mountain people are no different from their counterparts in other parts of Northern Luzon. Armed force is employed to keep them in power. The ambush of Governor Lumauig of Ifugao is nothing but a part of a struggle in which the Lumauigs (both governor and congressman) themselves have employed their own armed gang. Whereas previously they merely took orders from Crisologo in committing fraud and terrorism during national elections, the top bureaucrats in the mountain provinces are now taking full initiative in organizing and directing their own armed gangs.

The local bureaucratic tyrants are also involved in gambling and cattle rustling operations. The most notorious cattle rustling and robbery gang based in Bontoc and operating even in adjoining provinces is under the protection of Congressman Alfredo Samen.

Despite the oppressive rule of the Christian chauvinist government, the council of elders at the village level is still a powerful force. The relations of villages or rather tribes are still governed by the *bodong*, a peace pact resulting from tribal conflicts. Lately, the foreign mining companies and their local running dogs are trying to divide the tribes against each other in order to pave the way for grabbing lands and establishing mines. What is needed in the mountain provinces is an anti-imperialist, anti-landgrabber and anti-bureaucrat *bodong* to unite the entire people and assert self-determination.

The mountain people have a rich revolutionary tradition. They resisted the Spanish colonizers as tenaciously as the native people of Mindanao did. That is why their ancient customs are still very distinct. It was only at the beginning of this century that a foreign power, US imperialism, succeeded in controlling the mountain provinces with the instrumentality of defeated troops in the Philippine revolution and of religious missionaries. The US imperialists used the trick of giving small gifts only to grab the huge wealth of the people.

General Antonio Luna was the first Filipino military strategist to recognize the strategic value of the mountain provinces. He had already

started to take steps to convert the area into a resistance base when he was assassinated by the capitulationists in the Philippine revolution. Aguinaldo himself in his retreat to Palanan was forced to pass through the fastnesses of the Cordilleras.

It was during the anti-Japanese war of resistance that the mountain provinces proved to be a strategic and decisive base for the Filipino people. US military officers were able to impose their command on the USAFIP-NL and were able to coordinate the anti-Japanese struggle in the whole region of Northern Luzon by maintaining their headquarters at varying points in the mountain provinces. By employing the mountain provinces as their rear, the people of Ilocos and Cagayan Valley resisted the Japanese. Eighty-five to ninety thousand Japanese troops, excluding puppet troops, garrisoned the whole Northern Luzon. Yet the people, the guerrillas and the bolo men were able to kill 52,033 of them.

General Yamashita himself chose to make his last stand in the mountain provinces during the last months of World War II. But the mountain people had long made their stand against the Japanese. Despite the fact that he concentrated in the mountain provinces some 120,00 to 150,00 men—including those withdrawn from other areas in Luzon—Yamashita could not hold out against the Filipino guerrillas and the mountain people who ambushed them at every turn in a terrain extremely favorable for guerrilla war. At the time of his surrender, Yamashita had only 33,000 troops left with him. The rest had been annihilated or had fled helter-skelter to Cagayan Valley.

Without making effective use of the Cordilleras, revolutionary bases in other parts of Northern Luzon can hold out only with great difficulty. Even if the lowlands of both Ilocos and Cagayan Valley and even the Sierra Madre are put into effective use, revolutionary bases therein will still have to reckon with US and puppet troops that could be concentrated on the mountain provinces for vantage in the whole Northern Luzon and with marine landings from the China Sea and Pacific Ocean.

The revolutionary support of the mountain people, the strategic position of the mountain provinces and the extremely favorable terrain and rich vegetation of the Cordilleras are of great significance in the Philippine revolution. There can be no secure interior line for the enemy here. Roads and countless foot trails also lead from the mountain provinces to the entire Cagayan Valley, all Ilocos provinces, Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija.

Cagayan Valley and Batanes

As in all other areas of Northern Luzon and the whole country, US imperialism oppresses and exploits the people of Cagayan Valley and Batanes by maintaining semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. The people are subjected to a cash economy where the price of manufactured commodities, especially those imported from the United States and other capitalist countries, is fast rising. At the same time, the price of rice and tobacco, which are the main products of the people, does not rise as much as that of manufactured commodities. It is only when the poor peasants have consumed their crop-share and are compelled to buy from the market that the price is high. Any increase in the agriculture produce of the people is appropriated by the big compradors and landlords—the reactionary allies of US imperialism. In this period of mounting inflation and repeated devaluation, it has become easier to expose to the people how they are squeezed by US imperialism and by the local tyrants.

In the whole of Northern Luzon, Cagayan Valley has the widest agricultural fields. As a matter of fact, it has long been known as the rice granary of Northern Luzon. It produces a rice surplus that more than covers the grain deficits of the Ilocos and mountain provinces. At the same time, it produces corn which is locally consumed mainly by the working people, especially the original inhabitants of the valley—the Ibanag, Gaddang, Itawes, Ilongot and Yogan minorities. Tobacco for the Manila cigar and cigarette factories has also been produced since the 18th century. Despite the rice surplus and the production of tobacco, the people have not raised themselves from the morass of poverty. Neither have the exploiting classes seen it fit to establish any significant manufacturing industry in the area.

Neither US imperialism nor the present puppet government has found it necessary to extend the railways or improve the road network of Cagayan Valley. It is only lately that an effort is being made to put up the so-called Japanese Friendship Highway in conjunction with joint US-Japanese efforts to dig up the mineral riches of the area, and also in conjunction with the US imperialist scheme to allow Japanese militarism to participate more speedily in counterrevolution. In World War II, the Japanese fascists made a major thrust through Aparri while they kept the USAFFE busy in Bataan. Now with US collaboration, the Japanese are making another thrust using the same route.

What is obviously the present principal problem of the people of Cagayan Valley is feudalism. This fact is easily borne out by the presence of 437 big landlords, owners of at least 50 hectares, in Cagayan province. There are 263 landlords owning 50-99 hectares; 90 owning 100-199 hectares; 56 owning 200-499 hectares; 13 owning 500-999 hectares; and 15 owning 1,150 to 7,037 hectares. Those who have the common notion that big haciendas exist only in Central Luzon, Negros and Mindanao should take note of the 15 biggest Cagayan landlords and their respective landholdings below:

1. Melquiades Bautista 7,037 (Solana)
2. Fernandez Sisters 5,000 (Calayan)
3. Reymundo Villacete 3,503 (Piat)
4. Benigno Limchey Hun 3,482 (Solana)
5. Susana Realty, Inc. 2,658 (Solana)
6. Hawkis Family 2,604 (Piat)
7. Cornelio Bunagan 2,494 (Enrile)
8. Caridad Villafior 2,015 (Enrile)
9. Leonora Quequegan 2,004 (Faire)
10. Lope G. Rivas 2,000 (Enrile)
11. CVAC (Luis Gonzales) 1,923 (Enrile)
12. Benigno Lim 1,917 (Solana)
13. Pablo Gavino 1,402 (Solana)
14. Antonio E. Lee 1,368 (Tuao)
15. Luis Aquino 1,150 (Piat)

Cagayan ranks sixth in the whole country in the number of landlords owning more than 50 hectares of agricultural land. It follows only such notorious bastions of landlordism as Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Quezon, Camarines Sur and Nueva Ecija. It beats all the provinces of Central Luzon, with the exception of Nueva Ecija. In the absence of a strong armed peasant movement or any history of land seizure by the peasants, Cagayan certainly suffers worse feudal conditions than the provinces of Central Luzon. It is the province in the entire Northern Luzon where an agrarian revolution can be most easily ignited.

The cruelest forms of feudal exploitation are at work here. Lands are concentrated in the hands of the landlords. Usury is at the rate of 50 percent to 150 percent a month. Physical cruelty and other despotic practices are commonly inflicted on the people. It is a common practice of the big landlords to maintain armed gangs on their lands. So many

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murders have been committed against the peasantry by the landlords with impunity.

The processes by which land has become concentrated in the hands of the landlords are similar to those that have operated in Mindanao and everywhere else. Landlords from other regions, usually from the Ilocos and Central Luzon come to buy lands cheaply from the destitute peasants. Merchants join the landlords in practicing usury and they acquire lands. Bureaucrats who are originally landlords or not at all arbitrarily title to themselves public lands, especially when they are already logged over and poor peasants have already cultivated them. In the process, they even grab lands already tilled for several generations by poor peasants. The late reactionary chieftain Quirino grabbed 1,923 hectares of Cagayan land and placed it under the name of his son-in-law, Luis Gonzales.

The history and present conditions of Cagayan province hold true for the other provinces of Cagayan Valley. However, the available figures on landlords in Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya are unreliable. In Isabela there are supposed to be 45 landlords owning 50 to 7,572.7 hectares. In Nueva Vizcaya, there are supposed to be only 11 landlords owning 63 to 3,330 hectares. In Batanes, there are 11 landlords owning 53 to 129 hectares. By implication, the credible figures for Batanes, a small group of islands, make the figures for Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya which are provinces several times bigger extremely incredible. For instance, the land of at least 20,000 hectares grabbed by the reactionary chieftain Marcos and falsely titled to the brother-in-law of his wife (which straddle Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya) does not appear in the available list of landlords. The many ranches of large areas in these two provinces are also not listed.

In the Cagayan Valley, settlers now outnumber the original inhabitants. Most of them are Ilocano, coming either directly from the Ilocos provinces or from Pangasinan or the northern districts of Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. It can be safely estimated that Cagayan Valley is now 80 percent Ilocano. The other settlers accounting for 10 percent come from the Pampango and Tagalog districts of Central Luzon. The Ilocanos are all over Cagayan Valley and there are many towns which are completely Ilocano, especially in Northern Cagayan. Settlers from Central Luzon are concentrated in logging areas and in such official resettlement areas as the Edcor, Narra and Lasedeco. In the official resettlement areas previously reserved for surrenderees from the people's army in Central

Luzon there are now more Ilocano settlers who come directly from the Ilocos and other areas of Cagayan Valley and who take the initiative of breaking new land beyond boundaries set by the puppet government for resettlement.

Practically all of the poor settlers who break new lands from the “public domain” are open prey to landgrabbers and all other kinds of exploiters. The poor settlers justly divide lands among themselves. But the reactionary government is blind to their situation and refuses to grant them titles to the land that they have developed. They can keep their lands only by uniting against the landgrabbers and other exploiters who are allowed and encouraged by the reactionary government to prey on them. The reactionary government opened such resettlement areas as the Lasedeco, Narra and Edcor only to deceive the entire peasantry and to cover up for the landlords’ own program of resettlement, that is to say, their own program of titling vast tracts of lands to their names without expending a single drop of sweat.

Bureaucratic oppression in the entire Cagayan Valley is as cruel as in the Ilocos. Warlordism has become a well-entrenched fact in the area. It bares its teeth not only during election time but everyday. The warlords command constabulary men, policemen and their private goons to grab lands from poor settlers or protect their old holdings, to keep their logging concessions or to extort from logging companies, to extract private levies from merchants, to allow the passage of logs being smuggled out to Japan or of goods being smuggled in through the Cagayan coastline or maintain their cattle rustling syndicates. The nefarious activities of the provincial and municipal bureaucrats are too many to be detailed here.

Criminality against the people is rampant in Cagayan Valley. Taking after the example of their masters and also enjoying political protection, goons, policemen and constabulary men engage widely in robbery, rape, cattle rustling and extortion in the barrios. These are extensions of the bureaucratic tyranny suffered by the people.

The Cagayan Valley has long been known as a cool-down area for the worst criminals in Ilocos. These stay with their relatives or friends who have settled here. In no time, they hire themselves out to the local bureaucrats and at the same time engage in their own criminal ventures. But criminality is not only something imported from the Ilocos or Nueva Ecija. It is bred by the kind of political system that has long reigned in Cagayan Valley as elsewhere in the whole country. There are criminal strangers but there are more criminal natives now under the protection

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of the local warlords in Cagayan Valley. Put against the masses, they are only a handful. They can be struck down and be deprived of their guns to arm the masses.

The vast majority of the people in Cagayan Valley as in all other parts of Northern Luzon are peasants. There is also the proletariat which is very distinctly in logging and saw-milling areas, ranches, tobacco warehouses and transportation lines. They suffer the worst forms of wage slavery; they are deprived of the minimum concessions long given in Manila.

One distinct advantage of Cagayan Valley over the Ilocos and mountain provinces insofar as initiating revolutionary work is concerned is that cadres can easily be dispatched from Central Luzon. The settlers from Central Luzon are an important tactical bridge towards reaching the great Ilocano masses. What is most basic, of course, is that the land problem in Cagayan Valley is sharp enough to arouse the peasant masses to take up the revolutionary cause.

The public schoolteachers and the student youth of Cagayan Valley are also a considerable force as in the Ilocos and the mountain provinces. They can serve as an important channel for revolutionary ideas all over the valley and up to the small island province of Batanes.

The exploiting classes have their own severe differences. Their factional and individual differences have often led to violent incidents. These intra-class contradictions can be utilized to favor the revolutionary movement. Resort to armed force among the contending politicians and loggers is common in the Cagayan Valley. However, there is no substitute to revolutionary work among the broad masses of the people.

The terrain of Cagayan Valley is extremely favorable for waging a people's war. The Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre can serve as limitless rears. Even in the midsections of the valley are smaller but well-vegetated mountains and rolling hills. So long as the people are aroused and mobilized, tactical variations for guerrilla war are limitless in this kind of terrain. There may be the new strategic highway, the Japanese Friendship Highway, practically cutting up the huge valley into two but there are too many points along its course that can make it a deadly highway for the enemy from several directions.

The Cagayan Valley can easily compete with the mountain provinces as the death trap for the enemy in a big way. But to establish stable revolutionary bases in Cagayan valley, there has to be an effective employment of both the Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre. The effective

employment of these two massive mountain ranges by the people will mean the defeat of the enemy in Northern Luzon and will determine the emergence of regular mobile units all over the plains of Central Luzon where the enemy at present has concentrated his forces and where he can most easily dispose them in a mechanized way by land or by air.

On the grand scale of Northern Luzon, the enemy can never be sure of a secure interior line even if he applies the militarist theory of acreage and deploys as many as 200,000 men here. In the mountainous areas, US air and naval power can be rendered futile. Being able to employ a large manpower on the ground is a political question. Even at the present stage, US imperialism is already greatly weakened by revolutionary wars all over the world and the Philippine puppet government could hardly maintain 50,000 men to impose its tyranny over the entire archipelago.

The people of Cagayan Valley have a revolutionary tradition. In 1596, Magalat led a powerful revolt against Spanish colonialism. The people of Nueva Vizcaya and then the people of Cagayan raised the banner of revolt in 1621 and 1625-27, respectively. In 1660, Malong was able to extend his revolt from Pampanga and Ilocos to Cagayan. Since the middle part of the 18th century, the people of Cagayan Valley repeatedly rose up against the tobacco monopoly.

The people of Cagayan Valley vigorously joined the Philippine revolution of 1896. They annihilated the Spanish tyrants and drove away the friars and tobacco companies exploiting them. In the Filipino-American War, the people continued to fight heroically. The revolutionary forces in the area were so strong that the Aguinaldo government made a retreat to it. In the war against US imperialism, the people of Isabela were among the last to be quelled in Northern Luzon by the US aggressor troops and their puppet constabulary men.

During World War II, the guerrilla fighters of Cagayan Valley coordinated directly with other guerrilla forces all over Northern Luzon, including Pangasinan. The guerrilla fighters of Cagayan Valley launched the most successful raids on Japanese military installations. The Japanese were always kept dizzy on a wide front. The guerrilla detachments in Northern Luzon that remained intact and grew strong from the beginning to the end of the war operated between the Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre.

The old Communist Party committed a major mistake by failing to dispatch even only a small number of cadres to Cagayan Valley during the war. Lack of a correct orientation on Northern Luzon prevented the

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old Party from doing so. The USAFIP-NL guerrilla leaders were only a few at the beginning. Cadres of the Hukbalahap could have easily based themselves among the settlers from Central Luzon at the beginning.

The mistake during the anti-Japanese war was repeated during the period of 1946-1950. When it was tardily decided in 1950 that the people's army develop people's war in Cagayan Valley, the few hundreds of Red fighters dispatched here were not correctly guided and were immediately broken up into squad-size units without any reliable base. They were spread out thinly to distant points to fend for themselves without any firm orientation that the people's war was protracted and that there was no substitute for taking the mass line. As roving rebel bands, some small units penetrated the mountain provinces without any understanding of the local people. The traitor Luis Taruc who was assigned to Cagayan Valley in 1951 completely underestimated its strategic value and chose to flee from the struggle and surrender.

Conclusion

This report is an initial attempt towards the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete conditions of Northern Luzon. On the basis of this general study, we may start to consider a program of action for the entire region or a local adaptation of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Closer investigation by cadres who go into more particular areas will certainly see conditions more sharply. But the Party must have an overall view of Northern Luzon in order to be able to dispose a limited number of cadres and resources most wisely at this early stage. Our knowledge of Northern Luzon will certainly be further enriched by further practical work. This report is, therefore, essentially an initial guideline for further study and work in the region.

This report was drawn not by simply poring over books. The reporter made a survey of Northern Luzon and stayed in particular areas to make a concrete investigation.

The projection is made in this report that the people's army can and will annihilate the enemy in a big way in Northern Luzon. The projection is further made that the annihilation of the enemy in this region will determine the emergence of regular mobile warfare in the wide plains of Central Luzon. These projections are not mere conjectures

drawn from sheer imagination. They are drawn from past history and a comprehension of present problems, such as the concentration of enemy forces in Central Luzon from Fort Magsaysay to Subic Bay.

It was in Northern Luzon that the biggest number of Japanese fascist troops in the whole country was annihilated during World War II. The number of casualties inflicted on the Japanese imperial army by the guerrillas of this area was several times more than that inflicted by the guerrillas of Central Luzon. The rapid advance of the Hukbalahap in Central Luzon from early October 1944 to the conclusion of the war depended to a great extent on the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Central Luzon to the mountain provinces during that period and the subsequent defeats inflicted on these invaders here.

It is necessary to know the past and present circumstances in order to draw correctly an outline of future developments. Chairman Mao teaches us, “You can’t solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it.”

Cadres assigned to regional work should have an overall view of their respective regions. They should make overall as well as specific reports to leading organs. After a reasonable period of time of making specific reports, they should strive to draw an overall picture of their regional sphere to help the Central Committee in its strategic thinking.

There is the illusion among some cadres that conducting revolutionary work is only to be constantly on the move in local work without pausing to sum up and study their practical work. They even fail to make the appropriate specific reports on their work to leading organs. The result is that there is lack of direction in their work and the leading organs themselves become deprived of substantial knowledge to guide general work.

All work without study is as bad as all study without work. According to Chairman Mao, “For those charged with directing work, the basic method of knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan and, using the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, make a number of thorough investigations.

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Political Report to the Second Plenum of the First Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines

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I. From the Sixties to the Seventies

The decade of the sixties was marked by great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The fundamental class contradictions of the world underwent deepgoing development. US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reaction met with disastrous defeats one after the other.

Amidst the turmoil of great revolutionary struggles, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought emerged triumphantly and gloriously to give correct direction to the revolutionary people of the world.

As soon as the decade of the seventies set in, the flames of revolutionary struggle rose higher and shone brighter throughout the world and in the Philippines. More and greater victories beckoned to the world's proletariat and the broad masses of oppressed people.

Chairman Mao has correctly pointed out: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today." In preparing against war, the people of the world are waging fiercer revolutionary struggles. The more US imperialism and its counterrevolutionary allies threaten and provoke a global war the more do they find themselves encircled by a ring of fire which they have to go against like mad bulls.

The overextension of US imperialism throughout the globe has become wilder and more self-defeating. It is more than ever hopelessly spread thinly and open to the deadly blows dealt by the people of the world, including the great American people. Chairman Mao has correctly described the nature of US imperialism: "US imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its deathbed struggle."

No one fears the vicious grimaces of a moribund monster. Though ferocious in appearance, US imperialism has been rendered weak by

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revolutionary struggle. Its losses in so many parts of the world are now resulting into its internal decline.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the latest epochal achievement of Marxism-Leninism, has frustrated the desperate efforts of US imperialism and world reaction to use modern revisionism to corrode and destroy the forces of world proletarian revolution from within. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong, the Communist Party of China, together with the Albanian Party of Labor and all other Marxist-Leninists of various countries, has forthrightly and firmly stood up against the treacherous attempts of Soviet social-imperialism to prolong the reign of imperialist oppression and exploitation.

In the transition from the decade of the sixties to that of the seventies, the single most important development in the Philippines was the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines as a revolutionary party of the proletariat holding aloft the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In so short a time since its reestablishment, the Communist Party of the Philippines has attained leadership over the armed struggle and the national united front against US imperialism and all its reactionary allies.

The Philippines is now in the throes of a national democratic revolution. The broad masses of the people are fast rising up against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Trying to recover its losses in other parts of the world, US imperialism has intensified the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. By doing so, it has only engendered popular resistance.

The broad masses of the people find immeasurable inspiration and strength in Chairman Mao's thesis: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

In addition to their own strength within their own country, the Filipino people can count on the powerful support of so many other people abroad who are fighting against US imperialism and all its counterrevolutionary allies. By uniting in waging revolutionary struggles, the people of the world can defeat US imperialism and all its running dogs. It is the broad masses of the people who are the real gigantic force. It is their enemy who is puny.

II. The World Proletarian Revolution

The world proletarian revolution is sure to win victory. We are now in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is marching toward world victory. The revolutionary people of the world are rapidly grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their invincible weapon.

The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, the Lenin of the present era, has successfully led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to solve the problem of preventing capitalist restoration in a socialist society and to smash the bourgeois headquarters of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-Chi.

The People's Republic of China has become ever more consolidated as the center of the world proletarian revolution. Tempered by the process of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, the 700 million Chinese people are the iron bastion of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. They provide an invulnerable rear for the revolutionary people of the world. They are thoroughly prepared against the war conspiracy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They are the shock force of the world proletarian revolution.

In Europe, the Albanian Party of Labor led by Comrade Enver Hoxha has also successfully conducted an ideological revolutionization movement among the Albanian people. Albania stands today as a powerful bulwark and inspiration for all people in Europe resisting US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

All over the world Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have grown rapidly in strength and maturity. While old revisionist parties continue to disintegrate, Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have emerged to give correct direction and to lead revolutionary struggles. With greater confidence, the people of the world are steadfastly advancing.

The main regions of the storm of world revolution are Asia, Africa and Latin America where armed struggle is raging in more than thirty countries. People's war is being waged vigorously in the whole of Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Palestine, Mozambique, Angola, Congo (Kinshasa), Dhofar, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and so many other countries that make the world's countryside. The people are held in bondage by arms; only by arms can they liberate

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themselves. They recognize unflinchingly that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

The expansion of the US war of aggression in Vietnam and Laos to Cambodia have only multiplied the losses of US imperialism and enlarged the scale of its defeat in Indochina. Contrary to its sinister expectations, US imperialism has not gained anything but aggravated its hopeless situation by engineering the coup d'état of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in Cambodia. Under the powerful counterattack of the Cambodian people and the people of the world, US imperialism has been forced to feign a voluntary withdrawal of its aggressor troops from Cambodia. It is now callously sending in cannon fodder from southern Vietnam and Thailand and flaunting its air power.

While the Cambodian people are surging forward to wipe out their enemies, the south Vietnam and Laotian people's armed forces are also advancing without letup. The National United Front of Kampuchea, the Laotian Patriotic Front, the South Vietnam National United Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have forged an unbreakable revolutionary unity. The three Indochinese peoples are closely fighting together against US imperialism and its running dogs. Furthermore, all the Indochinese people have the most powerful rear in the world, the People's Republic of China.

The revolutionary armed struggles waged by the people of Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Kalimantan Utara and the Philippines are immeasurably supported by the heroic resistance of the Indochinese people for liberation and national salvation. So are the agrarian revolution now waging in India and the Palestinian and Arab struggle against US imperialism and Israeli Zionism supported.

The determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, of the Korean people to reunify their fatherland and of the Japanese people to fight US domination and the resurgent militarism of the Japanese reactionaries has risen ever higher.

US imperialism cannot escape from being swept away from the wide stormbelt in Asia, ranging from the Philippines to Palestine. It cannot escape the wrath of the people. The upsurge of people's war all over Asia spells the doom of US imperialism and its running dogs.

US imperialism tries by every means to push forward its global alliance with Soviet social-imperialism. It also tries to use Japanese militarism as its fogleman in Asia. But it can never escape its responsibility

as the principal aggressor. Its co-aggressors, no stronger than itself, are only bound to suffer its fate.

Soviet social-imperialism has become utterly rotten to the core and has become as overextended as its US imperialist master. Within its own borders, revolutionary organizations are steadily growing to oppose monopoly bureaucrat capitalism, social-fascism and social-imperialism. The people of some countries in Eastern Europe and Outer Mongolia which are under revisionist and social-imperialist rule are straining to be liberated. Soviet social-imperialism has become isolated even in areas long known to be its sphere of influence. That is why it sends its hundreds of thousands of aggressor troops into Czechoslovakia and threatens fascist aggression against other countries in Eastern Europe. As the new tsars, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists madly insist on the conquests of the old tsars and try to grab more territory from China. Their adventures have met powerful rebuffs from their intended victim. The bankrupt “peaceful” revisionism of Krushchov has become the more bankrupt violent revisionism of Brezhnev; all along modern revisionism has not meant peace but imperialist violence against the people.

Japanese monopoly capitalism has found it profitable to stand in support of US imperialism, as in the Korean War and the current war in Indochina. But its rapid remilitarization and its boasts of carrying out anew its policy of “greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere” under the Nixon Doctrine of “making Asians fight Asians” will doom it to worse defeat. The artificial strength of Japan dependent on US loans and raw materials from abroad cannot long stand the blows of the Asian people. Within Japan and abroad, especially in Asia, Japanese militarism is incessantly detested by the people. By becoming a tool of US imperialism, it is bound to suffer a more disastrous defeat than in World War II in the present period when a great socialist giant and powerful national liberation movements are growing in the East.

Within all the imperialist countries, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is developing in depth. Within the United States, the black and white proletariat are joining up rapidly with the student youth in fighting monopoly exploitation, arms expansion and wars of aggression. Within the Soviet Union, the proletariat is thoroughly disgusted with the betrayal of Leninism and is developing underground organizations to overthrow the revisionist rulers. Within Japan, revolutionary mass actions are becoming bigger and bigger both against US imperialist domination and the resurgent Japanese militarism.

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Though they are engaged in allround counterrevolutionary alliance against China, communism and the people, US imperialism, Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism are at the same time contending with each other for world hegemony. Among all imperialist powers, there is ceaseless strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, strategic points and spheres of influence. Objectively, they are eating up each other's strength.

The firm proletarian dictatorship in the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania guarantees a socialist future for the entire world. The imperialist countries cannot make light of the strength of these socialist countries.

Their revolutionary victories in class struggle have directly promoted production and scientific experiment. The People's Republic of China has nuclear power and has struck into outer space. These technological achievements signify a powerful modern industry in the service of the world proletarian revolution.

In all major contradictions of the world today, it is imperialism and social-imperialism that are at the losing end. The oppressed people and nations are striking at every tentacle of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Within the capitalist and revisionist countries, the proletariat is waging unprecedented struggles against the bourgeoisie. Among the imperialist powers themselves, they cannot help but act according to their imperialist nature despite their anti-communist alliances. In an international situation where all exploiters of the world led by US imperialism are going downhill, the socialist countries increase their strength, lend support to the revolutionary people and lead the entire world to socialism.

Arising from the major contradictions in the world today is an ever expanding international united front led by the revolutionary proletariat. US imperialism and its running dogs are becoming rapidly more isolated while the socialist countries and the revolutionary people who are fighting for national liberation and democracy are growing stronger.

At anytime, US imperialism may try to provoke a global war along the wide arc from the Korean peninsula to Indochina. We are now witness to a powerful united front that will destroy imperialist aggression along the same arc. US imperialism may try to provoke a global war anywhere else. It will still meet a more expanded and more powerful international united front than the present one that now girdles the entire world.

Imbued with the revolutionary spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is leading the Philippine revolution arduously and self-reliantly not only so that the Filipino people shall be liberated in their own land but also so that the entire mankind shall be liberated from US imperialism and its running dogs. The Communist Party of the Philippines is ever grateful to the people of the entire world for their resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

To heed Chairman Mao's call in his May 20th solemn statement for the people of the world to unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs is to move closer to communism.

III. The True State of the Nation

1. The Political Situation

To make up for its losses elsewhere in the world, US imperialism sucks more blood from the broad masses of the people. Its political puppets headed by the fascist chieftain Marcos resort to every foul trick to prolong and intensify the colonial rule of US imperialism. The puppetry of the Philippine reactionary government to US imperialism has caused the broad masses of the Filipino people to rise up more vigorously than ever before. They can no longer stand the oppression and exploitation imposed by US imperialism and its local running dogs.

The Philippine reactionary government is increasingly characterized by fascism. It has become daily fare for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to issue secret orders for the arrest and murder of democratic elements who dare to expose the scheme to prolong and intensify the subjugation of the people. In both city and countryside, martial law is in fact already in operation against specific targets of the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Not satisfied with so many assassinations, kidnappings and massacres already perpetrated by his minions, Marcos threatens almost daily to formally declare martial law and ban democratic mass organizations all over the country to forestall the mounting revolutionary mass movement.

But the people dauntlessly chant in demonstrations, strikes and other protest mass actions that people's war is the answer to martial law. They are not afraid even to express their support for the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. The demand for

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armed revolution has become stronger and stronger since the storm of the first quarter of this year. Despite the ruthless killing of several demonstrators by the fascist brutes, the people have remained fearless in launching powerful mass actions against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Communist Party of the Philippines firmly maintains leadership over the New People's Army which is courageously carrying forward the banner of armed struggle. Workers, peasants and the national minorities are enthusiastically raising arms against the reactionaries at various points in the country. The determination of the people to wage armed struggle against their enemies grows daily. The targets of their hatred are US imperialism and its local running dogs; namely, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has completely proven the bankruptcy of the present political system by employing fraud and terrorism on an unprecedented scale in the last elections. The broad masses of the people have become fully convinced of the necessity of taking direct democratic action because of the overexposed futility of the "normal" channels of the reactionary state. A chain of killings and other criminal abuses continue to intensify the internal contradictions of the ruling classes. This only serves to step up the people's repudiation of the present political system.

As usual in moments of crisis for a despotic regime, the despots are worried to death both by the surging revolutionary mass movements and the threat of a coup d'état from the direction of a rival faction. The Marcos fascist puppet clique is trying every ruthless measure to give its armed minions the upperhand.

In a desperate attempt to keep his limited ground, Marcos makes use of counterrevolutionary dual tactics. He proclaims himself as neither Left nor Right and accuses both Left and Right of unwittingly helping each other to topple him down. He calls himself an adherent of "liberal democracy." Despite all the sham professions he makes, his criminal fascist actions against the people have become too conspicuous and callous.

Resorting to counterrevolutionary dual tactics will not help the Marcos fascist puppet clique the least. The revolutionary masses are now singly determined to strike against the rightist regime. They firmly shout to the face of Marcos that he deserves a beating because he is already vicious enough against the people. When he himself becomes more vicious or some other more vicious clique should replace his clique,

then they would only intensify their revolutionary struggle and destroy anyone who stands to oppose them.

The counterrevolutionary revisionist renegades and clerico-fascists attack the revolutionary masses and single out the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army for the most vicious attacks. They vehemently denounce the masses whom they describe as "pressing Marcos to the wall" and making the "insignificant Marcos" the "sole culprit." They echo the threats of Marcos to attack the people even more viciously in a futile attempt to discourage the revolutionary mass movement.

The counterrevolutionary revisionists and clerico-fascists are colluding with the Marcos fascist puppet clique. All of them say that they are for "peaceful revolution" in a vicious campaign to mislead the people. The Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascists have for quite a long time been toadying up to the Marcos fascist puppet clique through the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and the Christian Social Movement, respectively. In the rotten 1969 elections, the leaders of these organizations scandalously deodorized Marcos as a "nationalist." Marcos has frequently found their endorsements handy for covering up his fascist character.

The Marcos type of nationalists, the Lava revisionist renegades and the clerico-fascists continue to conspire in peddling the malicious line of letting the Filipino people "Filipinize" the economy by "buying out the US monopolies" or letting the landless tenants become owner-cultivators or even landlords by "buying out the landlords." All of these counterrevolutionary reformists ceaselessly sing hymns of praise for the Investment Incentives Law and the Agricultural Land Reform Code. They harp on such counterrevolutionary requirements as "constitutional due process" and "just compensation." They misrepresent the so-called Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom as a progressive resolution, despite its thinly veiled endorsement of domination by US imperialism and feudalism through "joint ventures" and "foreign loans."

All the counterrevolutionaries are rallying round the farce of constitutional convention. They wish to hoodwink the people into believing that a mere rewriting of a colonial document by the delegates of the reactionary classes can write off the basic problems of the Filipino people. The dirtiest politicians of the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party, the Christian Social Movement and various other organizations parade

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themselves as “independent individuals” worthy of being delegates to a counterrevolutionary convention.

The constitutional convention is nothing but a device to sanction the prolongation and intensification of the oppression and exploitation of the people by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The US imperialists and their international allies will be allowed to enjoy undiminished property and investment rights. The landlords will continue to ride roughshod over the poor peasants and to taunt them with impossible offers of land sale. Clerico-fascist organizations will still make high profits, be exempted from taxes and enjoy more feudal privileges. The bureaucrat capitalists will still be around to serve their imperialist and feudal masters.

The most reactionary forces in Philippine society today are performing all kinds of antics, including the imitation of genuine protest actions, in order to drive in the lie that they are progressive and that the present reactionary government deserves the support that it does not. The clerico-fascists manipulated by the CIA and the American Jesuits render a special service to the Marcos fascist puppet clique by trying to head off the revolutionary mass movement.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has the illusion that by repealing the Anti-Subversion Law and opening trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet social-imperialism it can pass itself off as pursuing a “left” and “independent” policy. The Lava revisionist renegades are gleeful that the Philippines is being included in the global counterrevolutionary alliance of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They also help the pro-Japanese clique of Laurel in pushing ahead the interests of the Japanese militarists in the Philippines.

The other pack of renegades, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, has utterly disintegrated with the surrender of “Commander” Sumulong. This is the culmination of the efforts of the chieftains of the clique to spread the poison that the Marcos fascist puppet clique is capable of solving the problems of Central Luzon. Upon his surrender, the common criminal Sumulong volubly praised the reactionary government and blatantly exposed himself as the enemy’s special agent assigned to misrepresent and attack the revolutionary mass movement.

The special services of the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique to the class enemy have become too blatant and in fact violent. They have gone to the extent of carrying out the fascist policy of the Marcos puppet clique. Adopting the swindler

outfit called “Armeng Bayan” as their goon squad and becoming enmeshed in the activities of the “Monkees,” the Lava revisionist renegades have merely imitated the Soviet revisionist example of discarding the “peaceful” mask of Krushchov in favor of the out-and-out policy of aggression of the Brezhnev gang. The Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and the Lava revisionist renegades are no different from each other in employing tactics of bloody intrigue in Central Luzon and elsewhere.

By resolutely waging armed struggle and winning more and more friends under the national united front, the revolutionary standing of the Communist Party of the Philippines has never been higher. The Party is looked up to by the Filipino people as the vanguard of the new democratic revolution.

2. The Economic and Social Situation

The most incontrovertible sign of the economic and social crisis of the Philippines today is the rapidly rising prices of basic commodities and all other commodities. The value of the peso has sunk so low and is still sinking fast to the detriment of the oppressed masses of workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie who have low and limited income. The national bourgeoisie is also suffering from the devaluation of the peso.

The material basis for the unrest now sweeping the whole country is the intensification of US imperialist oppression and exploitation of the people. There has never been a better instance than now in explaining to the people the full range of causes for their suffering.

US imperialism has caused the Philippine reactionary government to incur an enormous amount of internal and external debt. There are two outstanding reasons for the consistent pressure of US imperialism to weigh down its puppet government with exceedingly heavy financial obligations. First, it seeks to make up for its losses elsewhere in the world by taking advantage of its stranglehold on the economy. Second, it seeks to perpetuate its monopoly of privileges in the country in the face of the people’s clamor for the abrogation of unequal treaties and agreements by pursuing the tactic of bogging down the puppet government into enormous debts.

At the beginning of this year, the internal debt of the Philippine reactionary government reached ₱4.7 billion and the external debt, \$1.5 billion. After only six months, these debts again leaped to close to

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₱6.0 billion and \$1.9 billion, respectively. These debts have been used mainly to benefit the imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Through excessive spending for nonproductive purposes, the reactionary government has contributed heavily to the inflation.

The excess supply of the peso has been used only to buttress and fatten up further the local exploiting classes and encourage the production of raw materials for export, such as sugar, coconut, copper and logs, and the internal distribution of imported finished manufactures from the imperialist countries led by the United States and Japan.

The dollar loans taken by the reactionary government from the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, consortiums of US private banks and other foreign banks have been used to cover the increasingly large deficits incurred in the unequal exchange of raw material exports and finished manufacture imports; the local borrowing, remittance of profits and foreign payments of US firms; the servicing of accumulated loans; and payments for construction equipment and engineering services provided by foreign equipment and construction firms. In his state-of-the-nation address last January 26, Marcos repeatedly dished out the lie that the equipment imported at great overprice for his infrastructure program (roads, bridges, ports and irrigation facilities) will result in the expansion of local manufacturing.

An integral element in the depletion of financial resources in a semicolonial and semifeudal society is the bureaucratic corruption and the profligate luxury spending by the local exploiting classes. US imperialism would not persist in controlling the Philippines were it not for the bribes that it gives to its puppets.

The wanton depletion of the financial resources of the puppet government is subsequently taken as a cause for US imperialism to step in and hypocritically call for fiscal restraint and imperiously demand the devaluation of the peso. The puppet government cannot beg for additional loans to pay off old loans and import essential commodities unless it accepts the impositions of US imperialism. Thus, the reactionary government is dictated upon to issue a hypocritical call for “austerity” and “self-discipline.” It uses these catchphrases to lay off government employees and reduce public services, increase taxes ostensibly on those who receive higher income but which are actually passed on to the toiling masses in the form of higher prices, give more incentives to raw material exporters and subsidize finished products imports, increase

costs of basic public services like transportation, light and water; and subject the peso to rapid devaluation.

The devaluation of the peso currency is a vicious clever trick of US imperialism to practice international usury. With the peso equivalent of the dollar reaching up to more than ₱6.3 from a previous level of ₱3.9, the external debt of the reactionary government increases in value and becomes more difficult to pay back. The value of local US assets becomes automatically inflated far beyond the wishful thinking of nationalist reformists who expect to buy out the US monopolies in the stock market. The US dollar can now grab more raw materials at a lower dollar cost, take over dollar-starved local enterprises that depend on imported capital goods, spare parts, fuel and raw materials and make more profits from the importation of finished manufactures. The result is the aggravation of the economic crisis and the continued enslavement of the Philippines.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants suffer the main brunt of rising prices. Essential commodities are imported at a greater peso cost. There is not a single commodity in the Philippine economy, whether partially or wholly processed in the Philippines, that does not entail the use of certain imported commodities. Oil is one commodity monopolized by US imperialism which affects every commodity or service marketed in the Philippines. Appropriately, US monopoly control of oil has been the target of repeated general strikes by the workers. The Rockefeller monopoly group controlling oil also controls fertilizers and pesticides the increased price of which has also hit the peasants severely.

Unemployment has become aggravated. Government offices and private enterprises have already laid off 10 percent to 65 percent of their employees. Those who are retained in their work have to submit themselves to depressed wages. The reactionary government has fixed the new minimum wage at ₱8.0 for industrial workers and ₱4.75 for farm workers. But this is inadequate and still subject to circumvention by the exploiting classes. The peso has been devalued by at least 61.5 percent and yet the minimum industrial wage has been increased by only 33 percent and the minimum farm wage, by only 30.28 percent. Hardly had the wage earners coped up with the effects of the 1962 devaluation, they are subjected to a second devaluation further depressing their wages in 1970. Now a third devaluation looms before they can cope up with their present hardship.

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The land reform program of the reactionary government becomes more exposed as a sham. It becomes starkly clear that the reactionary government is in no position to make even a token land reform. From 1963 to 1970, the actual amount appropriated for the Land Bank was a measly ₱13.0 million, an amount manipulated by the landlords and bureaucrats. The amount appropriated for the counterrevolutionary armed forces to suppress the people ran into billions for the same period. The amount appropriated for the Philcag alone is already several times more than that appropriated for the sham land reform program. Not a single tenant has been able to afford to buy a hectare of land at the high redistribution price set by the reactionary government and the landlord class. That is why the reactionary government is now talking of setting up state farms and “cooperatives” under the management of the big landlords. The biggest comprador firm in the country, the Ayala, Soriano y Cia; the Christian Social Movement; such counterrevolutionary organizations as the Federation of Free Farmers, Masaka (Lava) and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement and such landlord personages as Montelibano and Bishop Fortich are busy deceiving poor peasants and farm workers.

The landless peasants who have settled in forest regions are today being squeezed by the economic crisis and the intensified landgrabbing operations of landlords, bureaucrats, mining speculators, timber concessionaires and all kinds of exploiters. Together with the national minorities who inhabit the hinterlands of the country, they have no alternative but to fight against the counterrevolutionary armed forces and the private armed gangs of the reactionaries.

At a time that the people are subjected to an ongoing inflation and repeated devaluation, the reactionaries taking the guise of “progressives” talk of “profitsharing.” It is vicious to compel the workers to buy shares of stocks in corporations with a part of their starvation wages or their future wages. Obviously, the call for “profitsharing” is merely a trick to cover up the raids being made by the reactionaries on the entire financial system. It is also a trick for US companies in the Philippines to create the illusion that they are reducing their equity by “going public.” Even the petty bourgeoisie, with its limited fixed income, is increasingly threatened with bankruptcy. Many of those who belong to the upper section of the petty bourgeoisie have been swindled of their savings in the stock market on fake mining issues.

Under the pretext of campaigning for tourism, the puppet government and the reactionaries are preparing public opinion throughout the country for the perpetuation of US imperialist privileges. Patriotic mass actions are being slandered as “inhospitality” to foreign guests. Every town or barrio is expected to put up a façade as a “tourist spot” and yet because of the sinking value of the peso the few foreign tourists that come into the country exchange their dollars in Hong Kong or Los Angeles at rates higher than what the Central Bank offers.

The Laurel-Langley Agreement will be allowed to lapse. But even before the termination of the treaty, there are already the Investment Incentives Law and Export Incentives Law which allow 100 percent foreign ownership and control of local enterprises. The constitutional convention of 1971 will be held to put out new phrases sanctioning these iniquitous laws. The US-RP treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation is under preparation to sum up and elaborate on the laws that US imperialism is already getting piece by piece in its favor. More economic enclaves of US imperialism are being put up by US imperialism in the form of plantations enjoying “grower agreements”; “industrial estates”; mining camps and free trade zones like the Mariveles free trade zone.

In an attempt to obscure the fact that it is the main exploiter of the Filipino people, US imperialism is further encouraging its Japanese monopoly wards to participate in the exploitation of the Filipino people. Resurgent Japanese militarism has turned the Philippines into its raw material base and has assumed the status of being the biggest foreign investor next only to the United States. The Marcos fascist puppet clique has long put the unequal Japan-RP Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation into effect through executive permits even before its ratification.

Marcos does all sorts of errands for the biggest US running dog in Asia, thus becoming the dog of a dog. He insists that the unequal Japan-RP Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation be ratified. Under his regime, Japanese monopoly firms have expanded their business operations in the Philippines. Japan has been relied upon for public construction and for the establishment of new sugar mills and mines. It is now engaged in the construction of the strategic “Japanese Friendship Highway” and is also helping in the establishment of a local munitions plant.

Japanese imperialism has gone deep into the Philippine economy through an extended period of time by using its programs of reparations and “regional arrangements” like the Asian Development Bank,

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Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and others which are masterminded by US imperialism.

The revisionist countries headed by Soviet social-imperialism are also being manipulated by US imperialism to dangle false hopes to the reactionary government, crop exporters and the national bourgeoisie for relief from the present economic crisis. Soviet social-imperialism wishes to draw superprofits from the Philippines like US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

3. Cultural Situation

The most striking development in the cultural situation of the country today is the rapid growth of mass actions among the student youth and the increasing number of those politically advanced among them who go to the factories and the countryside to arouse the workers and peasants to rise in widespread and concerted mass actions against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

A cultural revolution has broken out. At the beginning of this year and of this decade, an unprecedented storm of demonstrations, people's marches and people's congresses unfolded in Manila with the repeated participation of hundreds of thousands of students, intellectuals, workers and peasants in opposition to US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This cultural revolution is essentially a propaganda movement for people's war to achieve national liberation and people's democracy.

The patriotic mass actions surged to an unprecedented high during the entire first quarter of the year. The people, especially the student and out-of-school youth, repeatedly rose up in mass protest despite the concentration of major combat contingents of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to intimidate them and actually to murder some of them. Even as the reactionaries exacted seven deaths from the demonstrations, the people were not cowed but inspired by the martyrdom of their fallen comrades. The Manila demonstrations shook the entire nation and were reflected by demonstrations in other parts of the country. The reactionary state bared fully its nature as a violent instrument of the exploiters and compelled the broad masses of the people to fight back.

Learning a lesson from their experience in city demonstrations that they needed an even greater mass support, the student youth spread out during the summer vacation to factory centers and various parts of the

country in a massive movement to arouse the people to revolution. They had been preceded there by quite a number of their fellow students who had quit school to devote themselves to revolutionary work. Even as the student youth spread out to arouse the masses, the fascist brutes tried vainly to track down their movement and harass those they could come across. The reactionary government hurried to create terror squads like the Barrio Self-Defense Units and the “provincial strike forces.”

The entire nation, especially the youth, has been angered by the fascist arrest of the national chairman of Kabataang Makabayan who was conducting rural investigation and mass work in a barrio in Southern Luzon. His arrest, imprisonment and trial on the basis of a fascist law, the Anti-Subversion Law, has been used not only to abuse his democratic rights but also to attack the Kabataang Makabayan and the entire national democratic movement. This event has only served to underscore the numerous abuses inflicted by the fascist state on young militants, which abuses include massacre, selective murder, frameup, illegal detention and searches, torture, trailing, eavesdropping and the like.

Coming back to school for academic year 1970-71, the students have continued to arouse and mobilize their own ranks. They have found common cause in demanding the freedom of the KM national chairman and the end to persecution of the national democratic movement. They have also intensified their struggle against the reactionary orientation of educational institutions and academic authorities. An upsurge of militant student mass actions is to be expected during the last quarter of the year.

Since last year, the student youth have conducted nationwide campus revolts on issues ranging from the economic to the political. In a moment of crisis as the present, the struggle against higher tuition fees is necessarily joined with the struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. State violence has only served to teach more and more students and people to fight back in great mass.

The predominant influence of US imperialism, under the guise of “liberalism” in the state university, has been vigorously repudiated by the students. The exposure of the Americanization of the University of the Philippines has served to arouse students all over the country to question the reactionary orientation of their respective schools. In all state schools, the students condemn the Marcos fascist puppet clique for having funds only for projects that suit US imperialism and the exploiting classes.

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Cleric-run schools have been subjected to attacks by their own students as purveyors of medieval obscurantism and reactionary bourgeois ideas. In an attempt to deceive the people, church authorities are busily engaging in “social action” and “ecumenism.” Yet they fail to mislead their own students. Clerico-fascist propaganda masterminded both by the Catholic hierarchy and the American Jesuits is mainly directed towards spreading anti-communist hysteria and upholding the present system of oppression and exploitation.

The clamor for a national, scientific and mass culture has stirred the student youth and teachers to their very souls and has involved the entire people. The cultural revolution now raging reflects the struggle for national liberation and people’s democracy against the political oppression and economic exploitation inflicted by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

To draw powerful and correct inspiration, the student youth have turned to the assiduous study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They strive to remold their thinking for fiercer revolutionary struggles. There is now an upsurge in the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the student youth, workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. Publications and teach-ins widely disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Quotations from Chairman Mao are courageously written on placards raised in demonstrations and on wall posters. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is guiding the cultural revolution.

Dramatic presentations depicting the heroic struggle of workers, peasants and revolutionary fighters are being made in schools, city plazas and streets and in barrios by the revolutionary youth. They are bringing to the fore the revolutionary struggle of the people in a conscious effort to supplant the reactionary content of the mendacious and vulgar culture peddled by the people’s enemies in the radio, movies, TV, comics, magazines and other vehicles of propaganda. The revolutionaries are now trying to infuse revolutionary content in various forms of art and literature.

The fascist puppet chieftain Marcos has not stopped having nightmares since the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrations. Repeatedly he expresses fright at the powerful influence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the youth and at the fact that not only the youth but also the oppressed masses have begun to grasp this great fighting and liberating ideology.

Diehard reactionary elements in the schools, press and government who take pride in their reactionary education and opinions are getting fast isolated. The entire cultural system is increasingly regarded as a brainwashing machine designed to produce intellectual robots to support the system of oppression and exploitation.

The propaganda agencies of US imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet clique are further aggravating the counterrevolutionary character of the cultural system. Turning black into white, they picture the exploiting classes and their political representatives as “peace-loving” and “freedom-loving.” They obscure the atrocities committed by these monsters against the people.

Reacting to the new wave of revolutionary culture, the reactionaries outrightly dish out anti-communism, revisionism and what is pompously called the New Left. Those who stand on the revolutionary principles of Mao Zedong Thought are also being misrepresented as anarchists while the reactionaries misrepresent themselves as “men of peace” and as “conciliators” in the class struggle.

All these tactics only serve to isolate the reactionaries further. Their lies are exposed by their own deeds. The cultural revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is exposing their rottenness and hastening their defeat.

4. Military Situation

The fascisation of Philippine society continues unabated. The present reactionary government is preoccupied with its US-dictated policy of counterinsurgency. It blatantly admits that it is afraid of the broad masses of the people. Bugged down in political and economic crisis, it has to rely on armed force to suppress the growing protests of the people. It tries to make use of anti-communism as its last refuge.

Whereas the Marcos fascist puppet clique repeatedly admits that it has no more funds for its many pompously-labeled projects, it does not hesitate to ask for a ₱1.4 billion appropriation for “national security” and calls it a small amount. From year to year, appropriation for the reactionary armed forces has risen. The appropriation in 1968-69 was ₱513 million; and in 1969-70, ₱670 million. For the fiscal year 1970-71, the appropriation is ₱740 million. Over and above these open appropriations are funds rechanneled to the armed forces from other items in the budget.

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US imperialism is goading the reactionary armed forces to attack the people. During the first half of the year, it supplied \$60 million worth of helicopters, jeeps, armalites, patrol boats and other military goods through the Jusmag under the US-RP Military Assistance Treaty. The AID Public Safety Division through the Police Commission has stepped up the training of local police forces in “anti-riot” techniques and the installation of communication facilities.

It is US imperialism which pushes the puppet armed forces to unleash a brutal war against the people. Increasingly, US military advisers are seen in the field on the ground or aboard observation planes.

From the time that the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the formation of the New People’s Army came to light, the reactionary armed forces have incessantly waged campaigns of encirclement and suppression or search and destroy operations. Underestimating the strength of the people’s army, the fascist brutes probed the field with platoon-sized patrols before June 1969. As the New People’s Army fought back effectively, the enemy would deploy a battalion and then a whole regiment in conducting raids with the support of heliborne troops. By the end of May 1970, the enemy started to deploy an entire division to swoop down on an unprecedentedly large area at every raid. Task Force Lawin is now often joined by the Tabak Division which is a strategic reserve force.

As the enemy intensifies military operations, more massacres, assassinations, mass arrests, kidnappings and lootings are inflicted on the peasant masses. Peasants are being rounded up to be tortured and then misrepresented in the press as surrenderees from the New People’s Army. Under the cover of large military campaigns, the reactionary troops and their gangster agents called the “Monkees” and BSDUs go on a rampage. The Marcos fascist puppet clique imagines that the brutality of its minions will terrify the people. The truth is that it is only hastening the advance of the revolutionary masses.

In Central Luzon, the activities of the “Monkees” have been expanded and intensified despite the mendacious press releases of Marcos and his running dogs “dissolving” these murder outfits several times over. The Home Defense Forces (another name for the infamous US-inspired “special forces”) take charge of banding together local ruffians into the so-called Barrio Self-Defense Units. Five to ten military troops supervise the predatory activities of about ten ruffians in every barrio. These outfits are avowedly for protecting the exploiting classes

and suppressing Communists and the peasant masses. In the course of their anti-people activities, they engage in murder, extortion, robbery and other evil activities.

To create the false illusion that the BSDUs are publicly demanded, barrio councils are compelled by the Philippine Constabulary and by local tyrant officials to sign resolutions “requesting” the creation of local BSDUs. If a local barrio council so much hesitates to sign the resolution, it is subjected to the worst atrocities such as the Tarlac massacre. The signal for the creation of the BSDUs was the kidnapping and murder of the chairman of the association of barrio captains in Tarlac who led a demonstration of 50,000 peasants in Concepcion, Tarlac against the abuses of the Philippine Constabulary.

The people hate the BSDUs; they have had enough of the civilian guards in the 1945-55 period. Even the factions of the ruling classes that are not yet in power recognize in this monster an instrument of factions incumbently in power for monopolizing seats in the government. The creation of the BSDUs has been used to favor local tyrants subservient to the Marcos fascist puppet clique.

As of July 1970, there were already 304 barrios ruled by BSDUs with a total force of 3,040 members. They are concentrated in Tarlac where there are 164 units. Pampanga has 87 units; Bataan, 29 units; Nueva Ecija, 12 units; Pangasinan, 7 units; and Zambales, 2 units. The enemy makes it a point to cover the whole of the second district of Tarlac and important points at the boundaries of provinces adjacent to Tarlac.

The enemy has been able to pass arms to the BSDUs because of the new supply of weapons from the Jusmag to regular troops. Thus, US imperialism is manipulating the landlords and the local gangsters to ride roughshod over the people. In some towns of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, the Masaka (Lava), Armeng Bayan and the “Monkees” collaborate with each other so that there are yet no BSDUs there. These collaborate with each other in attacking the people, the Party and the New People’s Army.

All over the country, the Marcos fascist puppet clique enjoins the local tyrants to organize “provincial strike forces.” The rise of the revolutionary mass movement is anticipated everywhere. Brute military force is the answer of the enemy to the nationwide campaign of the Party and the New People’s Army to arouse the broad masses of the people. But instead of being able to suppress Communists who closely link themselves with the masses, the “provincial strike forces” only hasten the people’s understanding of the need for rising up in arms. These murder

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gangs are used indiscriminately by local tyrants to settle scores even with their non-communist enemies. The pillage of Bantay is a handiwork of Crisologo's "provincial strike forces" in Ilocos Sur. The deadly struggle between the Sulu provincial governor and the mayor of Jolo or between the Ifugao provincial governor and the mayor of Banawe is a struggle of "strike forces." There is actually nothing new in the "strike forces," only another label for the goon squads of local politicians.

The infamous Philcag has been brought home as a result of public indignation and also as a result of its failure as a mercenary force to assist the US war of aggression in Vietnam. Until now, the Philcag remains an object of public derision for its puppet and corrupt activities in the Vietnam war and also for the private manipulation of funds given by the United States to pay for its equipment, maintenance and services. It has been relabeled as the ACAG (Army Civic Action Group). It has been brought home only to be deployed against the people particularly in Central Luzon. It continues to engage pretentiously in propaganda activities mislabeled as "civic action." Actually it engages mainly in intelligence work and is described in complete scorn by the people as the "eyes and ears" of murderers.

The criminal depredations perpetrated by the reactionary state is not limited to the countryside. Demonstrations and workers' strikes in cities and provincial capitals have been brutally suppressed by the reactionary military troops and police. Unarmed demonstrators and strikers have been attacked with full force in Manila and other urban areas. So many of them have already been murdered and maimed with gunfire and truncheon blows in the course of demonstrations and strikes. Thousands have been wounded and arbitrarily arrested. Patriotic mass organizations and their democratic leaders have been subjected to assassinations, arrests and various forms of harassment.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique shamelessly boasts that it will use all the forces at its command to suppress the democratic rights of the people. It can only fan the flames of revolutionary war in the country. Everyday it finds itself bogged down deeper in its puppetry and is terrified by the advancing waves of the revolutionary mass movement. It finds it necessary to intimidate the people and make frantic preparations for more vicious campaigns of suppression.

US imperialist agents are frenziedly hastening the fascisation of the country. Special warfare training is being intensified under the close supervision of the Jusmag. The CIA-controlled Polcom and the AID

Public Safety Division are tightening their grip on local police forces. The National Defense College and the Philippine Military Academy are being used to teach military officers how to tighten their hold over the reactionary government gradually or through a coup d'etat.

Military officers in the ROTC and PMT are now trying to step up anti-communist hysteria among the students. Even elementary school children are subjected to a heavier dose of anti-communism from the USIA, the Peace Corps and the Department of National Defense. Nevertheless, because of the consistent rise of student demonstrations and the fascist suppression of these demonstrations, the officer reserve trained under the ROTC by the reactionary military is now seriously undermined by the fascist brutes themselves. A movement to have the ROTC and PMT abolished is fast growing among students.

More and more out-of-school youth are being called for military training in so-called Home Defense centers. Nevertheless, these trainees only develop contempt for the corrupt and hazing practices perpetrated by the fascist brutes. An increasing number of the youth being called for training duty now simply refuse to report or they escape from their training camps. Those who cannot escape the draft call think of using their military training in the service of the revolution.

The reactionary state is already politically and economically bankrupt and yet it has a mere 50,000 troops to preserve itself militarily. It cannot give decent wages to its mercenaries. Supplies in camps are big rackets for officials. Even the pension funds for the rank and file are manipulated and pocketed by the officers. The reactionary troops are demoralized and are maltreated and cursed like the filthiest dogs by their own superiors. Troop demoralization on the side of the enemy has reached such a point that top-ranking officers are forced to take to the field themselves in order to direct company operations.

The reactionary state tries to lessen its expenses by organizing the BSDUs. But these units have started to demand compensation and other things given to the regular troops. These units insist on being paid because they are even the ones who are ordered to be out front fighting the battles for the regular troops and who are taking more risks in their barrios. In the absence of any compensation for them, they make use of their arms to rob and extort from the people and thus only incense the people.

Just as the increase of regular military troops is not limitless, that of the BSDUs is likewise not so. Momentarily the organization of BSDUs

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has been stopped pending the arrival of more arms from the United States. The PC provincial command of Isabela keeps on clamoring for more troop reinforcements and BSDUs but cannot be given enough of such. Everywhere in the archipelago, the reactionary armed forces are kept occupied by concerted armed uprisings of peasants and national minorities, by strikes and demonstrations and by the increasingly bloodier factional struggles of ruling politicians.

With US imperialism bogged down in so many wars throughout the world, the exploiting classes in the Philippines cannot expect their state power to be limitless in the face of the people and the Communist Party of the Philippines which is assiduously applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

5. Foreign Relations

Caught in insoluble contradictions at home and abroad, US imperialism through its chieftain Nixon has issued the Nixon Doctrine of “making Asians fight Asians.” This is clearly a maneuver to pass on to Asian puppets the increasing military burden and cover up the increasing US defeats all over Asia. Nixon has even hypocritically called for “self-reliance” among puppet states like the Philippines. It means to say that there is no more point in talking about “altruism” as US imperialism sucks more and more blood from colonies and semicolonies.

While the Nixon Doctrine implies that US imperialism is facing total defeat in the Asian mainland, Nixon minces no words in insisting that by all means US imperialism will fight to remain a Pacific power. In this regard, US imperialism will never withdraw from the Philippines unless forced to by the Filipino people through revolutionary struggle. The Philippines is a strategic base for US control of the Pacific and is a forward staging area for US aggression in the whole of Asia. Talks of US withdrawal from Asia are being deliberately spread by the reactionaries to throw cold water on the flaming anti-imperialist struggle.

The Nixon Doctrine is nothing but a formal declaration of the regional collaboration of US imperialism and Japanese militarism in oppressing and exploiting the Asian people. Japanese militarism has been revived and is being ordered by US imperialism to participate actively in the counterrevolutionary plot against the people, communism and China. In exchange for its services as the fugleman of US imperialism, Japanese militarism is being accommodated in areas like the Philippines

which are under US imperialist domination. Being extremely isolated, US imperialism goes to the extent of foisting the much-hated Japanese militarism on the Asian people.

US imperialism entertains the vain illusion that it can make use of Asian manpower as cannon fodder. It brazenly states that it will only supply weapons and war material to local puppets who will do the fighting. Thus, there are such lies as “Asianization” and “Vietnamization” repeatedly spouted by Nixon. But Nixon never hesitated to deploy US aggressor troops in Cambodia when he saw that the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup merely caused an avalanche of people’s war. The US imperialist chieftain describes the mere rotation of troops in Indochina as “withdrawal” and shamelessly boasts in gangster fashion that he shall not preside over any military defeat of US imperialism.

The Philippine reactionary government is in complete agreement with the US policy of making Japan its fogleman in Asia. The Marcos fascist puppet clique abjectly kowtows to Japan as the “regional leader” in Asia. In no uncertain terms, Marcos has declared that only Japan should fill the “vacuum” that will result from US withdrawal from Asia. Japanese militarism boasts of preparing for an all-out war against the Asian people over Taiwan, Korea and what it calls its “entire lifeline” in Asia. The resurgence of Japanese militarism has been due to war profits made possible by the US war of aggression in Korea and lately in Indochina. Because it has to depend on a raw material base and market abroad which are controlled by US imperialism, Japanese militarism has no alternative but to join its imperialist master in launching war for the retention of these.

The US-Japan imperialist combine is being used to keep the Philippines in tow. Their joint control of the Asian Development Bank is a clear manifestation of the “co-prosperity” arrangement between these two imperialist powers. Through Japanese militarism, US imperialism maintains firm control over such “regional alliances” as the Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In turn, US imperialism keeps Japanese militarism in tow through such puppet governments as the Philippines.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is being reinforced by the ASPAC and the ASEAN and is now in the process of reorganization to get rid of such dissatisfied member-nations as France and Pakistan and pave the way for the more aggressive activity of US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

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When the Marcos fascist puppet clique talks about hewing an “independent” foreign policy, it is merely to help US imperialism tighten its control over its puppets. Marcos proposed the Asian Forum for the purpose, as he himself has admitted, of building up the ASPAC, ASEAN, SEATO and other puppet alliances. Soon after his call for an Asian Forum, the reactionary government ironed out its kinks with “Malaysia,” prated more about strengthening puppet alliances in the region and made more bellicose statements against the People’s Republic of China.

As soon as the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique made the coup d’etat in Cambodia at the bidding of the CIA, the Philippine reactionary government met with other Asian puppets of US imperialism in what they called the “Asian Pacific Conference on Cambodia” which was hosted in Jakarta by the Suharto military fascist clique at the bidding of US imperialism. In this puppet forum, the coup d’etat against the legitimate government of Cambodia was wildly endorsed and the Asian puppet governments talked bellicosely of preserving the “peace, neutrality and independence” of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet clique. They boasted about US, Japanese and Soviet support for the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and about their own puppet conspiracy. Marcos calls this gangster meeting a realization of his Asian Forum.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique has aggravated its mercenary role in Indochina. Despite the so-called withdrawal of the Philcag from south Vietnam, Filipino mercenaries still abound not only in one Indochinese country but in the whole of Indochina under the Philcon, Operations Brotherhood and other aggressive outfits in the pay of US imperialism.

In line with the US imperialist policy of employing Soviet social-imperialism against China, communism, revolution and the people, the Philippine reactionary government is steadily establishing relations with the revisionist countries headed by the Soviet social-imperialists. Several economic and cultural missions from the revisionist countries have already paved the way for diplomatic and trade relations with Soviet social-imperialism.

The amount of Philippine-Soviet contacts so far made has been turned into an occasion for reactionaries to whitewash the Marcos fascist puppet clique as “left-leaning” and “independent.” The Soviet monopoly bureaucrat capitalists find the local puppet bureaucrat capitalists convenient tools for the plunder of Philippine natural resources and raw materials as they have found the bureaucrat capitalists in India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries.

On all international issues within and without the US-controlled United Nations, the Philippine reactionary government has obdurately taken the counterrevolutionary line set by US imperialism. The reactionaries either raucously attack the People's Republic of China or endorse a two-China policy. They cling tightly to US imperialism in every eventuality in Southeast Asia. They play up every nuance of imperialist and Zionist propaganda against the Palestinian and Arab people. To know the policies of the US State Department is to know the foreign policy of the Philippine reactionary government. What is utterly wrong in this regard is the betrayal of national interests and of genuine internationalism in favor of US imperialism.

IV. The Rapid Growth of the Party

1. Ideological

The Communist Party of the Philippines has been reestablished under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It continues to be built in accordance with this correct proletarian ideology. It recognizes the principle that party building is first of all ideological building. Party cadres and members in mass organizations as well as in the New People's Army are deeply aware that the living study and application of Mao Zedong Thought is of primary importance. Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.

The living study and application of Mao Zedong Thought has been enthusiastically carried out by Party cadres and members and a rapidly increasing number of people outside the Party. The Party Central Committee has indefatigably led the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought as the higher Party school, *Ang Bayan* (The People) as the central publication of the Party and the education department of the Party secretariat in the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The rectification movement continues without letup against the counterrevolutionary revisionist ideas emanating from such anti-Party and anti-communist traitors as the bourgeois reactionary gang of the Lavas and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique as well as those emanating from abroad, principally from the Soviet social-imperialist scoundrels.

Being circulated extensively as the basic documents of the Party and the people's army are *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* and *Five Golden*

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Rays (“Serve the People,” “In Memory of Norman Bethune,” “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains,” “Combat Liberalism” and “Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party”). Translation work is being vigorously undertaken in order to make available to the toiling masses of workers and peasants more writings of Chairman Mao.

Embodying the efforts of the Party in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the concrete conditions of the Philippines is the *Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines* which is a compilation of “Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party,” “Program for a People’s Democratic Revolution,” “Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines,” “Declaration of the New People’s Army” and the “Rules of the New People’s Army.”

Philippine Society and Revolution is another document which strives from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to present the history, basic problems, character, motive forces, targets, strategy and tactics and perspective of the Philippine revolution. This is a basic textbook for mass political education as well as for basic ideological training within the Party.

The firm unity now obtaining in Party ranks is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Close links are maintained with the broad masses of the people on this basis. Criticism and self-criticism to improve work and style of work is conducted regularly and as often as necessary. The entire Party always analyzes and sums up its experiences under the clear illumination of Mao Zedong Thought.

A high tide in the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been kept up since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. As a matter of fact, this is at the core of the upsurge of the national democratic cultural revolution that is sweeping the whole country and fanning the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

Cadres and members of the Party are being tempered in the furnace of the revolutionary mass movement. Their grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been made more firm through revolutionary practice. Their theoretical knowledge has been enriched by the process of turning revolutionary ideas into a material force against the enemy.

2. Political

Since the reestablishment of the Communist Party, unprecedentedly great mass struggles have broken out in both city and countryside. These prove the correctness and effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the supreme guide of the Party in making revolution. In so short a time, the Party has been able to hold firmly the leadership in the revolutionary mass movement.

The Party has succeeded in bringing the broad masses of the people around itself. The broad masses of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia all look up to the Party for revolutionary leadership, whether it be in city demonstrations and strikes or in the armed struggle in the countryside.

The road of armed revolution has been opened. More and more people are joining the united front against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The upsurge of cultural revolution all over the country has cleared the way for the intensification of the armed struggle. The spark of the armed struggle is turning into a prairie fire.

We are indefatigably building the organs of political power in the countryside, the barrio organizing committees and the revolutionary barrio committees. We are also organizing underground committees of revolutionary workers, students and intellectuals and residents in cities and town centers. Our mass organizations and armed propaganda teams are all over the country to arouse the people.

As this decade started, the people's cry for armed revolution drowned out the empty slogan of "peaceful revolution" raised by the reactionaries. Resort to deception and armed force by the reactionaries has only enraged the people into fiercer revolutionary action. The political and economic bankruptcy of the reactionary state has become too obvious.

The enemy is frenziedly hunting for Communists. The Marcos fascist puppet clique raves mad about the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We can only be complimented by the attacks made by the enemy. But no matter how savagely he tries to hunt us down, he cannot get us. That is because we are so closely linked with the broad masses of the people.

The enemy is so completely at a loss that it even tries to dangle the bait of legalizing the Party and offering amnesty while at the same

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launching every form of suppressive and intimidatory action against the Party and the people.

The ideological difference between real Communists and sham communists has become more conspicuous in the course of massive political struggles. Both the Lava revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique have not only excluded themselves from the great mass struggles but have also sought to attack them out of desperation. Every time that they open their mouths against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the truly patriotic mass organizations they only succeed in displaying their treachery and isolation from the broad masses of the people. These traitors to the revolutionary cause have become as isolated as the Marcos fascist puppet clique which they always try hard to please.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is courageously and firmly wielding the two weapons of armed struggle and national united front under the powerful inspiration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

3. Armed Struggle

In so short a time following its reestablishment, the Party has succeeded in forming the New People's Army by repudiating the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and by uniting all Red fighters and commanders who have persisted in revolutionary armed struggle.

The revolutionary armed struggle led by the Party is daily gaining strength and expanding its area of operations. The New People's Army has won brilliantly victories in the battlefield over the reactionary armed forces and has steadily wiped out local spies and tyrants despite the continuous enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" or "search and destroy" operations.

Within the period of March 29, 1969 to March 29, 1970, the level of revolutionary armed struggle was raised with more than 200 enemy troops, spies and local tyrants wiped out in at least 80 operations fully supported by the masses. In addition, 17 US military personnel were punished, with 11 of them killed and 6 seriously wounded. Starting from a capability of annihilating isolated enemy troops, spies and local tyrants one by one, the New People's Army progressed to annihilating half squads. Now it can annihilate whole squads and scores of encamped enemy troops and BSDUs which are in platoon size.

Since the beginning of this year, our attacks against the enemy have become fiercer and more frequent. The rate at which we are launching operations and at which we are annihilating the enemy is at least double the rate of last year.

The organization of the BSDUs has only served to spread the strength of the enemy thinly. There are now more isolated outposts to attack than before and diehard counterrevolutionary elements of the barrios have become more exposed. While enemy troops in division size have been frequently concentrated against us, their movements have been an occasion for our circling round and attacking enemy weak points not only in Central Luzon but also elsewhere.

The fiercer the enemy becomes the more he incurs the ire of the people whom he arbitrarily attacks. The application of counterinsurgency tactics not only in Central Luzon but in other parts of the country has only served to aggravate the internal contradictions among politicians of the ruling classes and to teach the masses to defend themselves and assert their own power through armed struggle. The enemy is stupidly importing tactics that have failed in south Vietnam.

The successful ambushes, raids and arrests being made by the New People's Army in the plains of Tarlac and Pampanga and some other provinces is possible only because of its close links with the broad masses of the people, especially with the peasants, and because of its utter devotion to their national democratic interests. The people have become thoroughly hateful of the abuses perpetrated by the fascist brutes of the reactionary state. The New People's Army has always put politics in command of military activities. No military operation has ever been launched without a thorough consideration of its service to the people.

The number of Red fighters and commanders has increased severalfold. There are more armed propaganda teams and guerrilla squads and platoons that the enemy has to reckon with. There are now widespread militia units to give auxiliary support to the regular units of the New People's Army. The regular and irregular units of the New People's Army are no longer confined to one or two provinces or a few towns. Guerrilla zones in Northern and Central Luzon are increasing and expanding rapidly.

The Party and the people's army are exerting every effort to develop guerrilla warfare at several points in the archipelago. The expansion and consolidation of guerrilla zones are being conducted with the view of

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creating one or more stable base areas. Certain areas have already been identified as the most promising.

The New People's Army has inspired the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in urban areas. In turn the gigantic demonstrations have inspired the New People's Army to greater effort. The Party is firmly upholding the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in both city and countryside.

4. Organizational

Democratic centralism is faithfully followed in the Communist Party of the Philippines and in the New People's Army. The essence of this organizational principle is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There is conscious discipline in the ranks of Party members and the Red fighters. This accounts for the organizational strength of the Party.

Party branches and groups have been set up in the mass organizations and in the New People's Army. Cadres within the people's army and in mass organizations have arduously worked together to create people's organizing committee in barrios, factories, schools and other areas to serve as the organs of political power or as the embryonic organs of political power.

The Party has taken roots in the six regional areas defined by the First Plenum of the Central Committee. These are Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Greater Manila, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. The distribution of the Party strength is uneven as in the nature of all things in development. In four regions, the Party has struck deep roots in the countryside. In all regions, ideological work is being carried out to prepare for further organizational and political advance by the Party.

From the current upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement, the most advanced elements are being sifted to be developed as cadres and members of the Party. The new Party cadres and members will in turn create greater mass struggles which again will create more Party cadres and members.

Though the actual number of Party cadres and members is still relatively small, their capabilities have been well tested by the current upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in the city and countryside. They have been able to prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and of the political leadership of the Party. In the next

few years, the Party is certain to grow big and strong on the basis of revolutionary struggle.

Since the First Plenum of the Central Committee, the number of revolutionary cadres abandoning the old Communist Party and joining the ranks of genuine Communists has been mounting. The bankruptcy of the Lava revisionist renegades has become all too clear. We have also welcomed into our ranks a number of comrades who at first were hoodwinked by the revisionist scoundrels and who attacked us but did not commit serious offense. We welcome them because they have proven their sincerity.

We have a fighting, hardworking and persevering Central Committee which uses every second of an hour for the revolutionary cause. That the Party Central Committee shares the risks and sacrifices of the rank and file of the Party and the people's army is well proven by the martyrdom of a number of our comrades in the Central Committee. To them we pay the highest and most heartfelt tribute for laying down their lives in the service of the people.

To all Party members and Red fighters who have suffered martyrdom and torture in the hands of the enemy we pay tribute equal to that which we pay to our fallen comrades in the Central Committee. They have not died nor suffered in vain. Their sacrifices have greatly contributed to the advance of the Philippine revolution. We will continue to avenge their death. We will always turn our grief over the passing of our comrades into revolutionary strength.

5. Production and Finance

The Party and the New People's Army have production units. These are completely integrated with the revolutionary struggle. In certain cases, these can take care of a great portion of the needs of particular fighting and organizing units of the Party.

The greater portion of the overall income of the Party and the New People's Army, accounting for about 90 percent, is in the form of voluntary cash and grain contributions from friends of the revolution, mainly from the peasant masses. We have always followed the policy of receiving contributions from the oppressed masses with the closest consideration of how much we have actually done to serve them or increase their own income. We have been willing to receive only a very small fraction of

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any increase of income among them resulting from rent reduction or effective seizure of landlord property.

In the case of contributing allies, we have always made it a point to maintain our independence and initiative even while accepting their aid. In return, we protect their legitimate interests and we avoid putting them in difficult situation.

Direct and exclusive income for the Party and the New People's Army from the confiscation of enemy property has been marginal. Confiscation of cash from the enemy is practically nil. From annihilated military personnel, we have only taken away their arms and ammunitions.

The income of the Party and the New People's Army is limited and irregular in quantity. But it can adequately sustain a certain regular level of activity which we have maintained. The Party manages to support Party cadres and units of the New People's Army in expansion work.

The Party has endlessly emphasized the need for self-reliance. An austere style of living is demanded of all Party cadres and members and Red commanders and fighters. Every centavo is accounted for. Allowances for personal needs are now collectively decided by every unit of the Party or people's army to which the individual belongs.

There are some comrades who expect heavy material support from fraternal parties. The best support that our comrades abroad can extend and have extended to us takes the form of political support. We are already enormously supported by their resolute revolutionary struggle against our common enemy, US imperialism.

V. Tasks of the Party

A. Build the Party!

In building a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat, the most important and fundamental task is to raise the ideological consciousness of the entire Party membership through the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There must be a definite educational plan and curricula ranging from the basic to the advanced. To deepen, realize and heighten the ideological consciousness of the entire Party, sustained political campaigns must be waged in order to arouse and mobilize the masses. There must be clear policies emanating from the leading organs. To sustain the revolutionary struggle and lead the ever surging waves of the masses, the Party must constantly be enlarged

and must draw the most advanced elements from the masses. There must be an organizational plan to build the membership of the Party in the ranks of the proletariat, peasantry, students and intelligentsia.

1. Educational Plan

In all study courses as well as during practical work, the *Five Golden Rays* and the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* should be used extensively and often referred to in the ideological remolding of entire units and individual members of the Party.

All study courses should fall under the direction of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought. However, it is the responsibility of the education department to handle instruction in primary and intermediate courses from the branch to the regional level. Studies should be conducted locally. At this stage, however, the central office of the education department should often take a direct hand in instruction in order to develop cadres for the people's army and local Party organizations.

The primary course should cover Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people, the people's democratic revolution, Party history, Party program, Party constitution, history of the people's army, rules of the New People's Army, organs of political power and the current political report of the Central Committee. The basic texts of the primary curriculum should include *Philippine Society and Revolution*, *Guide for Party Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines*, *On People's War*, *Organs of Political Power* and the current political report of the Central Committee.

The intermediate course should cover materialist philosophy, class analysis and social investigation, party building, armed struggle, united front, economic work and land reform, and culture. Complete texts of the writings of Chairman Mao should be studied. These are contained in the list entitled "Schedule of Reading, Translation, Reproduction and Distribution of Chairman Mao's Works." Those attending school are expected to have read these in advance and to express their understanding of Chairman Mao's works and bring up theoretical and practical problems for exhaustive discussion. At the present stage, cadres assigned to work of district scope should undergo the intermediate course.

Upon the recommendation of the education department, those who have finished the intermediate course shall take the advanced course under the central teaching staff of the higher Party school, the

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Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought. The advanced course should cover dialectical materialism, political economy, history of the international communist movement, strategy and tactics, and the Party. The texts for study should include the works of the great Communist thinkers: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong.

The Central Committee should lead in ideological study. It should hold theoretical conferences as often as once in four months or in combination with timely working conferences. It should cause to be published in *Ang Bayan* articles and directives that concern problems that arise from time to time so that the Party rank and file can be guided properly and participate in the tackling of problems. Wherever they are, members of the Central Committee should lead in ideological study on a daily basis.

Publications of the Party Central Committee, *Ang Bayan* and special pamphlets, should be diligently distributed to all Party members. All Party members should be made aware of important developments throughout the country and the world. Local publications, newspapers or leaflets should be put out by local cadres subject to control by leading Party organs.

The Party should ceaselessly conduct mass education not only to raise the consciousness of the masses in general but also to develop Party members from their ranks. Mass schooling should be undertaken by Party members, branches, groups or teams. *Philippine Society and Revolution*, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* and the three constantly read articles (“Serve the People,” “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains” and “In Memory of Norman Bethune”) are the basic texts for mass schooling. The basic principles of revolution should be related to the concrete local situation. The cadres can impart revolutionary principles to the masses in a simple and effective way only after learning the local situation through close investigation.

Educational mobilization of the masses should be effected for revolutionary struggle. Party cadres should frequently conduct struggle meetings in order to strengthen their revolutionary outlook and denounce the exploiting classes in a concrete way. In this manner, the masses also educate themselves and assume responsibility for their own struggle. By letting the masses speak up, the Party can choose those who are most articulate, boldest and most reliable in opposing the enemy. The Party can also draw from the masses the sharpest slogans to cast against the enemy in this manner.

Cultural activities should be conducted among the people in order to advance the revolutionary propaganda of the proletariat. Stage performances, especially drama, song festivals and speeches, should be utilized to the fullest extent to arouse the people for a new democratic revolution.

The unity and discipline of the Party can be maintained and strengthened only by doing our ideological work well. Our link with the masses can withstand the worst attacks of the enemy only if we have done well in our propaganda work.

2. Political Mobilization

All Party members should recognize the importance of policy. The Party Central Committee exists to decide on policy. Without a policy on a situation, there would be confusion even if the most diligent efforts were exerted by everyone. There must always be a guide in doing things.

The Party Central Committee and all leading organs should take the matter of policy seriously. Correct policies should be drawn from revolutionary practice. It is extremely important for leading bodies to meet regularly and as often as necessary in order to receive reports and to analyze and sum up the situation so that policies can be correctly laid down in a collective way.

It is our constant policy to arouse and mobilize the masses for revolution. Any deviation from this single policy is counterrevolutionary.

The Party should maintain and intensify its leadership over the great mass struggles that have erupted in both city and countryside. It should consistently engage in mass work in the ranks of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia so as to be able to lead and launch bigger revolutionary mass actions against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It should build mass organizations of workers, peasants, student youth and the intelligentsia and place itself at their core. Through the gigantic and militant actions of these mass organizations, the Party can advance the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. The ultimate object of all mass actions is to spread and heighten the consciousness of the need for people's war to counteract the rise of fascist and the intensified political and economic oppression of the people.

The Party should make use of the mass struggles initiated by the students and the intelligentsia to effect a nationwide new awakening to the need for armed revolution in the face of increased oppression and

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exploitation. Immediately in the city, the Party should bring together the most advanced activists from the ranks of the students and the intelligentsia with the bigger masses of workers. They should also be encouraged to go to their respective provinces of origin to promote the people's democratic revolution among the oppressed masses in their own hometowns and barrios.

The Party should take steps to arouse and mobilize the workers into political and economic struggles. These will certainly entail attacking the oppression of the people by the reactionary government, exploitative employers and yellow labor leaders. Workers' caucuses must be used to start campaigns of exposing the rottenness of the entire system and educating the workers on the necessity of staging general strikes and the inevitability of armed revolution. These should lead to the organization of workers' organizing committees and then genuine unions with a Party branch at the core.

In the countryside, the peasant masses should be aroused and mobilized in order to weaken and destroy the pillars of feudalism. Among the rural masses, barrio organizing committees and then revolutionary barrio committees with a Party branch at the core should be organized. The peasant masses must be made to recognize the need for armed force to achieve their ends. Stable base areas and guerrilla zones must be created among them in order to advance the entire people's democratic revolution. Farm workers, the national minorities, fishermen, and transportation, logging and mining workers must be given close attention in areas where they are to be found with the peasant masses.

The Party can be strong only if it succeeds in transforming the masses into a vast sea of flames where the enemies of the people's democratic revolution are consumed. The mass line must be firmly grasped by the Party so that it enjoys at every step the all-powerful support of the masses.

3. Organizational Plan

With the present number of Party members as a clear base, it must be clear as to how the general membership can be increased. It is good enough that though the present number of members is relatively small, they are already capable of carrying out great mass struggles and waging armed struggle. But as the ruling system becomes more rotten and the people become more eager to strike blows at the enemy, the Party must

have more cadres and members to be able to perform its revolutionary leadership adequately.

There must be an organizational plan to build the Party within the New People's Army and in mass organizations. In our present guerilla zones, the New People's Army can be expected to make a bigger harvest of victories only if the Party within it is strong and also if at the same time the Party in local areas is strong. Having a Party that is organizationally strong and that is soundly based on the masses is a guarantee for the growth and success of the New People's Army and the consolidation of people's democratic power.

All-out efforts should be made within the next whole year to accomplish the organization of the six regional committees of Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Greater Manila, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. Where there are already regional committees of a provisional and appointive character, all-out efforts should be made to have regional committees elected by provincial and district Party representatives. We must exert all efforts to have at least provisional regional committees in those regions where we have only a few Party members. These shall be organized and strengthened under the supervision of the Central Committee with the assistance of the organization department.

In establishing Party regional committees, the Central Committee should see to it that the committee members are of the highest ideological and political quality and are resourceful in conducting organizational work. They should be able to draft a regional program of action based on their local investigation and actual mass work.

Party branches should be set up where they can be set up. But the Central Committee and all other leading organs should see to it that there are areas of priority to which Party cadres can be assigned to conduct mass work, Party building and army building. These areas of priority should be determined by the Central Committee in order to achieve the wisest disposition of reliable Party cadres available for expansion work.

The correct form of organization and organizing method based on the mass line should be grasped by all Party cadres and members. People's organizing committees, such as barrio committees in the rural areas and workers' committees and student committees, should be formed to prepare for mass struggles and Party building.

Democratic centralism should be the main guiding principle in the organizational life of the Party. The leading organs should meet as often as necessary to strengthen ideological and political unity. They should

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receive reports both regularly and on a timely basis from lower organs and units. At the same time, frequent consultations with lower Party organizations within the New People's Army and in local areas should be made so that the leading organs will always have intimate, correct and sufficient knowledge of the situation and will be able to direct the revolutionary struggle.

B. Build the New People's Army!

To build the New People's Army, the Party must accelerate political-military training and raise the level of armed struggle, carry out firmly the revolutionary agrarian policy and move towards the establishment of base areas. The Party must respond to the people's call for armed revolution now reverberating in both city and countryside.

1. Military Training and Armed Struggle

There must be a political-military training program. It should be intended mainly to develop cadres who can serve as commanders and political commissars in the New People's Army. This training is not only intended to develop combat skills. It is conducted in a way as to put the New People's Army under the command of politics, under the leadership of the Party. It is thereby to build a people's army that is good in political and ideological work, good in working style, good in military training and good in arranging everyday life.

After finishing their political-military training, Party cadres should be immediately dispatched to lead or join armed propaganda teams or guerrilla units. The cumulative increase of cadres for the people's army will certainly lead to the emergence of larger fighting forces and more fighting units of the New People's Army. The level of armed struggle should be raised on the basis of ample political preparations.

In the near future, the New People's Army should be able to annihilate repeatedly a platoon or a company of the enemy at an average per operation. While making an ambush or attacking an isolated outpost, reinforcements should also be attacked and their paths mined. This is a dialectical development of the present capacity of the New People's Army to easily annihilate a squad of the enemy.

Our guerrilla squads and platoons should in due time develop into guerrilla companies. These should in turn develop into regular mobile

forces in the future. In preparation for further growth, our fighting units which are dispersed to arouse and to organize the masses should be repeatedly concentrated to launch larger operations which are not possible when these are dispersed. At all times, we should maintain our guerrilla units and militia units both in areas where we have regular mobile forces and where we do not yet have them. The armed city partisans should specialize in sabotage work and in limited punitive actions.

2. Revolutionary Agrarian Policy

The Party should see to it that the New People's Army carries out what is mainly a peasant war. A revolutionary agrarian policy should be implemented in the countryside so as to get the massive support of the peasantry for the people's democratic revolution.

Our guerrilla zones cannot be expanded and consolidated without fulfilling certain reforms that a genuine people's army should conduct. Rent and interest rates should be greatly reduced and local landlord despots, local bullies, fascist marauders and bad elements like bandits and cattle rustlers should be punished and done away with. There should be a great difference between our presence and absence in a particular area. When we are around, the peasant masses should enjoy so many benefits that they inevitably lose should the enemy take full control of the area.

The peasant masses should be made to realize that should the New People's Army wipe out the counterrevolutionary armed forces, feudal and bureaucrat tyrants and bad elements in a given area, it shall be in a position to distribute land to those who have none or those who do not have enough, wipe out usury completely, heighten productive cooperation among the peasants and strengthen the people's organs of political power.

In carrying out the agrarian policy of the Party, the New People's Army should arouse and mobilize the masses to attack their own exploiters and assert their democratic power. We should never flinch from our policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants, winning over the middle peasants and neutralizing the rich peasants to isolate the enemy.

Without losing sight of the main direction of their work and of their attacks against the enemy, the Party and the people's army should employ guerrilla zones to open the way for the development of one or more stable base areas and to be able to strike at the enemy at several points.

3. Stable Base Areas

Three basic conditions must be gradually fulfilled for a stable base area to emerge: the people's armed forces are well built up; the enemy has repeatedly suffered defeats; and the people are aroused.

At this early stage, we should seriously consider creating an armed independent regime. Conditions for survival and growth of a stable base areas should be properly attended to. These are: (1) a sound mass base; (2) a sound Party organization; (3) a fairly strong Red army; (4) terrain favorable to military operations; and (5) economic resources sufficient for sustenance.

To be able to win the revolution we must be able to destroy the enemy in ever increasing numbers. This will entail and result in the liberation of large areas by the New People's Army.

The Party and the New People's Army should have a good grasp of the strategy and tactics of people's war. There should be a clear view now as to how to create stable base areas. These shall be the centers of gravity for widespread guerrilla actions.

C. Build the United Front!

The Party must build a united front for armed struggle. In this regard, the revisionist renegades and other saboteurs of the Philippine revolution must have no place in the united front envisioned by the Party. The Party must use the weapon of united front as its shield and the weapon of armed struggle as its spear in making its resolute revolutionary advance. Wielding one weapon without the other will be damaging to the Party and the people.

Now that the Party has the New People's Army, it should have the National Democratic Front in due time in order to combine all patriotic and progressive forces against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The committee entrusted with the task of preparing for the establishment of the front should perform the task of coordinating patriotic classes, organizations, groups and personages under the principle of a national united front.

The program of the National Democratic Front must affirm the general line of national democratic revolution and must be in basic agreement with our Party's Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. All patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups and personages

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participating in the front must be allowed initiative and independence and must maintain the broadest unity and cooperation against the enemies of national liberation and democracy.

The Party must strive to build the national united front on the following ten points:

1. Fight for national democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism;
2. Create people's organizing committees to arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people for armed revolution;
3. Campaign for the establishment of a united front government of all democratic classes, parties, groups and individuals;
4. Adopt a truly democratic system of representation based on free and popular elections undominated by the reactionary parties;
5. Give material and moral support to the people's armed forces;
6. Solve the land problem by liberating the peasants from landlord oppression and fostering agricultural cooperation;
7. Build a national economy free from foreign monopolies and protect the people's livelihood;
8. Promote a national, scientific and popular culture;
9. Unite with all national minorities with genuine respect for their rights to local autonomy; and
10. Support the international united front against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Japanese militarism and all reaction, and maintain an active and independent foreign policy based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Draft Approved by the Political Bureau
Communist Party of the Philippines
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All Blows against US Imperialism and its Running Dogs Are Fine

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Like all blows against US imperialism and its running dogs, the February 2 to 10 general strike of transport workers, fishermen, students and other patriotic segments of the population against the US oil monopolies is fine. The student-teacher boycott of classes, the barricading of streets and the seizure of the University of the Philippines in militant support of the anti-imperialist strike are likewise fine.

As a result of these mass protest actions, US imperialism and its running dogs—principally the Marcos fascist puppet clique—have become more isolated throughout the country. These patriotic actions can be repeated, intensified and expanded to aggravate the isolation of the enemy.

The spirit of braving and resisting the fascist acts and threats of violence should be carried forward. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the national democratic mass organizations and the broad masses of the people can always employ the tactics of united front to prepare for, if not prevent, an all-out military attack by the Marcos fascist puppet clique against assemblies of protest in cities.

It was possible on January 25 to hold marches and a people's congress in front of Congress to expose the true state of the nation and condemn the Plaza Miranda massacre during the first general strike. It was also possible on January 30 to hold marches and another people's congress at Plaza Miranda to commemorate the heroic martyrdom of those who first fell during the first quarter storm of last year and to prepare for the second general strike.

All of these were possible because of a broad and militant mass support and the correctness of the proletarian leadership. So, it was subsequently possible to conduct the second general strike. Though the enemy deployed more military troops and police to impose the dictates of the US oil monopolies, the general strike advanced further and succeeded to make clearer to the people the main cause of their suffering—US imperialism and its running dogs. The anti-imperialist strike became even more militant as the enemy resorted to counterrevolutionary violence,

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including the murder of five protesters, serious injuries to hundreds, mass arrests and torture in police precincts.

The outstanding characteristic of the second general strike was the forging of more intimate links among workers and students on a wider scale in the national and class struggle for people's democracy. The seizure of the University of the Philippines, especially of its radio station and printing press, and the student-worker barricades all over Greater Manila constituted new victories in the national democratic cultural revolution which is rapidly promoting the ideological and political leadership of the proletariat and rallying the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie to follow this leadership on a national scale.

The second general strike served to expose more fully the reactionary nature of the state that is in the service of US imperialism and the local reactionaries. The issue of rising prices of such strategically important commodities as the petroleum products which was raised in the strike taught the broad masses of the people that it is US imperialism that is causing the unbearable economic hardship of the whole nation. The wanton attacks of the fascist military troops and police once more showed clearly that US imperialism will not hesitate to use its armed puppets to repress the people's aspirations for national freedom and democracy.

The second general strike constituted another test of the revolutionary mettle of the workers and student activists. It further tempered them in revolutionary struggle. The successful integration of revolutionary theory with the practical problems of the strike assured the continuous development of proletarian revolutionary cadres.

The second general strike drew more clearly the demarcation line between the revolutionaries and the sham revolutionaries. In that great revolutionary struggle, traitors and saboteurs like the Lava revisionist renegades, the CIA-instigated clerico-fascists and labor aristocrats of the Oca, Lacsina and Lazaro types were exposed and cast away. Though seemingly different from each other, they were one in turning against the broad masses of the people. They found themselves together crying in dismay, "It's terrible!" at the sight of the revolutionary masses.

While the reactionary mass media pretended to sympathize with their petty-bourgeois mass of readers, they in the final analysis supported the US oil monopolies and the comprador big bourgeoisie that comprise their largest source of advertising income. The ultra-reactionary mass media were most vicious in joining the Lava revisionist renegades, the clerico-fascists and the labor aristocrats in calling the main current of

the revolutionary mass movement as the “radical fringe.” In the glare of bourgeois publicity, there was much ado by reactionary politicians about taking up the case of the US oil monopolies in Congress and the Supreme Court in a vain attempt to cover up the antinational and antidemocratic nature of the entire puppet government.

The violent assaults by the Marcos fascist puppet clique and the blustering airs of various counterrevolutionary saboteurs during the second general strike reinforced the truth that the rebelling masses successfully struck at the evils plaguing the people and all the more convinced true revolutionaries of the correctness of their action. Chairman Mao correctly pointed out: “I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.”

In praise of the revolutionary mass movement, the Party once more raises its clenched fist in revolutionary salute and declares, “It’s fine!”

Long live the national democratic mass organizations!

Long live the ever growing unity and strength of the revolutionary workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and all other patriots!

Down with US imperialism and its running dogs, the Marcos fascist puppet clique and such counterrevolutionary cliques as the Lava revisionist renegades, clerico-fascists and the labor aristocrats!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

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The Paris Commune Inspires our Party

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. III, No. 2, March 19, 1971.

A full century has passed since the Paris Commune of 1871. But its principles and lessons still inspire the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The road of armed revolution it opened is still the road trodden by the proletarian revolutionaries of every country. Every revolutionary party of the proletariat is bound to follow the torch first carried by the Communards of Paris. Faithful to the revolutionary spirit of the Paris Commune, the Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly taking the road of armed revolution.

Marx stated in *The Civil War of France*, the undying record and interpretation of the Paris Commune: “Workingmen’s Paris with its Commune will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its exterminators’ history has been already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.”

Before it was crushed by the military force of the bourgeoisie, the Paris Commune demonstrated to mankind that the working class was capable not only of destroying the bourgeois state machinery but also of replacing it with a new state, that of the working class, a dictatorship over the exploiting classes and a democracy for the erstwhile exploited classes. For seventy-two days, from March 18 to May 28, 1871, the proletariat of Paris revealed to the world the seed of a new society struggling to break out of the integument of the old society.

For the first time, Marxism as the revolutionary theory of the proletariat found incontrovertible proof in the reality of the Paris Commune. The Paris Commune became the first great milestone in the theory and practice of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his introduction to *The Civil War in France*, Engels said: “Of late, the social-democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the word: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.”

I. Smash the Bourgeois State Machine

Based on the revolutionary experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels found it necessary to “correct” the *Communist Manifesto* by pointing out in their 1872 preface to this great document: “One thing especially proved by the Commune, viz., that ‘the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes’...” They saw fit to restate the words that are in single quotation marks from *The Civil War in France*.

The Paris Commune was built on the workers’ resistance to the attempt of the bourgeoisie to disarm them. Instead of being disarmed, the workers put the bourgeoisie and other counterrevolutionaries to flight from Paris to Versailles. Holding forth to the dictatorship of the proletariat, they issued as their first decree: the suppression of the standing army of the bourgeoisie and its replacement of the armed people. In defense of the Paris Commune, the workers repeatedly had to repulse counterrevolution with the force of arms. From the beginning to the end, the workers refused to lay down the arms that they had come to hold as a result of the contradiction and war between Louis Napoleon and Bismarck in the Franco-Prussian War.

The fatal flaw of the Paris Commune was its failure to carry out an offensive against Versailles while the latter was still in a state of weakness and disintegration. To gain time on the Communards, Thiers employed the counterrevolutionary dual tactic of dispatching armed detachments against Paris and pretending to sue for peace negotiations upon the failure of every counterrevolutionary expedition. Entering into an international bourgeois conspiracy against the proletariat, Thiers and Bismarck were able to launch attacks that overpowered the Paris Commune at the cost of several thousands of worker-martyrs.

In his *State and Revolution*, Lenin laid great stress on the fundamental lessons of the Paris Commune that the proletariat must smash the bureaucratic-military machinery of the bourgeoisie. He carried forward the theory and practice of proletariat revolution and proletariat dictatorship. The October Revolution which he led was essentially a recreation of the Paris Commune, the destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the proletariat dictatorship, at a new and higher stage. The betrayers of Marxism who prevailed within the Second International and preached parliamentarism became utter failures because they departed from the road opened by the Paris Commune. Because

they drew principles and lessons from the Paris Commune, only the Bolsheviks were capable of seizing power and consolidating it under Lenin and Stalin.

Carrying forward the torch of the Paris Commune, Chairman Mao teaches us, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." This is the essence not only of the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in China but also of all revolutionary struggles waged by the proletariat in the one hundred years following the Paris Commune. Not a single movement or party of the proletariat has ever seized political power without following the principle of armed revolution. On the other hand, it has been the sad experience of the proletariat in many countries to be betrayed by leaders who maneuver communist parties into being disarmed because of the craven desire to take official seats in the reactionary state.

In the Philippines, negative lessons are amply provided by the opportunist leadership of the Lavas and the Tarucs. The Lavas and the Tarucs failed much as they wanted to become members of the reactionary congress in a puppet government just after World War II. The armed reactionaries could always violate their own electoral laws, unseat the elected and use guns to suppress the masses.

Even when it was clear that a determined people's war had to be waged, the Lavas and the Tarucs had no singleness of purpose in continuing the armed struggle. When in 1948 the mass clamor for armed struggle had become too clear to be disregarded by the opportunist leaders of the old merger party, Taruc was allowed to bargain for an amnesty with the enemy and Jose Lava had a memorandum submitted to the reactionary congress pledging loyalty to the reactionary constitution and government. While it is true that the principle of armed revolution seemed to have been fully accepted by the Lava-Taruc leadership in 1950, the adventurist line of quick military victory in two years and the purely military viewpoint were promoted and implemented to undermine the revolutionary mass movement.

Under the direction of the Soviet modern revisionists today, the opportunist leaders of the old merger party, the defilers of the Paris Commune, have crept out like toads from their more than two decades of hibernation to sabotage and subvert the revolutionary mass movement by peddling bourgeois parliamentarism. They are going against the tide of armed revolution and against the revolutionary tradition of the Paris Commune made richer and more powerful by the October Revolution

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and the Chinese Revolution. The Lava revisionist renegades will certainly find themselves impotent before the proletarian revolutionaries of today who are inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the most truthful and effective summing-up of the world proletarian revolution since the Paris Commune.

Modern revisionism promoted by the Soviet social-imperialists is the main danger within the world proletarian revolutionary movement. The Soviet revisionist renegades wish to misrepresent the Paris Commune as a peaceful venture of the proletariat. Like their revisionist predecessors in the Second International, the modern revisionist will find themselves thrown into the dustbin of history in the present era. Their line of counterrevolutionary violence against Marxist-Leninists, against the proletariat and against the people is rapidly isolating them and thoroughly putting them clearly on the side of US imperialism.

II. Build a Marxist-Leninist Party

The Paris Commune has taught us that for the proletariat to lead the revolution and overthrow the bourgeoisie there must be a revolutionary party of the proletariat that is strong ideologically, politically and organizationally. The revolutionary practice of the Paris Commune clarified the need for a central body of leadership to guide the vigorous movement of the revolutionary masses. The National Guards, the body of armed workers, that seized Paris from the bourgeoisie looked up to a Central Committee for leadership. As of March 26, the Paris Commune was elected by the workers as a representative body to lead them. Though the International Workingmen's Association, the leading organizer and spirit of which was Marx, was blamed by the bourgeoisie for leading the revolt of the workers, it did not carry the preponderant influence among the workers; Marxism had not yet been grasped by the majority of the workers. Blanquism and Proudhonism were acknowledged by the leaders of the Paris Commune as their guide.

In practice, however, the Paris Commune disproved the Blanquist school of anarchy and the Proudhonist school of petty-bourgeois socialism and proved the correctness of Marxism. Against the anarchist tenets of Blanqui, the workers of Paris did not only destroy the bourgeois state machine but established the dictatorship of the proletariat; it was not a mere handful of intellectuals that made revolutionary triumph possible but the great mass of workers in the course of class struggle.

The economic decrees of the Paris Commune disregarded Proudhon's economic teachings and had to face the facts of large-scale industry.

Learning from the experience of the Paris Commune, Lenin indefatigably built the Bolshevik Party as the revolutionary party of the proletariat armed with Marxism. This party became the advanced detachment of the working class. It became the political leader and general staff of the proletariat in the revolution for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As an organized party of the proletariat, the Bolsheviks carried forward the torch of the Paris Commune. They opposed the renegacy of the Second International and went on to prove their correct proletarian revolutionary line of overthrowing the bourgeoisie by armed force and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong built a well-disciplined party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of criticism and linked with the broad masses of the people. This was the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. It was the leader of the people's army and of the united front of all revolutionary classes and revolutionary groups.

The Communist Party of China, following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, has opened wider the road of armed revolution by upholding and implementing the theory of waging people's war and establishing Red political power in the countryside before seizing the cities. Inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage, Comrade Mao Zedong insisted on the road of armed revolution as the only one for the liberation of all oppressed peoples and also discovered the theory of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship and personally led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship in the socialist society.

Learning from the experience of the Paris Commune and all revolutionary movements following it, the Communist Party of the Philippines has been reestablished under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has taken the road of armed revolution and has striven to build a people's army, the New People's Army, to defend the broad masses of the people and seek to defeat the counterrevolutionary forces of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Taking great stock from the experience gained in the course of World War II and afterwards, the Communist Party of the Philippines has learned that to lead and build a people's army is to truly take

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the road of seizing power. To lay down one's arms upon the behest of US imperialism and the local reactionaries and to hanker for official seats in the puppet reactionary government is to betray the revolution.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in theory and practice and repudiate all revisionist and opportunist trends. It must wage a people's war in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. It must also develop a united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the proletariat to isolate all enemy diehards. It is absolutely necessary for a true Marxist-Leninist party to wield such powerful weapons as armed struggle and the united front.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has emerged as the supreme guide for all proletarian revolutionary parties. Within one hundred years since the Paris Commune, the world proletariat has produced a comprehensive ideology to destroy the counterrevolutionary state, establish and guarantee the growth of socialism, destroy imperialism and modern revisionism on a world scale, and assure the realization of communism in the future.

III. Rely on the Revolutionary Masses

Lenin took special note of the fact that in the autumn of 1870, a few months before the Commune, Marx warned the Paris workers that any attempt to overthrow the government would be the folly of despair. But when in March 1871, the revolutionary workers of Paris revolted against the bourgeoisie and created the Commune, Marx set the example of a true revolutionary thinker and leader by welcoming the Paris Commune and considering himself a participant. He paid tribute to the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the workers and closely studied their movement for what it was greatly worth.

The creators of history are indeed the masses. Leaders can make a summing-up and synthesize new tasks only on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. True leadership cannot be established and cannot act correctly without relying on the masses and without learning from them. "From the masses to the masses" is the correct slogan that must be followed by the revolutionary party of the proletariat and by its cadres.

The Paris Commune showed the boundless capacity of the revolutionary masses for creating new things after they destroyed the bourgeois

state machine with their own armed power. They created a new government based on a truly democratic exercise of universal suffrage among the workers. They put up a leadership from their own ranks, working conscientiously and receiving pay equal to that of the worker, with no representation allowances. Such a leadership shunned the separation of executive and legislative functions. It was the complete opposite of the parliament, a talking shop of the bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Any leader was subject to recall by the people. The Paris Commune had the attributes of a true democracy while being at the same time a class dictatorship over the exploiting classes.

The workers of Paris were capable of so much. Yet they were straining for political and economic life in a country defeated in war and in a city besieged not only by the ruffians of Thiers but also by the troops of Bismarck. How much more would the workers have been capable of had they had their own class-conscious party thoroughly instructed on Marxism! How much more would they have been capable of had they not been prevented from a revolutionary juncture with the peasant masses in the provinces of France. The Paris Commune envisioned a nationwide system of people's communes with a national delegation seated in Paris.

The correct spirit in appraising the armed struggle that persisted in the Philippines after World War II is to give tribute to the revolutionary masses and draw lessons from their experience. In so doing, it is inevitable that the series of Lava leaderships that sabotaged and misled their movement must be ruthlessly criticized. In honor of the revolutionary masses, we will even dare to say that their armed struggle after World War II is the general rehearsal for the seizure of power that is still to come in our country.

After the anti-fascist resistance against Japan, the Lava revisionist renegades showed their utter contempt and distrust for the broad masses of the people. They helped US imperialism and the landlords disarm the people after World War II. They insisted that the people were tired of war. Even now, Jesus Lava is being prompted by his imperialist and reactionary masters to prate that the Red fighters in the Hukbalahap who wanted to continue fighting were merely motivated by selfishness and were clearly incapable of waging a people's war. He still wishes to justify his bygone scheme to become a congressman at the expense of the revolutionary masses.

In the present upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in both city and countryside, a handful of persons in abject imitation of their

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Soviet modern revisionist masters prefer slandering the broad masses of the people to expressing verbal support for them at the least. The Lava revisionist renegades condemn the revolutionary mass movement as nothing but a minor part of the CIA plot to “overthrow” their fascist puppet ally Marcos. They do everything to ingratiate themselves with US imperialism and the local reactionaries.

In the world proletarian revolution today, the People’s Republic of China stands as the strongest bulwark of socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle because the several hundreds of millions of Chinese people have taken state affairs into their own hands, have overthrown the capitalist roaders led by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-Chi and have revolutionized their thinking. Never before has mankind witnessed as extensive a democracy as that in China in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This extensive democracy, a revolution under proletarian dictatorship and inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has further consolidated the proletarian dictatorship, has prevented the restoration of capitalism and has guaranteed the total collapse of US imperialism and the world victory of socialism in the present era.

Moved by the great spirit of the Paris Commune and the principle of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary proletariat of the world and all its Marxist-Leninist parties are struggling to unleash the great masses of the people against US imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Such revolutionary struggles as those of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Indonesia, Thailand, Palestine, Burma and others in the countryside of the world should help the proletariat in all imperialist countries. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in all imperialist countries should in turn help all the oppressed peoples. And the proletariat and peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialism should help all oppressed peoples still fighting for their liberation.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!

People of the world, unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

The Paris Commune Inspires our Party

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the revolutionary spirit of the Paris Commune!

March 18, 1971

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Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports

April 1971

Foreword

The Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports shows members of the Communist Party of the Philippines how to integrate and supervise the work on basic levels. It lays stress on the need for basic organizations and their leadership to submit reports to higher Party organs.

The Central Committee prepared this guide for implementation by the National Operations Command of the New People's Army and the regional Party committees.

This guide should be discussed by all Party branches and groups, squads and platoons of the New People's Army, and cadres in the organs of political power and mass organizations.

It is necessary for those taking the primary course to study the subject of basic organizational work and reporting based on the text of the Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports.

Party cadres and members are expected to give their opinions and suggestions on how to improve this guide on the basis of their own revolutionary practice.

The principle of democratic centralism should be studied and implemented in our organizational life. In this regard, let us refer to Article IV of our Party Constitution:

Section 1. The structure of the Party shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism, meaning to say, centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership.

The basic condition shall be as follows:

- a. Leading organs of the Party at all levels shall be elected and shall be responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them.
- b. After free and thorough discussion, decisions taken by the Party shall be implemented without exception.
 1. The individual is subordinate to the organization;
 2. The minority is subordinate to the majority;

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3. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level;
 4. The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and to the National Congress.
- c. Leading organs of the Party shall always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and of the masses of Party members and they shall constantly study concrete experiences and render prompt assistance in solving problems.
 - d. Lower Party organizations shall give regular and special reports about their work to the organization above them and shall request instructions promptly concerning problems which require the decision of a higher Party organization.
 - e. All Party organizations shall follow the principle of collective leadership and all important questions shall be decided collectively.

Guide to Self-Analysis for Candidate Members

- A. Life History and Personality
 1. State the date of your birth, place of birth, the places where you have stayed for at least six months during the last five years, the languages or dialects you can speak, schools attended, occupation for the last five years and special knowledge, skills or training.
 2. State the occupation and political orientation of your close relatives by blood as well as relatives by marriage and at least ten of your closest friends during the last five years. Cite those who are particularly counterrevolutionary and those who are revolutionary or those you can help develop to become revolutionaries.
 3. Relate your class origin and the development of your ideology and political consciousness.
 4. State what you can do for the Party at present and in the future regarding Party building, armed struggle and the national united front.
- B. Political Record
 1. State all the organizations you have joined for the last five years (in chronological order) and give background information on these and the work you have undertaken therein.

2. State your reason for desiring to join the Party and the concrete circumstances that made you decide to join.
3. Give a full account of your involvement in the mass revolutionary movement.
4. State your present personal condition in relation to the political work you have done for the mass revolutionary movement.

C. Ideology

1. Answer the basic questions regarding materialist philosophy, dialectical materialism, historical materialism, political economy, imperialism, international communist movement, Philippine history, basic problems of the Filipino people, new democratic revolution in the Philippines, history of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, program and constitution of the Party, rules of the New People's Army and the organs of political power. (Give emphasis on the primary course).
2. State frankly the points you want to be clarified regarding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, Philippine society and revolution, and the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of the Philippines.
3. Explain the present balance of forces in the world and in the Philippines.
4. Give practical suggestions on how the Party in general and the organization or unit to which you belong can be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally based on your present understanding of the mass revolutionary movement.

Required Reading for Candidate Members:

1. Five Golden Rays
 2. Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong
 3. Philippine Society and Revolution
 4. Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines
 5. Current major decisions of the Central Committee
 6. Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports
 7. On People's War
- N.B.: This guide to self-analysis shall serve as an outline for any set of questions that may be asked by the Party member assigned to evaluate the candidate member. The two Party

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members who recommend the candidate member shall be responsible for his education and actions.

Pertinent Provisions in the Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines

[Refer to the Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines]

- A. Article II – Membership
- B. Article III – Rights and Duties of Members
- C. Article IV – Structure and Principles of Party Organization
- D. Article VII – Basic Organization of the Party
- E. Article VIII – Party Groups in Mass Organizations
- F. Article IX – The Party’s Relationship with the New People’s Army
- G. Article X – Party Finances

Clarification of the Tasks of the Party Branch Leadership

- A. The Executive Committee shall:
 - 1. Carry out and propagate the political line, the policies and directives of higher Party organs.
 - 2. Discuss and decide the policies, plans and work of the Party branch between meetings of the entire branch.
 - 3. Evaluate candidate members of the Party branch and approve their full membership.
 - 4. Create positions or other committees under the Executive Committee or Secretariat in order to implement specific tasks.
- B. The Secretariat shall supervise the daily activities of the Party branch.
 - 1. The Secretary shall:
 - a. act as political officer, chief representative and spokesman of the branch;
 - b. call the general meetings of the branch, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat; and
 - c. Set an example to the Party members and the people.
 - 2. The deputy secretary for organization shall:
 - a. supervise the groups of the branch and the Party groups in the organs of political power and in local mass organizations;

- b. take over as secretary if the latter is unable to carry out his duties; and
 - c. see to it that all members attend the meetings of the branch.
3. The deputy secretary for education shall:
- a. supervise the continuous study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine revolution by candidate members and full Party members of the branch; and
 - b. see to it that publications and other reading materials are available to all the sections in the branch.
- C. The members in the executive committee shall be from five to eleven based on the total number of members in the branch. If only three members constitute a branch, it is desirable that they form a provisional secretariat (with one secretary and two deputy secretaries) until the number of members in the branch reaches seven and they can elect the executive committee and secretariat.

Guide for Building Organs of Political Power

In the present people's war, it is important to underscore the building of organs of political power by the masses in the countryside. This is because the conditions in the countryside allow us to annihilate the forces of the enemy and establish organs of political power, thus paving the way for the seizure of power in the whole country and the complete establishment of the system of people's democracy.

In the Countryside

As an answer to the democratic demands of the present stage of the revolution, the organs of the people's political power in the countryside are by nature a government of the united front against feudalism. In establishing organs of political power in the countryside, it is important to emphasize the class policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants and the farm workers, striving to win over the middle peasants (especially its outstanding activists) and neutralizing the rich peasants. Also take into account the workers and teachers and other democratic elements residing in the barrio.

I. First Step:

Establish the Barrio Organizing Committee (BOC) after social investigation.

A. Organizing the Barrio Organizing Committee

1. Choose from the ranks of the people the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.
2. After having been thoroughly evaluated and given tasks, five to ten of them shall be elected to compose the committee which shall in turn elect the leadership.
3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.
 - a. The chairman shall be directly responsible for the implementation of the necessary tasks and the mobilization of the committee members.
 - b. The vice chairman shall take the place of the chairman in times of necessity and shall perform other functions assigned to him by the chairman.
 - c. The secretary shall make the records and keep the records of the committee.
 - d. The treasurer shall take charge of the finances of the committee.
 - e. The defense chief shall take charge of the security of the barrio and the propaganda unit and, at the start, shall be the only one who will have direct contact with defense members.
 - f. All the committee members shall have the equal right to request for a meeting and to bring up or discuss problems.
4. Choose the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

B. Duties of the Barrio Organizing Committee

1. Arouse the masses on the need for unity in order to solve their problems.
2. Prepare the components for the organization of the BOC:
 - a. mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women and children; and
 - b. those being developed to become members of the BRC.
3. Prepare the masses for armed struggle.

4. Explain to the masses the vital role they play in the people's democratic revolution:
 - a. by supporting and assisting the Party and the New People's Army; and
 - b. by joining the armed struggle.
 5. Keep watch on the enemy's movements and give timely information to the comrades and the masses.
- C. Methods of Mobilization
1. Hold indignation meetings against the enemies of the people.
 2. Hold study meetings on the problems of the masses.
 3. Solve day-to-day problems.
 4. Watch, eliminate and suppress the enemies of the people such as abusive landlords and officials, cattle rustlers, extortionists, bandits and troublemakers.

II. Advanced Step

Establish the Barrio Revolutionary Committee (BRC) based on the following conditions:

1. On the mobilization of the masses
 - a. The barrio has been consolidated and the enemies of the people eliminated or suppressed.
 - b. Land rent and loan interest have at least been reduced.
 - c. Mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women and children, or at least a majority of these have been established.
 - d. The five committees under the BRC, namely the committees on organization, education, defense, economy and health, have been prepared.
2. On the Party: A branch of the Party has already been formed in the barrio which can function within the BRC itself. The existence of the Party group in the BRC and in the New People's Army is an affirmation of the proletarian leadership. The Party leadership is proven by good deeds for the benefit of the people. It is desirable that one-third of the BRC are Party members.

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A. Methods of Organizing the BRC:

1. Hold an election to be attended by heads of families and leaders of mass organizations under the supervision of the Party branch.
2. Let the whole barrio elect the overall committee of the BRC of 15 members.
3. Let the overall committee elect the overall chairman and the chairmen of the five committees.
4. The elected chairmen of the five committees shall recommend to the BRC those who will compose their committees; the members are drawn from the masses.
5. Anyone may be removed from his position anytime in accordance with the desire of the majority of the people and the decision of the BRC.

B. Duties of the BRC:

1. Serve as the organ of political power in the barrio.
2. Take charge of the organization, education, defense, economy and health of the barrio.
3. Administer the people's court (usually composed of representatives of the Party, people's army and BRC).
4. Keep watch on the activities of the enemy and furnish the comrades and the masses with timely information.

C. Duties of the Leaders and Committees:

1. Leaders:
 - a. The overall chairman shall act as the head of the BRC and the coordinator of the five committees.
 - b. The chairman of the organization committee shall be the overall deputy chairman; he shall coordinate the mass organizations and shall perform other functions assigned him by the chairman.
 - c. The chairman of the education committee shall act as secretary of the BRC.
 - d. The chairman of the committee on economy shall act as treasurer of the BRC.
 - e. Each chairman of the five BRC committees shall take charge of his committee.

2. Committees
 - a. The organization committee shall take charge of establishing and coordinating various mass organizations like those of the peasants, farm workers, youth, women and others.
 - b. The education committee shall take charge of raising the class and revolutionary consciousness of the masses and the administration of schools.
 - c. The defense committee shall take charge of internal order and of suppressing the enemies of the people; it shall also take charge of the militia or self-defense units (bolo squads, for example) as a pillar of the local political power and as reserve force and reinforcement for the people's army.
 - d. The committee on economy shall take charge of advancing production and cooperation, and of supporting the revolutionary armed force and government.
 - e. The health committee shall take charge of medical work and public hygiene in the barrio.

In the Factories, Mines, Logging Concessions and Transportations Lines

At present, less than one-tenth of the entire workers in the Philippines is unionized. As such, three possibilities will confront the cadre in the places of work. First, the workers have no union. Second, there is a yellow union. Third, there is a sympathetic union. In each case, the genuine and revolutionary leadership of the proletariat should eventually prevail on the basis of conscientious work.

I. First Step

Establish the Workers Organizing Committee (WOC) in the place or line of work after a social investigation.

A. Organizing the WOC

1. Choose from the ranks of workers the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.
2. After having thoroughly evaluated them and, at the same time that they are politicized and given tasks, at least five of them shall be elected to compose the committee which will in turn elect the leadership.

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3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.
 - a. The chairman shall be directly responsible for the implementation of the necessary tasks and the mobilization of the committee members.
 - b. The vice chairman shall take the place of the chairman in times of necessity and shall perform other functions assigned him by the chairman.
 - c. The secretary shall make the records and keep the records.
 - d. The treasurer shall take charge of the finances of the whole committee.
 - e. The defense chief shall take charge of the security of the workers.
 - f. All the committee members shall have the equal right to request for a meeting and bring up or discuss problems.
 4. Select the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.
- B. Duties of the WOC
1. Arouse the workers on the need for unity and for a genuine union.
 2. Explain to the workers their leadership in the people's national democratic revolution.
 3. Prepare the workers for self-defense and for uniting with the democratic classes, especially the peasant class.
 4. Keep watch on the enemy's movements and give timely information to the comrades and the masses.
- C. Methods of Mobilization
1. Hold study meetings on the problems of the workers and on the listing of demands.
 2. Hold indignation meetings against the enemies of the people.
 3. Prepare for the organization of a genuine union.
 4. Solve day-to-day problems.

II. The Advanced Step

Organize a genuine workers' union based on the following conditions:

1. On the mobilization of the masses:
 - a. The union can already carry out a strike supported by the majority or can secure the demands of the workers.

- b. The proper leadership and committees within the union have been formed.
- c. The workers are ready to join general mass actions.
2. On the Party: A Party branch has been formed within the union and have Party groups under the branch. The Party leadership is proven by deeds for the benefit of the workers.
- A. Methods of Building a Genuine Union
The method of building a genuine union is based on the needs of the workers in each specific place of work. The workers shall fight for their rights and use these to thwart the reactionary schemes against the workers.
- B. Duties of the Genuine Union:
Instil the revolutionary idea and leadership of the working class and fight for the economic rights of the workers.
- C. Duties of the Party branch
 1. Provide secret leadership to the activities of the union.
 2. Send to the countryside workers who are ready to join or should join the New People's Army.
 3. Broaden the overall mass actions of the workers in coordination with those of the other democratic classes.

In High Schools, Colleges and Universities

The student-youth and teachers in the high school, colleges and universities play a very decisive role in propagating the national democratic revolution throughout the country. From their ranks, cadres may be drawn for the Party and the New People's Army for tasks in the countryside and other places.

I. First Step:

Establish the School Organizing Committee (SOC) after an investigation.

- A. Organizing the SOC:
 1. Select from the ranks of teachers, student and workers in the school the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.
 2. After having thoroughly evaluated them and, at the same time that they are politicized and given tasks, five of them shall

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be elected to compose the SOC which will in turn elect the leadership.

3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.
4. All the committee members have the equal right to request for a meeting and bring up or discuss problems.
5. Select the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

B. Duties of the SOC

1. Arouse the masses on the need for unity in order to solve their problems.
2. Prepare the masses for armed struggle through propaganda.
3. Make known to the masses of students and teachers the important role they play in the revolution:
 - a. giving assistance to the Party and the New People's Army; and
 - b. joining the armed struggle
4. Keep watch on the activities of the enemy and give to comrades and the masses timely information.

C. Methods of Mobilization:

1. Hold secret meetings to study the problems of the students and teachers and the people in general.
2. Solve day-to-day problems.
3. Monitor enemy activities and anti-people propaganda of the enemy and submit reports of these to the concerned unit or person.
4. Gather support from the people.
5. Foil the attempt to utilize ROTC and PMT as reserve forces of the enemy.
6. Establish a branch of a legal national democratic organization, build a new local organization with similar objectives, or join an existing school organization and develop its objectives.

II. The Advanced Step:

Organize a Party branch when there are already three Party members in the school.

In Barrios in the City and Town

The difference between the barrios in the city and in the town on one hand, and the majority of the barrios, on the other, is this: different classes live in the former, while in the latter it is certain that the most numerous residents are peasants.

I. The First Step:

Form the Community Organizing Committee (COC) after an investigation.

A. Organize the COC

1. Elect from the ranks of the people the most advanced elements who are capable of leading and uniting with the majority.
2. After having thoroughly evaluated them and, at the same time that they are politicized and given tasks, five of them shall be elected to compose the COC which will in turn elect the leadership.
3. The five officers are the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and defense chief.
4. All the committee members have the equal right to request for a meeting and bring up or discuss problems.
5. Select the prospective candidate members and full members of the Party.

B. Duties of the COC:

1. Arouse the masses on the need for unity in order to solve their problems.
2. Prepare the masses for armed struggle through propaganda.
3. Explain to the masses the role they play for the revolution:
 - a. giving assistance to the Party and the New People's Army; and
 - b. joining the armed struggle.
4. Keep watch on the activities of the enemy and give timely information to the comrades and the masses.

C. Methods of Mobilization:

1. Hold secret meetings to study the problems of the masses.
2. Solve day-to-day problems.
3. Watch, eliminate and suppress the enemies of the people.
4. Enlist the aid of the people in the city and town.

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5. Form a branch of a legal national democratic organization, build a new local organization with similar objectives, or join an existing community organization and develop its objectives.

II. The Advanced Step:

Organize a Party branch when there are already three Party members in the community.

Guide for the Revolutionary Mass Organizations

Mass organizations of 1) workers, 2) peasants, 3) youth, 4) women and 5) children that are devoted to the revolutionary cause may be formed in the localities by Party cadres of a local Party branch, a Party group in a squad of the people's army, or a national, regional or provincial mass organization. Local organizations that had been formed by the masses may also be made into organizations devoted to the revolutionary cause instead of forming a new organization.

The real names of the mass revolutionary organizations are the following: 1) Association of Patriotic Workers, 2) Association of Patriotic Youth, 4) Association of Patriotic Women and 5) Association of Patriotic Children. In order to conceal the illegal nature of these mass organizations while engaging in legal activities, other names may be used.

To ensure the revolutionary nature of these local mass organizations, the Party cadres should form Party groups in these mass organizations. These Party groups are expected to provide correct leadership to these mass organizations.

To discharge effectively their revolutionary duties, these local mass organizations should wholeheartedly help in the creation, strengthening and mobilization of the local organs of political power, especially in the countryside. The leading activists in the local mass organizations should be included in the local organs of political power.

The leadership of each mass organization is usually composed of the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and others, or their equivalent. In as much as the existing organizations can be used, there should be flexibility in the position and the form of leadership.

1. Association of Patriotic Workers

- A. The members are composed of those who receive wages as industrial workers, farm workers and others. They may be working in different factories or may belong to different unions but live in the same community.
- B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Workers are:
 - 1. Unite all the workers in a locality under the banner of the people's democratic revolution;
 - 2. Develop cadres and Party members among the workers in order to build genuine workers' unions and Party branches in their respective places of work;
 - 3. Undertake revolutionary studies;
 - 4. Propagate the idea of a general workers' strike;
 - 5. Recruit Red fighters from the ranks of the workers; and
 - 6. Seek reasonable financial, technical and other forms of aid from the workers for the revolution.

2. Association of Patriotic Peasants

- A. Most of its members are poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and leading activists from the middle peasants. Sometimes, the cadres may find legal peasant associations formed by national reformist associations. These may be turned into revolutionary peasant associations.
- B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Peasants are:
 - 1. Unite all the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants in the struggle for national liberation and agrarian revolution;
 - 2. Recruit cadres and Party members from the poor and middle peasants who will be pillars of the Barrio Revolutionary Committees;
 - 3. Help in organizing struggle meetings against the exploiters and fight for rent and interest reduction, and if possible the confiscation of land or the non-payment of land rent to the landlords;
 - 4. Undertake revolutionary studies;
 - 5. Recruit Red Fighters from the peasant class; and

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6. Increase and develop production and farm cooperatives in order to help the revolutionary struggle.

3. Association of Patriotic Youth

- A. The members are composed of young men and women from 14 to 25 years. Sometimes, Party cadres may find youth associations that had been organized by the youth for various reasons. These should all be converted into revolutionary youth organizations.
- B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Youth are:
 1. Unite all the young men and women under the banner of the people's democratic revolution;
 2. Prepare or develop cadres and Party members from the ranks of the youth;
 3. Create among the youth a powerful reserve force for the New People's Army;
 4. Undertake revolutionary studies; and
 5. Tap funds from cultural presentations and productive work of the youth.

4. Association of Patriotic Women

- A. The members are composed of all the women in the community. In reality, they constitute half of the population and therefore play a very important role. They are usually neglected in our revolutionary work.
- B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Women are:
 1. Unite all the women under the banner of the people's democratic revolution;
 2. Turn them into active participants in the revolution;
 3. Develop cadres and Party members among the ranks of the women;
 4. Encourage the women to help each other solve their day-to-day problems;
 5. Undertake revolutionary studies; and
 6. Mobilize the women to support the revolutionary movement in the tasks suited to women.

5. Association of Patriotic Children

- A. The members are composed of children from seven to 13 years. They should be guided by Party members or activists in the youth and women associations.
- B. The duties of the Association of Patriotic Children are:
 - 1. Unite the children under the people's democratic revolution;
 - 2. Undertake simple tasks for the revolution;
 - 3. Import revolutionary knowledge to the primary and intermediate education; and
 - 4. Popularize revolutionary slogans, stories and songs.

Preliminary Report of the Party Group in a Squad of the New People's Army for the Secretariat of the Party and Political Department of the New People's Army

- 1. Date of the establishment of the Party group
- 2. Areas of operation (barrios and towns)
- 3. Full members:
 - a. nom de guerre
 - b. date of induction as candidate member
 - c. date of induction as full member
 - d. date of induction into the New People's Army
 - e. class origin and previous occupation
 - f. previous work in the revolutionary movement
 - g. combat readiness and discipline
 - h. previous studies about the revolution
 - i. special knowledge, skills and abilities
- 4. Candidate members:
 - a. struggle names
 - b. date of induction as candidate member
 - d. date of induction into the New People's Army
 - e. class origin and previous occupation
 - f. previous work in the revolutionary movement
 - g. combat readiness and discipline
 - h. previous studies about the revolution
 - i. special knowledge, skills and abilities
- 5. Deputy secretaries for organization and education
- 6. Past, present and future studies of the squad

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- a. topics
- b. document used
- c. dates of schooling
7. Meetings for the implementation of political, military and economic democracy
 - a. topics
 - b. dates of meetings
 - c. decisions
8. Meetings on criticism and self-criticism
 - a. main problems of the squad; give details if necessary
 - b. dates of meetings
9. Plans of the Party group in the squad for
 - a. the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine Revolution
 - b. training in various kinds of work
 - c. the various kinds of meetings in the squad
 - d. arranging the daily life of the squad
 - e. propaganda work among the masses
 - f. the establishment of organs of political power (Barrio Organizing Committees and Barrio Revolutionary Committees)
 - g. the establishment of Party branches in the localities and Party groups in the Barrio Organizing Committees and the Barrio Revolutionary Committees
 - h. the establishment of Party branches groups in mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, etc.
 - i. arranging the organization, education, livelihood, defense and health of the masses
 - j. the annihilation of the enemy, reactionary troops, oppressive big landlords and overseers, evil authorities, vicious robbers and other bad elements
10. Party branches in the localities where the squad operates (attach or include the preliminary report of the local Party branch also in two copies)

Secretary of the Party group
or secretary of the platoon

Date of the report

The Party group in the squad of the New People's Army shall have an acting secretariat. The political officer shall act as secretary of the

group. When the squad reaches the level of a platoon or when three adjacent squads concentrate, the Party branch may be temporarily based on the platoon. The fighters who are Party members shall elect the executive committee and this committee shall elect the secretary, deputy secretary for organization and deputy secretary for education to form the secretariat.

If there is a Party branch on a level higher than a squad, the political officer of the squad shall be considered as head of the Party group.

Preliminary Report of the Local Party Branch

1. Date of the establishment of the branch
2. Place (barrio, municipality, province)
3. The group or cadre in charge of the establishment
4. Full members
 - a. nom de guerre
 - b. date of induction as candidate member
 - c. date of induction as full member
 - d. class origin and present occupation
 - e. tasks in the revolutionary movement
 - f. combat readiness and discipline
 - g. previous studies about the revolution
 - h. special knowledge, training or abilities
5. Candidate members
 - a. nom de guerre
 - b. date of induction as candidate member
 - c. class origin and present occupation
 - d. tasks in the revolutionary movement
 - e. combat readiness and discipline
 - f. previous studies about the revolution
 - g. special knowledge, training and abilities
6. Members of the executive committee
7. Secretariat
 - a. secretary
 - b. deputy secretary for organization
 - c. deputy secretary for education
8. Past, present and future studies of the branch
 - a. topics
 - b. documents used

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- c. dates of schooling
- 9. Criticism and self-criticism meetings
 - a. main problems of the Party branch; give details if necessary
 - b. dates of meetings
- 10. Plans of the Party branch for:
 - a. studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine Revolution
 - b. increasing the members and candidate-members of the Party
 - c. giving aid and information to the New People's Army
 - d. training new recruits of the New People's Army
 - e. leading the organs of political power
 - f. leading the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth and women
 - g. arranging the organization, education, defense and health of the masses
 - h. establishing Party groups among mass organizations
 - i. establishing local Party branches in adjacent barrios

Cadre in charge of organizing branch

Secretary

Date of report

Preliminary Report of the Party Group in the Mass Organization to the Party Secretariat

1. Date of the establishment of the Party group
2. Nature and scope of the work of the mass organization
3. Full members
 - a. nom de guerre
 - b. date of induction as candidate member
 - c. date of induction as full member
 - d. class origin and present occupation
 - e. tasks in the revolutionary movement
 - f. combat readiness and discipline
 - g. previous studies about the revolution
 - h. special knowledge, training or abilities
4. Candidate members
 - a. nom de guerre
 - b. date of induction as candidate member
 - c. class origin and present occupation

- d. tasks in the revolutionary movement
- e. combat readiness and discipline
- f. previous studies about the revolution
- g. special knowledge, training and abilities
5. The Secretariat
 - a. secretary
 - b. deputy secretary for organization
 - c. deputy secretary for education
6. Past, present and future studies of the Party group
 - a. topics
 - b. documents used
 - c. dates of schooling
7. Criticism and self-criticism meetings
 - a. main problems of the Party branch group; give details if necessary
 - b. dates of meetings
8. Plans of the Party branch group for:
 - a. studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Philippine Revolution
 - b. increasing the members and candidate members of the Party
 - c. giving aid and information to the New People's Army
 - d. training new recruits of the New People's Army
 - e. cooperating with the local organs of political power (Barrio Organizing Committee or Barrio Revolutionary Committee)
 - f. establishing Party groups in different departments and levels of mass organizations. (This is complied with by the Party group from the municipal level and up.)

Secretary
Date of report

Clarification of the Tasks of the Squad and Leadership of the Squad of the New People's Army

It is important for the squad of the New People's Army to know its tasks in general as well as the tasks of every member in its leadership, so as to determine the responsibility of everyone in order that the general tasks of the squad should not be overlooked.

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A. Tasks of the Whole Squad

1. Based on the concrete investigation of the areas of operation, explain to the masses the aim of the national revolution in order to arouse, mobilize and organize them against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.
2. Build the organs of political power of the people (Barrio Organizing Committee, Barrio Revolutionary Committee and the Organizing Committees in Schools, in Work Places and in Communities).
3. Wipe out and punish enemy troops, oppressive landlords, informers, local goons, outright bandits and gangsters, and other bad elements.
4. Build and consolidate guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones.
5. Based on the concrete condition, implement the agrarian revolution (rent reduction, interest reduction, land confiscation, etc.).
6. Recruit new fighters for the New People's Army and give them primary political and military training.
7. Lead in organizing and training militia and self-defense units under the defense committee.
8. Help the masses solve their day-to-day problems.
9. Join in production to sustain itself and to lighten the burden of the people.
10. Hold study, summing-up, criticism and self-criticism meetings in the squad.

B. Duties of Members of the Leadership

The leadership of the squad is composed of 1) the commander, 2) deputy commander, 3) political officer, 4) logistic officer and 5) health officer.

1. Duties of the commander:
 - a. Act as overall leader of the squad and as such be directly responsible for the implementation of the tasks assigned to the squad by the higher command.
 - b. Take charge of the military operations of the squad and decide on military problems.
 - c. Lead in mass work and in building organs of political power.
 - d. Lead in looking after the members of the squad in economy, equipment, health, security and solving internal problems.

- e. Strengthen Party leadership in the army, democratic actions and conscious discipline.
 - f. Call study, summing-up, criticism and self-criticism meetings to raise the ideological and political level of the squad and to improve its revolutionary work.
 - g. Lead in heightening revolutionary heroism, sincerity, tirelessness and courage in successive battles.
 - h. Prepare the necessary reports to the higher level.
2. Duties of the deputy commander:
- a. Assume the duties of the commander when the occasion so demands or in circumstances where the commander is not in a position to discharge his duties.
 - b. Assist the commander in accomplishing the tasks assigned to the squad by the higher command.
 - c. Assist the commander in looking after the welfare of the squad members.
 - d. Perform other tasks as may be assigned to him.
3. Duties of the Political Officer:
- a. Organize and lead the Party group in the squad and ensure that there is collective decision in solving problems.
 - b. Ensure the implementation of policies and directives of higher Party organs.
 - c. Lead in organizing local Party branches in accordance with the building of local organs of political power.
 - d. Lead the Party group in holding study meetings and receive educational materials from higher political departments.
 - e. Ensure that there is political, military and economic democracy within the people's army; and
 - f. Prepare reports for the political department of the National Operational Command.
4. Duties of the Logistic Officer:
- a. Take care of the equipment and funds of the squad.
 - b. Prepare and keep records and accounts of the overall expenses of the squad and submit a report to the commander as scheduled.
 - c. Collect and inventory arms and other things confiscated from the enemy.
 - d. Attend to possible sources of equipment and funds for the squad.

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5. Duties of the Health Officer:
 - a. Attend to the health of comrades and the masses.
 - b. Collect and store the proper medicines, especially for emergency use.
 - c. Answer first aid calls from comrades and the masses.
 - d. Take charge of calling the doctor or sending a sick comrade to the doctor.

N.B. It will be noted that the first two leaders of the squad are called “commander” and “deputy commander” although it is not yet of company size. This is to keep in mind the (future or expected) development of the present squads to company level.

Guide for Preparing the Report of the Armed Propaganda Unit

Kinds of reports to be prepared:

- I. Report on investigation
- II. Monthly reports
- III. Various special reports
- IV. Special battle report

Report on Investigation

The report on investigation is prepared immediately after a thorough investigation of the conditions in the area of operation and the report shall continue as the area expands. It is also necessary to prepare these reports on the areas which have not yet been reported.

Barrio, town and province:

1. Population and number of houses
2. Barrio captain and members of the barrio council and their social classes, size of the land they till or own, and their party affiliation
3. Big landlords (from 50 hectares above), overseers and landlords owning 10 or more hectares. (In a number of places, the size of the landholding may be smaller to recognize the big landlords.)
4. Number of poor peasants, middle peasants and rich peasants
5. Number of barrio teachers, ages and grades they are teaching
6. Non-peasants living in the barrio who are working within or outside the barrio

7. System of land sharing or rent
8. System of usury (interest rate)
9. Other forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation (including exploitation by merchants)
10. Hated big landlords, landgrabbers, usurers, overseers and persons in authority (civilian police or military officer) residing within or outside the barrio, and their offenses and activities against the people
11. Bad elements like cattle rustlers, extortionists, robbers, rapists and other criminals
12. Owners of firearms and their status and political activities.
13. Former and present residents of the barrio connected with the reactionary armed forces or police
14. Agents of the reactionary government or foreign governments operating in the barrio and their particular activities
15. Religious sects, membership and their activities
16. Mass organizations, membership and their activities
17. Revolutionary experience or history of the people
18. Terrain, condition of roads and distance from the national highway, town proper, or Philippine Constabulary (PC) detachment
19. Tactical value of the barrio
20. Most common and special problems confronting the barrio people

Commander

Date

Monthly Report of the Squad

- A. Political Situation
 1. Attitude of the masses toward the revolutionary movement
 2. Main problems of the people
 3. Attitude toward the reactionary government and its imperialist and landlord masters
 4. Conflicts within the ruling class and in the bureaucracy of the reactionary government
- B. Working Conditions
 1. On Organization
 - a. In what barrios have people's committees (Barrio Organizing Committees and others like Workers Organizing Com-

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mittee) and organs of political power in the countryside (Barrio Revolutionary Committee) been established?

- b. What is the organizational status of the committees on organization, education, economy, defense and health; in which barrios have these been formed and when?
 - c. How many mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women and children were formed; how many are their members; has the organizational committee coordinated these organizations?
 - d. How big (number of people) would be the mass base of the revolutionary movement?
 - e. How many Party members and candidate-members are there in the squad and in the localities? Mention the organizations formed by the enemy, the religious and other organizations formed not on our initiative.
2. On Education
- a. How many struggle or study meetings under the Barrio Organizing Committee or Barrio Revolutionary Committee have been held; what was the discussion about and how many attended?
 - b. How many study meetings of each mass organization have been held; what was the discussion about and how many attended?
 - c. Are the committees on education already functioning; what are they doing?
 - d. How many teachers in the public school can grasp the revolution and can help in educational work based on the primary course?
 - e. Is the local Party branch or its members prepared to do educational and propaganda work?
 - f. What did the squad take up in its inner internal study, summing-up of experience, and criticism and self-criticism meetings?
- Mention any propaganda and educational drive being waged by the enemy and by the different sects and organizations which have no connection with us.
3. On Economy
- a. What are the conditions and problems of the different classes and strata to which the masses belong?

- b. What steps have we taken to help them?
- c. Has production been undertaken for the Party and the army; has material assistance been secured from the people or allies?
- d. Is the committee on economy already functioning?
- e. What is the economic (including financial) condition of the squad?

Mention those who are exploiting the people (landlords, usurers, corrupt officials of the reactionary government, merchants, etc.) and the forms of exploitation.

4. On Health

- a. What is the most widespread disease among the masses?
- b. Is there a doctor who is at least an ally?
- c. What are the local medicine and traditional treatment availed of by the masses?
- d. Is the health committee now ready and able to treat, take care or bring to a doctor our wounded or sick fighters?
- e. How is the health of the squad members?

5. On Military

- a. How is the enemy condition (strength and number of weapons, formation and their dispositions, abuses and actions directed against us)?
- b. What countermoves (tactical avoidance, punishment, ambush, attack, etc.) have we taken against the enemy; what were the results?
- c. What have we done to eliminate the enemy (troops, Barrio Self-Defense Units, informers, landlords, landgrabbers, vicious officials, extortionists, robbers and other bad elements)? How many casualties (dead or wounded) have been inflicted on these enemies?
- d. What type of weapons and ammunition, and how many more were confiscated from the enemy?
- e. What is the condition of the squad (its disposition; new recruits and their abilities; the number of men and weapons lost and the causes; etc.)?
- f. What is the condition of the committees on defense and the militia units and self-defense units it is leading; have these been trained and how are they armed?

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- g. Are the squad and the local armed groups now cooperating with each other in undertaking operation and other military work?
- C. Requests, Opinion and Proposals
 - 1. Regarding work on organization, education, economy, health and military
 - 2. Regarding the squad and new recruits

Commander

Date

Different Kinds of Special Reports

The special report is immediately prepared and submitted due to urgency. There is no need to include it in the monthly report.

Guidelines:

1. Problems which should be reported immediately and which need the assistance of the higher organ or command or by other comrades for solution
2. Big incidents involving the masses, and/or the squad, and which occurred within the area of operation
3. Movement of the enemy which have to be reported immediately to other units
4. Results of major military operations and others
5. Causes of failure to carry out an immediate or major order

Special Battle Report

- A. Account of the Event
 - 1. Date and place of operation
 - 2. Type of operation (punishment, ambush, attack or encirclement of enemy, bombing, unexpected encounter or encirclement by the enemy)
 - 3. What is the condition of our side?
 - a. number and type of our formation
 - b. number and type of weapons used
 - c. assistance or participation of the masses or militia
 - d. casualties on our side (dead; wounded, serious and not serious; and captured)

- e. weapons, ammunition and equipment taken or destroyed by the enemy
- f. ammunition spent
4. What is the condition of the enemy?
 - a. number and type of formation of the enemy
 - b. kinds of weapon and other military equipment used
 - c. casualties we inflicted on the enemy (state whether the number of 1) dead, 2) wounded, serious or not serious, is exact or approximate)
 - d. weapons, ammunition and other equipment destroyed or confiscated from the enemy
 - e. additional information about the enemy gathered from the masses
 - f. information taken from captives, if there are any
5. Description of the Operation (diagram or drawing)
 - a. disposition of our men and the enemy's
 - b. terrain and other features of the place
 - c. movement of our men and the enemy's 1) in the beginning, 2) in the middle, and 3) in the end
 - d. How long did the whole operation last?
- B. Summing-Up of the Operation (Answer the questions to help the leadership sum up the operation).
 1. Whose was the initiative? Did we win or not?
 2. What is the basis of our victory or failure?
 3. What should be done by the squad to improve our actions and initiative?
 4. What is being done to pinpoint the root cause of and correct the errors and weaknesses that arose during the operation?
 5. What was the effect of the operation on the masses?
 6. What should be done to completely win over the masses to our side and mobilize them against the enemy?

Date
Commander

★ ★ ★



We Unite with All Patriotic and Progressive Forces against the Tyranny of Marcos Terrorism

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, August 24, 1971.

The Communist Party of the Philippines on its own behalf and also on behalf of the New People's Army which it leads expresses the strongest indignation over the Plaza Miranda massacre of August 21 which resulted in the death and injury of so many people, including the top leadership of the Liberal Party.

The dastardly act is directed not only against the Liberal Party but also against all opposition and the entire Filipino people. The terrorist character and the mad scheming of the US-Marcos clique are amply proven not only by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on a nationwide scale and without any basis. Beyond doubt, the Marcos fascist puppet clique is bent on monopolizing political power through militarist, anticommunist and antidemocratic methods.

The US-Marcos clique has steadily taken to the path of fascist dictatorship against the broad masses of the people. We are witness today to the imposition of an undisguised militarist rule. The US-Marcos regime is employing every method it can borrow from the black book of Hitler in order to create an anticommunist hysteria, silence every kind of opposition and monopolize political power at gunpoint. The University of the Philippines only recently was turned into a "guinea pig" for sinister efforts of CIA "psywar" experts to turn the tide of the strike movement and the new democratic cultural revolution in urban areas throughout the country.

The US-Marcos clique has become so mad and desperate that it would commit any crime under the "anti-Maoist" line to perpetuate its ill-gotten power and wealth and preserve the interests of its foreign and feudal masters. Only recently, Marcos himself raised "communism" as the main issue against all his political enemies and accused them specifically of cooperating with "Maoists." All of a sudden, he reverses himself by calling the criminal attackers of the Liberal Party as "Maoists." It is absolutely stupid and callous for the US-Marcos clique to blame the

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Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army for every evil that its own minions perpetrate. Its haste in trying to make the Party and the people's army its scapegoats only betrays its criminal responsibility for the Plaza Miranda massacre.

The US-Marcos clique without much ado condemns Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus. In this regard, we invite all to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong to find out for themselves whether these great communist leaders allow terrorist bombing or not. We Filipino Communists are bound by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and we always rely on the awakening and mobilization of the masses in their millions.

In pursuing its "anti-Maoist" line, the US-Marcos clique has gone so far as to cooperate with and coddle the bogus communist party of the Lava revisionist fascists. Both counterrevolutionaries have cooperated in fascist crimes such as those perpetrated in Central Luzon and lately in the Greater Manila area. They have joined up in establishing BSDUs in certain areas and in perpetrating acts of bloody intrigue in several instances.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army, has consistently refused to be drawn in by such enemy provocations as kidnapping, assassination, harassment and bloody disruption of rallies in urban areas. That is because we wish to give full play to the strike movement and the new democratic cultural revolution. It is in the countryside that we are engaged in armed struggle which is on the strategic defensive and on tactical offensives. In waging armed struggle, we have dealt the most ruthless blows only on diehard enemies.

The US-Marcos clique continues to overstep. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on a nationwide scale and without limit is in so many respects worse than all massacres it has covertly and overtly perpetrated. This means mass arrests, pogroms, and the systematic suppression of democratic rights. In its sick thinking, the US-Marcos clique imagines that it can nip the revolutionary mass movement "in the bud." But thanks to the US-Marcos clique itself, the level of revolutionary consciousness and strength among the people has risen even higher for effective resistance.

There is nothing to fear from the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus or the imposition of martial law. The situation which the US-Marcos clique has created in Greater Manila and throughout the country is no

We Unite with All Patriotic and Progressive Forces

different from the situation in Tarlac, Pampanga, Isabela and many other areas where the Party, the people's army and the revolutionary masses themselves create their own freedom of action by uniting and taking the initiative in their hands and fighting the enemy.

We unite with all patriotic and progressive forces that are willing to purge the country of the fascist tyranny and puppetry of the Marcos ruling clique. By isolating and destroying the Marcos fascist puppet clique, we advance the revolutionary mass movement against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the national united front!

Long live the spirit of the martyrs for the people's democratic cause!

People's war is the answer to martial law!

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
August 24, 1971

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On the Partial Lifting of the Writ Suspension

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, September 20, 1971.

Even before the brazen suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the bodies of victims in such Marcos-type acts of terror as the Corregidor massacre and the kidnapping of Carlos B. del Rosario and Francisco C. Sison could not be produced in the reactionary courts.

The partial lifting of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus does not in any way diminish the insatiable greed of the US-Marcos regime for power and wealth. It is a flimsy trick to adorn the ugly truth that the US-Marcos clique does not hesitate to commit the most dastardly crimes to keep itself in power.

The daily mass actions since August 23 have brought the national democratic struggle to a new and higher stage and have aggravated the isolation of the US-Marcos clique. A comparison between the September 13th rally of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL) and the September 17th rally of the Veterans Federation of the Philippines shows the strength of the masses and the weakness of the enemy. And now the chief fascist puppet chieftain has to take some pretense at heeding public opinion so that his gang can perpetrate more crimes against the people.

The democratic leaders and other persons apprehended under the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus are still in the military stockades. An extraordinary state of intimidation still persists in the most strategic centers of public opinion and therefore still compels several hundreds of non-communist democrats to desist from appearing in public.

Every day that Malacañang and the Supreme Court fail to heed popular demands for the total lifting of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus strengthens the cause of the revolutionary mass movement.

More massive demonstrations under the banner of the national united front are necessary to assert the people's democratic rights. At the same time, the people should become more prepared against the violent actions launched by the Marcos fascist puppet clique under the US "counterinsurgency" program in both cities and countryside.

The Plaza Miranda massacre and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus have intensified on a national scale the violent contradictions

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between reactionary cliques, whose conflicts previously seemed to be restricted to local areas. The attempt of the US-Marcos regime to whip up an anticommunist hysteria is nothing but a cover to crush all kinds of opposition, whether communist or non-communist.

The political and economic crisis of US imperialism at home and abroad has reached such a point that in a semicolony like the Philippines the puppet reactionaries must wrangle violently among themselves. The “show window of democracy in Asia” is all in shambles. The ruling puppet clique is brazenly taking the path of other puppet ruling cliques in Asia. The evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are unmasked more clearly than ever before.

The US-Marcos regime itself has thrown away its mask of “liberal democracy.” Its “democratic revolution” is nothing but a fascist counter-revolution. The antinational and antidemocratic nature of the reactionary state is completely exposed.

The US-Marcos regime raves about crushing the Communist Party of the Philippines. But experience under the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus has shown that whereas a single communist cannot be definitely identified the diehard reactionaries aggravate their own isolation by having to assault the entire nation and people. The effectiveness of our underground is well tested and proven. It is bound to improve even further in the face of fascist onslaughts.

The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus has strengthened both the proletarian party and the revolutionary mass movement. The lies that the US-Marcos regime fling at us have only served to stress the truth of our national and democratic integrity. The “anti-Maoist” conspiracy of the US-Marcos clique and the Lava revisionist renegades has utterly failed.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines can never be crushed. Its ideological and political line makes it invincible. It has a broad mass character and always fights on just grounds. Its main organization is the New People’s Army which is engaged in a protracted people’s war. It employs the united front to win over the broad masses of the people in their millions.

Today, the broad masses of the people recognize the Communist Party of the Philippines as the only force capable of leading the Philippine revolution forward to victory.

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On the Restoration of the Legitimate Rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 15, 1972.

The Communist Party of the Philippines regards the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the concomitant expulsion of such an impostor as the Chiang Kai-Shek clique as a great victory of Chairman Mao Zedong's line in foreign affairs, a reflection of the ever successful conduct of revolution in China's domestic affairs.

This victory belongs to the Chinese people as well as to the people of the world, including the Filipino people. At the same time, it is an overwhelming defeat of US imperialism and all the diehard reactionary forces which now find their false illusions and artifices repudiated by the people of the world and by UN member countries at an accelerating rate.

Chairman Mao has stated, "The present situation in which the United States controls a majority in the United Nations and dominates many parts of the world is a temporary one, which will eventually be changed."

The massive support given to the Albanian resolution, to the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of the Chinese people, serves notice to all that the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, can no longer manipulate the United Nations and international affairs without facing strong and effective opposition.

The People's Republic of China, being a powerful well-consolidated socialist state and representing a quarter of the entire world population, gives the fullest support to the national sovereignty and revolutionary struggles of all peoples. It has vowed never to be a superpower and has as a matter of fact always opposed the bullying posture and tactics of the superpowers.

The restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the concomitant expulsion of the Chiang Kai-Shek clique from the same international body signal more and worse defeats to befall US imperialism and all diehard reactionary forces. None but the fool fails to recognize the surging tide of the

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world anti-imperialist movement, the desperately bankrupt and isolated position of the forces of imperialism and reaction and the broadening of the international anti-imperialist united front.

US imperialism and Japanese militarism are fools that do not recognize their own bankrupt position, that continue to oppose the revolutionary forces and that daily aggravate their own isolation. Despite their overwhelming defeat in the United Nations, they still swagger around peddling such foolish anti-China notions as “two Chinas,” “one China, one Taiwan,” “Taiwan independence movement” and the like. These monsters continue to maneuver for the transgression of Chinese sovereignty and the violation of China’s sacred territory. In this regard, they also continue to manipulate the domestic and foreign policy of the Philippine reactionary government against the People’s Republic of China.

Taiwan is a province and an inalienable part of China. The liberation of Taiwan is an integral matter for China and the Chinese people. The people of the world and now the United Nations acclaim this fact. US imperialism has no alternative but to immediately withdraw from Taiwan and completely cease to prop up the long-unburied political corpse that is the Chiang Kai-Shek clique. The determination of China and the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan should never be trifled with.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines hereby expresses its most militant revolutionary support to the People’s Republic of China and the Chinese people in their determined efforts to liberate Taiwan. The Filipino people are profoundly interested in the liberation of Taiwan and are always ready to intensify their revolutionary struggle in support of their neighboring fraternal countries. Chairman Mao urges us, “People of the world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, US imperialism, and against its accomplices!”

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Philippine Economy Worsens in the Wake of the Worldwide Crisis of US Imperialism

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Chief US puppet Ferdinand E. Marcos, in a recent speech before businessmen, rattled off a chain of claims in an attempt to show that the Philippine economy had improved under his fascist regime. He forecast, in the fashion of a sorcerer, that the economic situation would improve “further” in 1972.

As usual, he merely mouthed the policies dictated by US advisers, the IMF, World Bank and other agencies of US imperialism. The stark realities were there to see: the economy had suffered from an unprecedented inflation since 1969 and was still on its rapid backslide. By no stretch of the imagination could the prospects for the new year be encouraging.

The people suffer increasing unemployment, fast declining purchasing power of the peso, unmitigated increase in the cost of living (prices of basic commodities, house rental, electric and telephone rates, transportation rates, tuition fees and other needs), higher taxes and the threat of more of them, and deteriorating peace and order (rampant killings, robbery, kidnappings, mass arrests and other crimes).

Since the de facto peso devaluation via the floating rate on February 21, 1970, the broad masses of the people have been agitated by a grave economic crisis. The steeply rising prices have pushed the workers to demand for higher wages and strikes have become common among business and industrial houses. Credit has tightened further because the government has been grabbing more and more private funds to shore itself up. Cost of imported raw materials to feed the local industries has remained prohibitive. The government is foisting more taxes on top of so many, while bureaucratic corruption has further cramped the initiative of the national bourgeoisie in the face of intensifying competition from foreign capital spurred by state policies barefacedly geared toward attracting more foreign capital to exploit and plunder the country.

The devaluation of the Philippine peso in February 1970 was prescribed by US imperialism through the International Monetary Fund

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as a precondition for the Philippines to be able to have its old external debts “rolled over” as well as secure new external debts. Through this measure, US imperialism sought to shift on a part of the burden of its own worsening financial and economic crises to the broad masses of the Filipino people. As is to be expected, the prescription has only exacerbated the internal crisis. Inflation persisted and breakdown in industry and agriculture ensued, spawning price increases and worsening unemployment.

The so-called technocrats harnessed by the US-Marcos regime exhausted their expertise and failed to stem the deterioration of the economy. These so-called technocrats have simply proven themselves servitors of the US imperialists and the domestic ruling classes. The policies and stopgap measures that they push have only served to accommodate the rapaciousness of the US monopoly capitalists, the comprador-landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists and spawned the outright graft and bureaucratic corruption of the US-Marcos clique at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Also, the external factors bred by the intensifying worldwide crisis of imperialism have aggravated the internal economic crisis.

It was, in fact, the worldwide crisis of imperialism, the decay and decline of the entire capitalist system, that set the destructive forces at work in the Philippine economy.

A concrete manifestation of the worldwide crisis of imperialism is the deterioration of the value of the US dollar which from 1944 to 1958 held undisputed sway over the world capitalist economy. Since 1958 when US imperialism intensified its wars of aggression in various areas of the world, the dollar consistently lost value vis-à-vis the currencies of other capitalist countries, such as Japan and West Germany. US imperialism accumulated external debts by war spending, maintaining military bases overseas and supporting unpopular regimes in client-states.

US imperialism built up a balance of payments deficit running to \$10.7 billion as of 1970. So heavy has been its spending for its war of aggression in Vietnam, which in any case it cannot hope to win. Inflationary pressures at home caused a rise in consumer prices from a 3 percent rate of increase in 1967 to 6.6 percent in 1969, something alarming for Americans struggling to maintain a high standard of living. The US economy’s growth rate dwindled from an average of 5 percent in 1965-68 to only 3 percent in 1970. The unemployment level rose from 3.3 percent in 1968 to 5.9 percent in 1970, which is serious for a highly

industrialized country. In certain areas in the United States, unemployment went up to as high as several tens of percent.

The measures to “protect the dollar” adopted by the Nixon ruling clique on August 15, 1971 showed that US imperialism respects no commitment it makes with other nations when its interests are threatened. By suspending the convertibility of the dollar into gold to stop speculations in the major currency markets where the dollar had been losing value, US imperialism threw overboard the Bretton Woods Agreement⁴ (IMF Articles of Agreement) and set off a chain of crises for the currencies of other capitalist countries principally Japan, West Germany and other West European countries.

Not satisfied with junking an international commitment, the Nixon ruling clique slapped a 10 percent additional tax or surcharge on US imports to protect domestic industries on the slump. As a result, exports to the United States became more expensive and were therefore discouraged. This move spurred protests and threats of retaliatory action on US exports by the countries affected. For small exporting countries such as the Philippines, this meant a tremendous blow to the effort to build up dollar earnings so as to meet growing payment requirements for imports and foreign loans.

The Nixon ruling clique used these unilateral measures as clubs to force the other big capitalist nations to upvalue their currencies vis-à-vis the dollar instead of the other way around, as these countries had demanded. Principal US protagonists were Japan, West Germany, France and other West European nations. These countries opposed the Nixon position because upvaluing their currencies without any devaluation of the US dollar would make their exports much costlier than those of the United States in the world market, thus diminishing their competitive position in world trade.

A temporary compromise was reached among the capitalist countries within the “Group of Ten.” US imperialism agreed to increase the price of gold from \$35 per ounce to \$38, thus devaluing the dollar by 7.89 percent on December 18, 1971. It also agreed to lift the 10 percent import surcharge. In return, the other capitalist countries agreed to upvalue their currencies.

The net effect of the accord is still to the advantage of US imperialism at the expense of the other capitalist countries. Japan and West

4 See Notes at end of article.

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Germany have in fact started to suffer slowdown in production, the former predicting its gross national product growth rate to be reduced by more than half the 10 percent average over the last few years. These two countries are now contending with rising prices and growing unemployment.

Intensified trade war is inevitable among the imperialist countries: a battle for exports markets, for a redivision of the countries of the world as economic preserves. US imperialism is bent on waging a trade offensive in areas dominated by other big trading countries, but Japan, West Germany and the European Economic Community are not likely to take this lying down. This trade war will mean further exploitation of colonies and semicolonies, like the Philippines.

In this trade war, US imperialism will try hard to remain dominant, arguing the need to preserve the world capitalist system with the United States as its center. In fact, US imperialism has long laid the foundation for holding on to its status as No. 1 imperialist power. It has kept a tight hold on West Germany and the rest of Western Europe through its military bases and its overseas investments now either well-entrenched in key industries or safely tied up with local capital all over Europe. It has made Japan its fogleman in Asia by tying up its remilitarization with the US privilege of maintaining military bases all over Japanese territory and by forcing it to open up its investment fields to US monopoly capital via joint ventures which require less dollar outflow. Japan remains US imperialism's biggest military ward in Asia, a fact that has only fanned the fire of protest and anti-imperialist and anti-militarist struggle of the Japanese people.

The crisis of imperialism is not likely to be solved either on the short range or over the long haul. Since it carries within itself the seed of its own destruction, imperialism will reel from one crisis to another. The raging anti-imperialist movement of the world within and outside the capitalist countries and the growing strength of socialism with the People's Republic of China as its iron bastion will not give imperialism any respite, till its doom.

Meanwhile, the Philippines under a puppet regime of US imperialism will continue to be pressed down by the crisis of imperialism. There is no prospect of improvement in the Philippines' balance of payments position. Contrary to earlier projections of a surplus by monetary authorities, the year 1971 was projected to end with a deficit because of falling prices of primary exports and the high cost of imports of capital

goods, raw materials and other basic commodities composing the bulk of Philippine imports. Higher price of crude oil, for instance, greatly boosted the value of imports. Now the US and British monopoly oil companies are seeking another round of price increases for gasoline and other products from crude oil. The US-Marcos regime is bound to grant such price increases as well as those asked by other foreign monopolies, to the detriment of the consumers.

The continuing payments imbalance will not permit a fixing of the new peso rate, hence speculation and inflation will persist. Fixing the rate would spawn new problems since the peso will surely go down further in value following the US dollar.

Filipino entrepreneurs must also contend with intensified competition from and growing dominance of US and Japanese monopoly capital and other foreigners. The policies adopted by the US-Marcos clique through the Board of Investments have opened the gates to the invasion by Japanese monopoly capital of key sectors of the economy, such as mining, merchandising and manufacturing. US and Japanese monopoly capital, including Guomindang capital, has been allowed to dominate the field of oil exploration, as well as various manufacturing sectors.

Japanese monopoly capital poses the newest and gravest danger to the Philippine economy, particularly because it is squarely tied up with US monopoly capital in many areas. While records of the Securities and Exchange Commission show that Japanese monopoly investments in the country amounted to only ₱91.6 million as of June 1971, Japanese publications indicate that they have reached \$450 million, which presumably includes capital equipment sold on long-term payment terms. But even on the comparatively smaller figure of the SEC, records of that office reported in the bourgeois press show that Japanese firms had borrowed from local sources no less than ₱15.5 million.

The US-Marcos clique directly facilitated the entry of Japanese capital into the country, proving itself a true servitor of foreign monopoly interests. In 1967 the chief US puppet Marcos directed the National Economic Council and the department of commerce to allow 17 Japanese liaison offices to do business here, despite the nonratification of the “treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation” which is an unequal treaty in favor of the Japanese. Subsequently, under the Investment Incentives Act, the BOI rolled out the red carpet for Japanese monopoly and other foreign capital.

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This collusion between US-Japanese monopoly capital and the US-Marcos clique, unless stopped by the resolute struggle of the Filipino people, will aggravate the already wanton exploitation of the country's natural resources and the foreign monopoly domination of the national economy. Militarist Japan is determined to appropriate for itself the raw material resources of the Philippines, as well as those of other countries like Indonesia, to feed its bloating industries and fuel its military machine. By 1980, Japanese militarism is projected to require 80 percent of the world's supply of raw materials. With the other imperialist countries competing with Japan, what would remain for indigenous industries in the raw-material-supplying countries?

In the face of these realities of world imperialism and the Philippine economy, the Filipino people shall not relent in their struggle to destroy the stronghold of imperialism in the country and sweep away all local lackeys. They will carry on the fight for national liberation and join forces with all other anti-imperialist forces all over the world.

Notes

Under the IMF Articles of Agreement signed in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in 1944, the US dollar was made the basis for settling the values of all currencies of countries in the capitalist world, to facilitate world trade and currency exchanges. This was done because the US dollar then was the world's strongest currency as a result of the unprecedented boom in the US economy fueled by armaments production during World War II.

While all currencies are supposed to be fixed in value in relation to the dollar, the value of the dollar was in turn pegged in relation to gold; that is, a dollar could be exchanged for one-thirty-fifth (1/35) of an ounce of gold (which explains the \$35 per ounce gold price).

Theoretically, any country in possession of US dollars may present these to the United States in exchange for gold. The United States was supposed to keep a sufficient reserve of gold to make good this exchange anytime. But the US gold reserve in Fort Knox dwindled from \$26 billion worth at the end of the war to only \$9.7 billion by August of 1971. Against this low reserve, governments and private sectors in Europe hold \$95 billion in US currency and \$15 billion in Japan, all theoretically exchangeable for gold by the United States. The United States, however, is no longer in a position to make good the exchange.

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This situation caused alarm among the dollar holders in Europe and in Japan and as a consequence of massive speculation, the dollar gradually lost value in the currency exchange markets. On the other hand, the currencies of the other big capitalist countries which had built up dollar reserves rose in value in terms of the US dollar. Thus, the US dollar lost its reliability as a medium of exchange in international trade and currency transactions.

The pressure of the countries with huge dollar holdings for the dollar to devalue and US imperialism's insistence against devaluation caused the monetary crisis in the capitalist world to escalate.

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Persevere in Legal Mass Struggle, Accumulate Strength in the Underground

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The general outcome of mass protest actions last year demonstrates more clearly than ever that the revolutionary determination of the broad masses of the people can render ineffectual all the evil machinations of the US-Marcos regime to extend its tentacles of oppression and exploitation. Chairman Mao teaches us: “All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.”

An examination of the counterrevolutionary tactics of the US-Marcos clique establishes the truth of this statement. Using patently dual tactics, the Marcos fascist puppet clique, with the full blessings of US imperialism, commits the blackest counterrevolutionary deeds and at the same time attempts to sweet-talk the people into complacency with false promises of “reform.” In the field of counterrevolutionary propaganda, meanwhile, it strains to advance the laborious argument that the crimes and massacres it commits are the doing either of genuine revolutionaries or its political enemies. All these steps are taken in the vain hope that they will prevent the irrepressible advance of the national democratic movement and the revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of the people.

Thus, early this year, reactionary hacks in the pay of the US-Marcos regime sought to mislead the masses by blaming the exploited jeepney drivers for the general strike that lasted from January 5 to 13, deliberately ignoring the fact that the rise in oil prices was dictated by the US imperialist oil cartel and slavishly implemented by the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Malacañang itself even went so far as to tag “pressure groups,” particularly the Lopez business group, as responsible for financing the strikers and inciting them to violence.

What was obvious even at that time, however, was that the reactionary state led by the fascist puppet Marcos and controlled by US imperial-

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ism had already been oiled to suppress the strike by means of counter-revolutionary violence. In a vain effort to sabotage the rightful dissent of the masses, fully armed reactionary soldiers and army trucks were unleashed for transportation purposes. And in the January 13 worker-student march and rally that capped the strike, UIOG forces under the minor puppet Roquito Ablan, under directions from Marcos, tried to break up the demonstrators with the use of highpowered guns, in the process killing five persons and injuring hundreds of others.

The revolutionary upsurge of the masses continued despite the combine use of reactionary propaganda and counterrevolutionary violence, despite the wilful murder of five people. Contrary to the divide-and-rule tactics of the fascist puppet Marcos, the jeepney drivers hand in hand with the militant youth consolidated their ranks. By February they had consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, thereby girding themselves for more confrontations with the exploitative US imperialist oil cartel and the oppressive Marcos fascist clique. Shortly before, the workers, also hand in hand with the militant youth, had also done the same.

The murderous hand of the fascist puppet Marcos struck once again when, on May Day 1971, one woman worker and two students were felled by the bullets of fascist troops. The fact that the battle-gearred troops were positioned on the grounds, offices and rooftops of Congress, and were in addition backed up by a machinegun-rattling helicopter, speaks for itself.

The martyrdom of the three May Day patriots, however, only inspired broader and more intense mass actions. On June 11, youth, workers, intellectuals and professionals rallied to demand the release of a patriotic youth leader, Nilo Tayag. In Mindanao and throughout the country, demonstrations were held to protest the continued massacre of Muslims. Since August 24, pocket-size demonstrations as well as rallies commanding as many as 50,000 participants have been held throughout the country. The People's Long March Against Poverty and Fascism, the second to start from a point in the countryside and the first to converge in the city from two points in Luzon, took place October 20-24, ending up before a crowd of 30,000 in Plaza Miranda.

The ever increasing frequency of mass actions throughout the country is one concrete manifestation of the futility of all schemes of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to perpetuate itself in power and to protect the interests of US imperialism. As the US imperialist race

after superprofits becomes more and more hectic due to its balance of payments problem, the need to suppress revolutionary mass movements becomes more and more urgent on the part of the reactionaries. However, as the Manila-Rizal Regional Council of the Communist Party of the Philippines correctly assessed after the Caloocan massacre, the seriously aggravating economic conditions only serve to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the system, while the escalation of fascist terrorism in the urban areas provides more effective and sharper weapons in waging the national democratic cultural revolution among the masses.

Paper tigers do not vanish of themselves; they have to be torn up and set to fire. The events of the past year show that without determined implementation of the correct political line, economic hardships and acts of fascist terrorism will not entirely result in the advance of the national democratic cultural revolution.

As the Party accurately concluded as early as January of 1971, legal mass struggle in the city must persist even as the underground is strengthened “to provide a powerful support to mass activities and to counteract enemy schemes in the most appropriate ways.” The correctness of these measures was proven when, in the latter part of the year, the US-Marcos clique, hectically running the reactionary race toward military dictatorship, reached a new mark characterized by Hitlerite terrorist schemes. That up to now the enemy has not managed to take a single patch of the underground only goes to show that the underground has succeeded in concealing itself from the enemy and is now counteracting enemy schemes in the most appropriate ways, thereby making possible the persistence of legal mass struggle in the city.

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Workers' Movement Advances

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The masses of workers are stirring. They are breaking out everywhere against the intensified exploitation characterizing this crumbling semicolonial and semifeudal system. They are throwing off the yellow labor leaders, labor dealers and labor aristocrats from their backs and rising up in irrepressible political and economic struggle against the rule of the exploiters and oppressors.

A great wave of mass strikes battered the reactionary ruling order in 1971. The two unprecedented general transport strikes of January 5-13 and February 2-10, which started off the mass actions for the year, brought about the mobilization of masses of jeepney drivers, transport workers and the broad masses of the people against the intensified exploitative schemes of the US imperialist oil monopoly and its local running dogs.

Widespread industrial strikes affected a number of plants in the tire and rubber, textile and textile goods, metal products, cement, food manufacturing industries, in fact practically every other significant manufacturing industry.

Long-drawn-out strikes likewise hit a considerable number of restaurants, hotels, department stores, insurance and accounting firms, private schools and other establishments.

A monthlong general strike was held by thousands of Filipino workers in Clark Air Force Base with the support of the people of Angeles City and other towns in Pampanga. Significantly, this strike culminated in a giant march and rally at the gates of the US imperialist military installation.

Farm workers, particularly those in sugar and coconut plantations in Central and Southern Luzon and Western Visayas, also fought for their democratic rights throughout the year, organizing themselves into effective forces against all reaction.

Everywhere youth activists have been linking up with the masses of militant workers in fighting against the strikebreaking and union-busting tactics of the reactionary capitalist managements, their labor stooges and the constabulary police and lumpen gangsters.

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Significant progress has been made in building up a broad alliance of militant labor federations encompassing the whole trade union movement. The big-time labor leaders and labor aristocrats Oca, Lacsina, Hernandez, Lerum, Mendoza, Cid and others of their yellow stripe, are more and more starkly exposed and one by one cast away by the rapidly surging revolutionary trade union movement.

The Filipino proletariat repeatedly proved its high sense of self-sacrifice in the service of the people in the January 13 Plaza Miranda massacre, May Day massacre and Caloocan massacre, which saw the heroic death, among others, of Liza Balandó and Fred Tibar, representatives of the new militant worker activists, and the wounding of hundreds of other militant youth and workers.

The break of a glorious new day has come for the Filipino proletariat. Once again it has the glorious opportunity to give full play to its revolutionary ideology, militance and organization in leading the struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy.

Great strides were taken in 1971. Bound in unshakeable unity with the masses of peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia and integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, the Filipino proletariat will surely take greater strides in leading the people's cause further on the road to victory in the coming year.

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Anti-Communist Campaign of the US-Marcos Clique Brings About its further Isolation

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At no other time was the national united front so broad as the months after the second Plaza Miranda massacre and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by the terrorist chieftain Marcos. Contrary to the designs of the US-Marcos clique, all attempts to isolate proletarian revolutionaries through the stepped-up propaganda campaign against communism and the Communist Party of the Philippines and to cow the masses into submission through white terror miserably failed. By the end of the year the US-Marcos clique itself had been isolated by an unprecedented revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of the people.

The second Plaza Miranda massacre, the writ suspension and the Supreme Court decision were merely the culmination of all attempts to muzzle all kinds of opposition to the US-Marcos terrorist regime. These attempts were consistently carried out by the US-Marcos clique, with the special assistance of the Lava revisionist renegades who kept on harping with the ruling clique on the “anti-Maoist” theme. These attempts started as early as January 1971, when the offices of Esso and Caltex were bombed as a pretext to divert the people’s anger from the US imperialist oil cartel (which was then increasing oil prices) to some imagined “revolutionary” group (a so-called “Popular Revolutionary Front”) which has turned out to be merely an adjunct of the Lava revisionist gang.

Smear tactics were employed during the University of the Philippines student elections in June. With the blessing of the US-Marcos clique and under the direction of various CIA “psywar” experts, a veritable dry run of the second Plaza Miranda massacre was staged. Among the stage tricks used in this particular drama were fake manifestos, fake slogans, planted “evidences” of vandalism, and an assortment of goons with plaster marks. The aim of the drama was to blacken the prestige of the militant student radicals and thereby bring about the capture of the student council by the reactionary diehards on campus. The Lava

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revisionist renegades assisted the US-Marcos clique in this operation to obscure real fascism with outcries of “radical fascism.”

The military precision with which the UP scheme had been executed was repeated over and over in the months that followed. On August 21 the Liberal Party rally in Plaza Miranda was bombed, resulting in the death of ten onlookers, including several children, and injuries to scores of others. As if the terrorist chieftain had been afraid that he did not make his point clear, more bombings were performed the next day, this time on the Nawasa main pipe, various government offices and the gardens of two notorious Marcos running dogs. A few months after, eight towns in Ilocos Sur were raided with the ruthlessness and wildness of a shooting spree that could be mustered only by a counter-revolutionary clique out to terrorize the people. The modus operandi of the fascist criminals is too undeniably clear.

The obvious motive behind all these sinister acts of terrorism has been to create the “appropriate” atmosphere for the imposition of martial law. Barely three hours after the Plaza Miranda bombing and with all the secrecy of one with patently evil designs, the terrorist chieftain Marcos signed the papers proclaiming the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and blaming the revolutionary mass movement for the heinous crime. The next day the reactionary armed forces started their rampage of arrests, in the process plucking a wide assortment of political prisoners. Four months later, after making a pretense of listening to the counsel for the political prisoners, the reactionary Supreme Court came out with the ludicrous decision that the terrorist chieftain had the right to his own opinions and therefore the right to take away the writ of habeas corpus. In an attempt to further sugarcoat its anti-democratic acts with a semblance of legality, the US-Marcos clique, through its hatchetmen in Congress, sought to revive the hated “Committee on Un-Filipino Activities” (CUFA), which in the 1950s became notorious for its witchhunting sorties.

To back up its incursions into the democratic rights of the people, the US-Marcos regime stepped up its propaganda campaign against communism and the Communist Party of the Philippine just before the bourgeois elections of November 8. A nationwide campaign in the form of radio-TV commercials was launched under cover of a counter-revolutionary veterans groups headed by a notorious running dog of US imperialism.

It is entirely correct to conclude that the campaign had the long-range purpose of preparing the minds of the people for the eventual imposition of martial law, considering that the radio-TV commercials cost a whopping one million pesos, were translated into the major dialects and widely disseminated all over the country, and vainly tried to discredit the revolutionary mass movement by falsely picturing the militants as bombthrowers and dope addicts. In sum, the commercials provided the discordant background for such orchestrated acts of terrorism as the second Plaza Miranda massacre, the Ilocos Sur shootout, and even the Taytay kidnapping, in which two of the remaining henchmen of the Lava renegade gang, with the full blessings of the US-Marcos clique, shot a policeman and terrorized two families, most of whom were children.

As it is obvious now, only the fascist mastermind Marcos and his terrorist gang believed their own lies. After the spate of bombings and raids in 1971, even the reactionary press was compelled to reflect the raging public opinion against the “Reichstag fire” tactics and anti-democratic abuses of the US-Marcos clique.

Mass protest against the suspension of the writ started as early as August 24 and has been going on ever since. On September 12, 50,000 youths, workers and professionals gathered at Plaza Miranda to denounce the writ suspension. On October 1, 5 and 12, thousands of people, including notable civil libertarians, marched to Caloocan despite every manner of harassment dealt by the Marcos running dog Asistio. The dispersal of the rallies of October 1 and 5 by armed thugs wearing plaster marks, and the death of seven persons, including a seven-year old newsboy, in the second rally, only served to heighten the anger of the people and bring them marching resolutely back to Caloocan on October 12.

On October 20 the People’s Long March Against Poverty and Fascism started from two points, one in Angeles City, Pampanga, and the other in Los Baños, Laguna. A significant contribution to the national democratic cultural revolution, the Long March passed through several provinces and ended in Plaza Miranda on October 24 before a crowd of 30,000, thus reaching not only a substantial section of city residents, but also tens of thousands of peasants in the countryside. The Long March was synchronized with rallies and shorter marches in communities throughout the country.

It is quite clear now that there is no way of stopping the revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of the people. Terrorism only aggravates the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and goads the peo-

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ple to rise up in revolt. Indeed, sinister acts of terrorism such as those committed in the north and in the south by the US-Marcos regime only serve to exacerbate the people's sufferings brought about by the evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Thus, even as the US-Marcos clique and the Lava revisionist renegade clique engage in an anti-communist conspiracy, the prestige and strength of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army which it leads continue to rise vigorously. Within so short a period of time, it has been demonstrated how effective has been the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on Philippine conditions. For this reason, the US-Marcos clique has become so terrified that it blames the Communists for every kind of opposition that emerges against it. When the fascist chieftain Marcos blames the Communists for the struggle of the Mindanao national minorities for self-determination or for the general strike of government workers, he merely succeeds in giving credit to the Communist Party of the Philippines for its indefatigable heroic efforts to overthrow US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

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Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Chauvinist United Front Gains Ground in Mindanao

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During the past year, the Filipino masses were witness to the most brutal and atrocious massacres perpetrated against the oppressed masses of Mindanao since 1969 by the reactionary Philippine Army and Philippine Constabulary troops and their Christian chauvinist cohorts. Last year, these massacres claimed an annual toll of over 3,000 lives among the Muslims alone and countless others among the non-Muslim minorities and the poor peasant settlers from Luzon and the Visayas.

Among the most heinous of these massacres were those of Manili, Carmen, Cotabato (79 killed in a mosque and 10 in a schoolhouse) on June 19; the Natividad massacre in Northern Cotabato (scores killed); the Tacub, Kauswagan, Lanao del Norte massacre (61 killed and 54 wounded) last November 22; the Nunungan, Lanao del Norte massacre; the Lebak, Cotabato massacre (47 killed) of November 27; and the Kisolun, Bukidnon massacre (67 killed) of November 30, which like the Lebak massacre was unreported and even denied by the military authorities for obvious reasons. This list of course does not include the unreported murders, killings and massacres similarly perpetrated by the fascist brutes of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and their Christian chauvinist cohorts.

What makes these treacherous crimes all the more condemnable is that they are committed over and over in a genocidal fashion against the Muslim and non-Muslim minorities and the poor peasant settlers who dare to oppose the sinister designs of the big-time landgrabbers, namely, the US imperialists, Christian and non-Christian landlords and the big bourgeois politicians. Moreover, each murderous crime is followed by a corresponding whitewashing and the promotion of the perpetrators to higher ranks in the reactionary armed forces. All these abuses, however, have heightened the armed struggle of the Muslim minorities for self-determination and further incensed the Mindanao masses and the rest of the oppressed Filipino people against the perpetrators.

The Manili and the Natividad massacres were perpetrated with the same treachery, deceit and brutality as the My Lai massacre where

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American GIs led by one Lt. William Calley, swooped down on My Lai village, herded some 100 Vietnamese, mostly women and children, and mercilessly butchered them. In pursuance of the “search and destroy” policy of the Manila government towards the national minorities in Mindanao (it was “burn and destroy” for Calley and company in My Lai), Christian chauvinist mercenaries, led by a handful of regular officers of the Philippine Constabulary, rounded up some 150 Magindanaws and gathered them inside a mosque under the pretext of holding a peace conference. Once inside the mosque, the Magindanaws, mostly women and children, were attacked with grenades and gunfire. Seventy-nine of the Magindanaws were killed and the rest were seriously wounded. On the same day in a nearby schoolbuilding, another barbarous crime was perpetrated, resulting in the death of ten Magindanaws. A similar atrocious act was committed in Natividad, a small Bilaan village in North Cotabato. Armed men, swooping down on the village when the men of the village were out selling their products in a nearby town, slaughtered its inhabitants, mostly women, children and old people. Scores of bodies, brutally mutilated and mangled, were strewn all over the village.

Another genocidal act, the Tacub massacre, exposed once again the fascist policy of the Manila government with regard to the oppressed Mindanao masses. In the midst of the November 22 “special elections” staged by the reactionary state, three trucks of Muslim voters were fired upon pointblank by elements of the Bravo company, 21st Army Infantry Division. Ironically, the said Muslims, evacuees from Magsaysay, Lanao del Norte, had returned to their hometown to vote, having been assured of security by the Philippine Constabulary. On arriving there, however, many of them decided not to risk the trouble of voting, as they were accused by some Christian chauvinist elements of being “flying voters.” The evacuees boarded their trucks and left. When they reached the Tacub checkpoint on their way to Iligan, they were met with hails of bullets from the carbines, machineguns and M-79 grenade launchers of the Bravo Company. Then the notorious “Ilagas,” the Christian chauvinist version of the much-hated BSDUs of Luzon, participated in the mass slaughter by hacking away with bolos at the dead and wounded, leaving behind scores of mutilated bodies. The latest count established 61 dead, 54 wounded and 140 missing. The reactionary military authorities were quick to claim that the Tacub incident was a mistake encounter.

Two of the most recent massacres perpetrated by the PC-“Ilaga” combined forces occurred on November 27 in Lebak, Cotabato, where

46 unarmed Muslims were massacred and on November 30 in Kisolun, Bukidnon, where 67 Muslims were massacred while returning from Kalilangan, Wao, Lanao del Sur to Marawi City. In an effort to cover up their most recent crimes, the Philippine Constabulary immediately belied reports of the occurrence of the said massacres.

These brutal criminal acts against the Mindanao masses have been going on for more than two decades, only to be intensified during the fascist rule of the Marcos puppet regime. Indeed, the oppression of the Muslim and non-Muslim minorities of Mindanao is but a part of the general oppression and exploitation of the masses of the Filipino people in the whole country. The source of the various massacres, the wanton killing of women and children, the plundering of Muslim and non-Muslim peasant settlements, the mosque-burning and house-burning in Cotabato and elsewhere in Mindanao can be traced to the basic problems of the Filipino people, US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime, following the dictates of its imperialist and landlord masters, is directly at the helm manipulating the Mindanao situation so as to widen the way for big plantation and ranch-owners, logging and mining concessionaires and the like to grab the lands of the national minorities and the small homesteads of the poor peasant settlers from Luzon and the Visayas. The corrupt bureaucratic government machinery operates against the interests of the oppressed masses of Mindanao in favor of the big-time landgrabbers. For instance, not a single land title has been issued to any member of the minority groups; fake titles are instead given to them. Also, the settlers are almost always forcibly eased out from their lands by the big-time landgrabbers who have as their latest targets the rich mineral lands (oil, copper, nickel and the like are the minerals) of Mindanao.

The broad masses of the people of Mindanao suffer most the insidious manipulation of the affairs of the region by the US-Marcos clique. The US-Marcos clique has imposed on them its vicious “divide and rule” policy. By harping on their religious and cultural differences so as to facilitate its sinister activities, and most important of all so as to divert popular opposition to big-time landgrabbing which thrives on Christian chauvinist laws, the US-Marcos clique has intentionally created dissensions among the masses in Mindanao by pitting off the Christian settlers from Luzon and the Visayas against the Muslim indigenous minorities. This accounts for the creation of such notorious armed bands

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as the PC-controlled “Ilagas” and the “cursillo”-controlled “Samarias” which have instigated the various Mindanao atrocities. Still not content with such treachery, the Marcos puppet regime continues to assume the basically anti-Muslim Zionist stance of its master, US imperialism, as it promotes Christian chauvinist propaganda through the reactionary educational institutions and the mass media. Such propaganda is being used to justify the Christian chauvinist laws which were first imposed by US imperialism to dispossess the national minorities of their lands. These laws are now being enforced by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, Christian and non-Christian landlords and big bourgeois politicians to further grab the lands of the national minorities.

Under the pretext of providing for the “security and well-being” of the more than a quarter of a million Muslim and non-Muslim evacuees, Marcos has ordered the establishment of “security centers” in Lanao and Cotabato. The setting up of these “security centers,” which are no different from the “strategic hamlets” in South Vietnam and the “concentration zones” in Laos, is actually a scheme of the US-Marcos clique to facilitate the further oppression of the Mindanao masses. It involves the same fascist methods being used against the peasants in Luzon through the notorious “Barrio Self-Defense Units.” The “security centers” only serve as a convenient excuse to further arm the local political hatchetmen of the US-Marcos clique and provide further license to the reactionary armed forces to perpetrate more heinous crimes against the Mindanao masses. It is on these fascist agents that the US-Marcos clique depends upon for the protection and furtherance of imperialist and landlord interests.

The establishment of the “security centers” in Mindanao fits perfectly into the militarization scheme being employed by the US-Marcos clique throughout the country in preparation for its formal imposition of martial law. Even at this early stage, however, the Muslim and Christian settlers who are directly the objects of this latest deceptive machination of the US-Marcos clique have repulsed all initial efforts to convince them to occupy the “security centers.”

There is no doubt that the oppressed masses of Mindanao have profoundly seen through the evil scheme of the US-Marcos clique of further intensifying their oppression and exploitation. The Muslim minorities have been more vigilant than ever in their armed struggle for self-determination. Opposing the treacherous call of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to lay down their arms, the Muslims have firmly held

on to their guns in resolute adherence to Chairman Mao's teaching that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Also opposing the preposterous claim being conveniently peddled by the Marcos regime that religious and cultural differences are at the bottom of the Mindanao problem, the Muslim minorities have correctly singled out who the real perpetrators of the criminal acts against them are. In a letter of appeal to the United Nations wherein the Muslim minorities elevated their case for an investigation, they explained that the massacres were perpetrated by the armed agents of the Philippine reactionary government in apparent collusion with the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States government, international Zionism and the Catholic Church. They correctly attributed the dispossession of their lands as part of the evil scheme of the Philippine reactionary government that serves the big-time landgrabbers—the US imperialists, Christian and non-Christian landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The Muslim minorities are cognizant of the fact that their oppression is part and parcel of the oppression of the broad masses of the Filipino people by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The intensification of the oppression of the people of Mindanao as evidenced by the massacres has only aroused the just anger and further heightened the revolutionary vigilance of the Filipino people in their struggle against the US-Marcos clique. Recent events, among them the massacre of national minority groups in Mindanao, of demonstrators in Manila and of peasants in Central Luzon, have brought to light the fascist massacre policy of the US-Marcos clique against the broad masses of the people. The Filipino masses understand very well that this massacre policy is but an integral part of the fascist militarist policy of the US-Marcos clique, which is its last weapon in its desperate struggle to remain in power. With a profound understanding of the significance of these latest fascist crimes against the people, the Filipino masses have turned their outrage into revolutionary vengeance as they have forged greater unity in their struggle against the fascism and militarism of the US-Marcos regime. Mass demonstrations protesting the fascist massacre policy have been repeatedly held jointly by Muslim youth groups and revolutionary mass organizations in Manila as well as in other parts of the country.

As all the bloody intrigues, chauvinist "psywars," deceptive "security" measures and other sinister manipulations of the US-Marcos clique are exposed one by one, the Muslim and Christian masses of Mindanao be-

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come all the more convinced that their real enemies are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. In the past year they only became more aware of the need for unity among the Muslim and non-Muslim minorities and the poor peasant settlers from Luzon and the Visayas in order to build a strong fighting force against the counterrevolutionary violence being perpetrated against them. This unity, in turn, should be part of the broader unity, the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-chauvinist united front founded on the basic alliance of workers and peasants, regardless of culture and religion. It is through this united front that revolutionary workers, peasants, youth and intellectuals all over the country, including the oppressed Muslim and non-Muslim minorities and the Christians in Mindanao, can wage a revolutionary people's war against the foremost enemy, the US-Marcos clique.

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Summing up our Experience after Three Years

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Introduction

On the whole, the revolutionary work of the Communist Party of the Philippines since its Congress of Reestablishment has been exceedingly vigorous, militant and fruitful. It is wrong, however, to appraise our work either from the viewpoint that everything is positive or from the viewpoint that everything is negative.

We should be analytical in summing-up our work and the undertakings of the masses. We have to know our achievements, difficulties and shortcomings in the context of historical development. In that way, we can have a full grasp of our situation. We can draw lessons from our experience and rectify errors and weaknesses. As a result, we can muster greater strength and take up new tasks in the revolutionary struggle for people's democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

We have won great ideological victories. The single most important of these is the reestablishment of the Party on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We have cast away modern revisionism projected from the Soviet Union and practised locally by the Lava revisionist renegades. We have also rejected modern revisionism cowering behind centrism. We have kept a firm grasp of the most comprehensive, most advanced and most powerful ideological weapon in the present era and have managed to put on the correct road the glorious Communist Party of the Philippines.

To the best of its ability and as far as its limited circumstances can permit, the Party has attended to ideological building as the first requisite in rebuilding itself. It has taken the lead in the propagation, that is to say, in the study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a living way in the Philippines. In so short a time, it has

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become a formidable ideological and political force against US imperialism and all its reactionary stooges. The enemy fears us the most. The broad masses of the people regard us today as the most significant and consistent revolutionary force.

We have reopened in an unprecedented way the great treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to Filipino revolutionaries. We have made available to them as constant reference in their daily work the *Five Golden Rays* and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* and as texts for more extensive and profound study Chairman Mao's works under the seven headings of philosophy, class analysis and social investigation, party building, armed struggle, united front, economic work and land reform, and culture. We have also circulated the works of the great predecessors of Chairman Mao: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. As the great communist works are increasingly made available, especially in Pilipino translation, we can expect the ideological foundation of our Party to become stronger; we can expect the Party cadres and members to improve their grasp of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

To give a national form to the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or to link the world proletarian revolution with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, we have had the *Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines* since the early part of 1969 and *Philippine Society and Revolution* since the late part of 1970.

The *Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines* contains the basic documents of the Party Congress of Reestablishment and those pertaining to the formation of the New People's Army. The document of rectification, "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," upholds the most advanced theory of the proletariat, unfolds the history of the Party and the grave errors of the Lava revisionist renegades and states the three main tasks of the Party. The Party Program correctly defines the people's democratic line for the Philippine revolution and states our general and specific tasks. The Party Constitution elaborates on the principle of democratic centralism and guides our work of rebuilding the Party.

The document of rectification for the people's army, "Declaration of the New People's Army," repudiates the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique as a historical ramification of Lavaite opportunism and paves the way for the formation of New People's Army. The *Basic Rules of the New*

People's Army recognizes the absolute leadership of the Party and lays down points for building the people's army.

The *Philippine Society and Revolution* is a comprehensive study on Philippine history, on the basic problems of the Philippine Revolution and on the people's democratic revolution. It presents the basic character, motive forces, targets, tasks and perspective of the Philippine Revolution. It has served as a basic textbook for Party mass education. At the same time, it has served to guide further study and investigation of Philippine conditions.

The Party Central Committee has adopted and circulated the political reports of the Political Bureau and has put out statements and comments on current national and international issues. These have been popularized through *Ang Bayan*, publication of the Central Committee. Towards the establishment of regional Party organizations, the Party Central Committee has time and again dispatched and urged Party cadres to make surveys and investigations of varying scope, from the regional to the barrio level. Local Party organs have also issued statements and manifestos on local and current issues to arouse and mobilize the masses. Party groups in various mass organizations, large and small, have caused revolutionary propaganda to spread on an unprecedented scale throughout the archipelago.

Struggling through to the end against modern revisionism, the Party Central Committee has put out *Report on Lavaite Propaganda for Revisionism and Fascism* to smash the slanderous filth of the Lava revisionist renegades and expose their utter degeneration into fascist puppets of Soviet social-imperialism and the US-Marcos clique. Recent articles of such scoundrels as Jesus Lava and Luis Taruc against the Party have been subjected to effective counterattack. We have undertaken thorough criticism and repudiation of William J. Pomeroy's noxious works which express most the counterrevolutionary line of Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism and are much circulated by the Lava revisionist renegades. Our critical and repudiatory articles are now being compiled under the general title, *Pomeroy's Portrait: Revisionist Renegade*.

In firmly upholding the correct ideological guide and combatting modern revisionism, the Party as a whole has succeeded in avoiding ideological errors of such gravity as to prevent its steady and consistent advance. But still the shades of grave errors, shades that can become disastrous if unrectified and magnified through time have appeared within the Party. In certain parts of the Party at certain times, grave errors have

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also made their full appearance. In general, we may say that mistaken ideas or erroneous tendencies have cropped up within our ranks.

Subjectivist trends of the dogmatist and empiricist type are most likely to beset a Party that is actually still in the process of formation. We may even say that our Party has just been reborn and is still in the stage of infancy. The cadres and members, except a very few, are new in the revolutionary struggle and are liable to commit many errors and shortcomings. We have our weaknesses in being a newly established party and furthermore, we live in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. We are surrounded by the pernicious influence of the ruling classes as well as of the petty bourgeoisie which is of considerable number and influence.

Within the Party itself, there are many Party members of petty-bourgeois origin and many of them are most likely to bring in bourgeois or petty-bourgeois “tails.” We have a basis for saying that within the Party there is class contradiction and class struggle and there are currents and countercurrents of ideas. Our Party members have different class backgrounds and have been exposed to various negative influences. Because it is impossible for anyone to be born Red, even our Party members of workers and poor peasant origin—like those of petty-bourgeois origin—have ideological weaknesses and have to undergo an unremitting process of remolding themselves through revolutionary study and work.

There are comrades who are smugly satisfied with the thought that they have read a few or a big number of Marxist books and that they can memorize quotations and utter certain phrases to impress people. They do not care to learn from the masses, investigate local conditions and relate through concrete analysis whatever general principles they may know to concrete reality. When inevitably they are confronted with certain conditions, they fail to see through the surface in order to reach the truth or they try to distort and force the facts to support their preconceptions. They feel lost when they cannot find in their books an explicit explanation for a specific problem or situation that arises before them. We speak here of the dogmatists. In the Party today, most of them have a distinctly petty-bourgeois background. It is also the characteristic of some of these to use their old learning from the bourgeois universities as support for their stereotyped learning. They know more about foreign lands than their own country.

There are also comrades who carry their disdain for book learning to the point of refusing or being reluctant to raise their theoretical knowledge. They even go around bragging that their experience alone

can make them good revolutionaries. We speak here of the empiricists. They do not care to relate their limited experience to general principles and the rich experience of the world proletariat. They do not even care to relate their limited experience to conclusions derived from research into the economic, political, military and cultural history and current situation of their own country. They forget that the experience of a single man or a small group can be nothing but partial, narrow and one-sided if unrelated to or isolated from the totality of the revolutionary movement. Even in their own units, the empiricists fail to sum up and draw lessons from their own experience and they act in the most slipshod and unplanned manner.

Because the Party has set the correct ideological and political line and has continued to struggle resolutely against modern revisionism, whose main advocates and spokesmen in the country are outside the Party, we have to be most alert within the Party to the current of dogmatism that is “Left” in form but Right in essence. It has been observed that at a level as high as the region there are certain comrades who try to beat down each other by simply calling each other “opportunists” without so much as providing concrete facts and concrete analysis and without using the method of persuasion towards erring comrades. There is evidently an erroneous tendency to duplicate the same methods of struggle that we have employed against the Lava revisionist renegades; it must be borne in mind that the Lava revisionist renegades have been called to account and have been repudiated for lines and policies having disastrous effects on the old merger party through more than three decades.

The current of empiricism is due mainly to the fact that the Party has just been reestablished and it is normal for new Party members, who are in overwhelming numbers, to grope because of limited experience. Furthermore, we have quite a number of Party members of peasant origin who barely fulfil the basic literacy requirement for Party members. They can develop the habits of reading and study, especially now that we can provide them with Marxist-Leninist works in Pilipino. In this regard, we are determined to break what appears to be some monopoly of higher knowledge by the dogmatists.

All Party members should learn from each other such that those who have more theoretical knowledge can learn from those who have more practical experience and those who have more practical experience can learn from those who have more theoretical knowledge. United together, all our Party members should draw lessons from the toiling masses

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and from revolutionary practice with them. Learning from each other with modesty will certainly strengthen our unity. Party cadres who can handle study classes are steadily increasing in number and are expected to conduct ideological study in a lively way.

Study classes and programs of reading are supposed to be carried out at the three levels of the primary, intermediate and advanced. At all levels, it should never be forgotten that we must consistently develop among Party cadres and members their ability to keep to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method in dealing with the problems of the Philippine revolution.

The primary course is aimed at making all Party members and candidate-members grasp the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party and their application on the general practice of the people's democratic revolution. The intermediate course is aimed at making all Party members relate Marxist-Leninist theory to their own practice, sum up their experience and exchange experience with one another. The advanced course is aimed at developing among Party members an all-around knowledge of the basic teachings of the great communist teachers. Political-military training in the New People's Army is being conducted by Party cadres. This entails the primary and intermediate courses of study plus military training.

The biggest shortcoming in our ideological building during the last three years was the failure to put out a definite educational plan. Even only the definition of the three courses of study and the listing of study materials for the primary and intermediate levels were made only in September 1970. In the countryside, the holding of study classes was too shifty, irregular and sporadic due to the difficulties peculiar to guerrilla zones and to the scarcity of political instructors for the people's army.

In the Manila-Rizal region, where political instructors could have been drawn for the countryside since 1969, the system and methods of educating Party members were too complicated and reading requirements were so heavy and difficult to fulfil. In this light, it is clear why we have been very slow in developing Party members from the ranks of workers. From early 1969 to the end of 1970, there were also too few cadres who could be assigned as political instructors in the New People's Army and in rural areas. Also, we had difficulties in providing enough reading and study materials.

Since the beginning of 1971, ideological study has been intensified by a rapidly increasing number of Party members and candidate-

members. There have been such favorable conditions as the upsurges of the revolutionary mass movement and the increased ability of our Central Publishing House to produce reading and study materials. The number of copies of our publications have leaped from a general average of a few hundreds in previous years to a general average of several thousands, varying from a minimum of 2,000 copies to a maximum of 10,000 copies per publication. Of course, this count does not include the far bigger volume of newspaper copies and manifestos of various mass organizations which carry the Party line. To serve our Party members and the broad masses of the people who cannot read foreign languages, translation work into Pilipino principally and local dialects secondarily has accelerated and is bound to further accelerate.

We are aware that so far only the primary course has been fulfilled on a wide scale. This course can easily be fulfilled in Party branches and groups or by individual Party members who are responsible for the ideological and political education of applicants for Party membership. But, whereas before we were worried about fulfilling the primary course, our worry now is to deepen the understanding of the primary course among all Party members and to fulfil the intermediate course on a wide scale.

Our problem now is to select competent political instructors to conduct the primary and intermediate courses. In the meantime, we pin our hopes on all Party members taking the initiative to read and study the materials that we are distributing in advance. With regard to the advanced course, the Party Central Committee is expected to take the lead in conducting it among Party cadres through the higher Party school, the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought.

For this year, an educational plan has been submitted by the Party Secretariat and endorsed by the Executive Committee to the Central Committee; it is synchronized with an organizational plan. This plan seeks to heighten ideological study among several thousands of candidate-members and full members of the Party. It seeks to actually improve the grasp of the entire Party rank and file of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method. Materialism and dialectics should always be their powerful weapons for solving problems. We expect that our Party cadres and members will become better equipped ideologically to integrate theory and practice, undertake criticism and self-criticism and link themselves with the masses more closely. In the final analysis, we engage in thoroughgoing study only to apply what we have studied in the service of the people.

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If ideological building is not seriously undertaken, there can be no organizational building and there can be no victory of the revolution for that matter. We have to make sure that our Party cadres and members have an adequate and deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and apply it creatively in the course of the revolutionary struggle for people's democracy. The enemy cannot be defeated without a powerful unity that springs from ideological unity and conscious discipline.

Problems cannot be solved by us if we do not keep to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method. The Party has from the beginning adopted a correct ideological and political line. But in saying so, we cannot rest assured that all problems have been solved. There are so many problems always arising at various levels and in various areas of work. As old problems are solved, new ones keep on arising. Old problems become more complicated when they are overtaken by new ones. All of these can be dealt with only if we have a good grasp of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

The Organizational Growth of the Communist Party of the Philippines

In reestablishing the Party, we started practically from scratch. The Lava revisionist renegades had for decades done great damage to the organization of the old merger party and had tried with might and main to prevent the advance of the revolutionary mass movement and of a genuine proletarian revolutionary party. Despite our limited number, it is basically our correct ideological and political line that has made it possible for our Party to rebuild itself and continue to lead the revolutionary mass movement. We have been able to consolidate the small yet fresh ranks of proletarian revolutionaries to isolate the stale and far smaller number of Lava revisionist renegades and as a result we have been able to march forward at the vanguard of the revolutionary masses.

Since December 26, 1968, we have grown into an organization of at least 2,000 members and candidate-members. If only a few scores of Party members in 1969 and a few hundreds in 1970 and 1971 could lead great mass struggles in the countryside and cities, we can be optimistic that as we grow into several thousands more this year and the next we will be able to exert greater revolutionary efforts and achieve greater revolutionary victories. What makes our Party distinctive today is that

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majority of its members have cadre quality and are in leading positions in the New People's Army and in various mass organizations (urban and rural) whose membership is relatively large.

Based on the last count at the beginning of this year, about 55 percent of our membership are in the countryside and about 45 percent are in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas all over the archipelago. About 53 percent of the Party membership are of peasant origin, about 4 percent of worker origin and about 43 percent are of petty-bourgeois origin. Only recently, there has been some considerable increase in the membership of peasant origin. And we expect that soon we can draw even more Party members from the ranks of the toiling masses as we intensify the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and build up the revolutionary workers' movement in factories and workers' communities. In the Manila-Rizal region, where the working class is most concentrated in our country, only 20 percent of the regional Party membership are of worker origin; this fact proves that we have plenty of work to do in order to draw Party members from the ranks of workers.

If we recall the Party Congress of Reestablishment, there were three delegates of worker origin and nine of urban petty-bourgeois origin. In its First Plenum, the Central Committee was able to add to its ranks eight members of worker-peasant origin who could open wider the field for building the Party in the countryside.

It is to the great credit of the Party that it was able to establish in three months' time on March 29, 1969, the New People's Army and at the same time repudiate and isolate the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique. The First Plenum of the Central Committee in May 1969 ratified the establishment of the New People's Army as the main form of organization and filled up the Party central organs with more personnel. But in this plenum, those who assumed posts in the Party central organs were not as yet very clear about the particular tasks that they had to carry out and also about the methods by which to carry these out.

What may be considered the most serious error incurred within the Party during the last three years is sectarianism, which greatly hampered the organizational building of the Party. Though the revolutionary mass movement had advanced rapidly during the whole of 1970, it was not until the September 1970 meeting of the Political Bureau and then the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in April 1971 that it became clear to all, especially among leading cadres, that thousands of advanced elements could be chosen and recruited into the Party within a short

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period of time from the revolutionary mass movement in both countryside and cities. In the previous years, a considerable number of cadres, including leading organs, seemed satisfied with our small membership and the slow rate of recruitment. Yet we had taken up the gigantic tasks of the revolution which call for large masses of Party members. And indeed, there were so many possible Party members accumulating rapidly in the ranks of the revolutionary masses. Sectarianism aggravated and complicated such difficulties as lack of experience, limited size of membership and scarcity of resources that were peculiar to a Party starting from scratch.

Though Party members in the Manila-Rizal region had the headstart over those in the countryside in recruiting Party members, they persisted in a “small group” mentality, complicated the methods of increasing their membership and failed to recruit several hundreds of mass activists into the Party. They failed to relate the organizational growth of the Party to the revolutionary mass movement. They failed to recruit more Party members from the ranks of the workers and even from the ranks of the revolutionary youth. The result was that Party cadres could be sent to the countryside in mere trickles. In the New People’s Army, the demand for political officers could not be met from early 1969 to the late part of 1970.

Without a strong Party organization at its core, the New People’s Army is weak and cannot do well its work of all-around consolidation in the barrios that it reaches. It then becomes easy for such erroneous trends as the purely military viewpoint, roving rebel ideology, commandism and conservatism to merge. Because the Party leadership is not asserted and reinforced, the people’s army would tend to rely only on the thin existence of the barrio organizing committees. Before the Party could provide cadres and before the work of all-around consolidation could be done well in our first guerrilla zone in Tarlac, the enemy stepped up its campaign of bloody suppression and consequently we had to suffer grave difficulties there.

The September 1970 meeting of the Political Bureau in Isabela clarified how the Party and the New People’s Army could establish barrio revolutionary committees as organs of political power and mass organizations at the barrio level. In this regard, the necessity and possibility of hastening the organizational building of the Party in the countryside were stressed. It was, however, in the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in April 1971 that we were able to discuss more extensively

and approve the comprehensive *Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports*. This guide shows how the Party organization can be built in the New People's Army, the mass organizations and localities.

In the New People's Army, the Party branches are to be based temporarily on the regular platoons because regular companies are still to arise. Party groups at the squad level are to be consolidated and they are to engage in Party building in the localities. Party groups are to be created from the advanced elements in barrio organizing committees and in the mass organizations (for peasants, workers, youth, women and cultural activists) and in local guerrilla and militia units. These Party groups can be subsequently consolidated into a local Party branch. The local Party branch will then be in a position to lead and participate in the barrio revolutionary committee.

The Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports also shows how Party branches can be established in factories, urban communities and schools and Party groups in urban mass organizations. The leading activists or advanced elements in people's organizing committees, trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations and other mass organizations can be recruited into the Party and these can be deployed to establish local Party branches in town centers and urban areas.

The Second Plenum of the Central Committee decided to implement the policy of expanding the Party boldly and not letting a single undesirable in. It stressed the principles of expanding the Party on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. Every Party member was expected to recruit six other members before the end of 1971. It was noted that the target for recruitment could be easily overfulfilled because there were so many possible Party members that had already accumulated in the ranks of the revolutionary masses. Indeed the target for recruitment would subsequently be overfulfilled and we would still observe that there was still a considerable number of possible Party members who had been waiting in vain for recruitment.

To make sure that the Party would expand on a national scale, the Second Plenum also pressed for the appointment or election (as the case may be) of regional Party committees to build regional Party organizations in Northern Luzon, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. As a result, we now have relatively stable regional Party organizations in all regions except Mindanao where Party cadres are now working hard to form a stable Party organization. Our strongest regional Party organizations are in Northern Luzon,

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Manila-Rizal, Central Luzon and Southern Luzon which account for 30 percent, 18 percent, 16 percent and 7 percent of our membership, respectively.

Our regional Party organizations in Western Visayas and Eastern Visayas account for 6 percent and 2.5 percent of our membership, respectively. Deployed at various points in Mindanao are 2.5 percent of our membership who are coordinated by a provisional revolutionary secretariat. It may be noted that two regional Party organizations, one for Eastern Visayas and another for Western Visayas, have been established in the Visayas. Because of its large population and land size, Mindanao may also be divided into two or three regions.

The regional Party committees are an effective instrument for observing collective leadership in the various regions of the archipelago. However, there are still tendencies here for one or two cadres to monopolize decisions. Another erroneous tendency that may arise here is bureaucratism, which appears in the form of building bureaus down to the level of the district committee at the expense of the urgent task of establishing Party branches and groups at the base of the regional Party organization. Such a tendency goes against the principle of letting the Party take roots among the masses.

The establishment of the regional Party organizations and their corresponding leading organs will eventually solve the problem of extended periods of time between plenums of the Central Committee and also between meetings of the Political Bureau. Because of the small number of Party cadres, most members of the Central Committee and also of the Political Bureau have had to attend to so many tasks at distantly separated places. In due time, it will be quite easier to convene plenary meetings of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. To carry on collective leadership on a daily basis, the Executive Committee of the Central Committee has been acting in the name of the Party Central Committee and the Military Commission has been supervising the New People's Army and directing the Party organization therein.

Central organs directly under the Party Central Committee and all bureaus under the organization and education departments of the General Secretariat have become better staffed as a result of the efficient recruitment of Party members after the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee now has adequate apparatuses for performing a wide range of work and can attend to solving problems in a more concentrated way than before when the central staffs

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and offices were grossly inadequate. The staff members of all offices of the Central Committee, including the Secretariat, absorb 18 percent of the total Party membership; this is exclusive of the 82 percent deployed in various regions.

There have been no serious violations of the principle of democratic centralism, except in certain cases which have been properly dealt with. The Central Committee has maintained its overall leadership within the Party. On the whole, leading organs at every level have conducted themselves well. It is to the credit of the Party rank and file that they have exercised their freedom to speak up and make proposals and criticisms and at the same time to accept the discipline required in implementing collective decisions and instructions from leading organs. Most, if not all, infractions of the principle of democratic centralism whether big or small have come under criticism and discussion by Party organs or Party organizations concerned.

Because of its iron discipline and unity, the Party has been able to build its organization severalfold and has been able to defend itself from every attempt of the enemy to subvert or smash it. We have completely frustrated the enemy's vile hope of "nipping it in the bud." In the countryside, we have withstood campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." Even in the cities where we are supposed to be most vulnerable, the Party was able to function smoothly even at the height of the anti-communist white terror following the Plaza Miranda massacre of August 21, 1971. In the countryside or in the city underground, we have effectively foiled many enemy attempts to destroy our organization from within or from without. The most important effect on us of enemy attacks is that we have become tempered and we have learned much. We are confident that all Party cadres and members are determined to face all hardships and sacrifice to win victory.

For this year an organizational plan has been submitted by the Party Secretariat and endorsed by the Executive Committee to the Central Committee. The Executive Committee has also improved on the first edition of the *Organizational Guide and Outline of Reports* on the basis of experience and has put out the second edition to guide overall organizational work. Under the organizational plan, the Party membership is expected to increase severalfold on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside and cities.

The regional Party committees and the regional Party organizations are called upon to fulfil this plan conscientiously by establishing more

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Party branches and Party groups. Adjustments in certain regions may be made on the ground that the general target is too high or too low in different regions. But we are confident that the general target will be overfulfilled. We expect that Party members of workers and peasant origin will increase. We are determined to make such an increase.

To win victory in the Philippine revolution, we need several hundreds of thousands of Party members. Out of these there should be tens of thousands of Party cadres capable of leading the masses in the rural areas and urban areas. On the basis of the number of barrios in the entire country, we need at least 35,000 cadres to be able to create more powerful tidal waves on a nationwide scale. We do not yet have hundreds of thousands of Party members and tens of thousands of Party cadres. But surely we are going to have them and even now we have become a significant revolutionary force. That is because we have the correct ideological and political line.

Perseverance on the Road of Armed Revolution for People's Democracy

The Communist Party of the Philippines has correctly adopted the general line of people's democracy. In carrying out this line, we are waging armed struggle as the principal form of revolutionary struggle and we are working hard to fulfil the main content of the revolution which is the peasant struggle for land. By waging armed struggle and agrarian revolution, we can establish and consolidate revolutionary base areas from which to advance to win nationwide victory. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country, there is no other place but the countryside to build the people's army, develop the main force of the revolution and have enough space to maneuver in before uprisings can be successfully staged in the cities. We, therefore, have to apply Chairman Mao's line of using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them.

The Party and the New People's Army have already established 735 barrio organizing committees and 60 barrio revolutionary committees. These people's committees govern a total population of about 400,000 and are found in a total of eighteen provinces: seven in Northern Luzon, five in Central Luzon, four in Southern Luzon and two in Western Visayas. We have been able to reach so many provinces by two methods of expansion: 1) by advancing wave upon wave and using border areas of several provinces, and 2) by leaping over White areas and sending

single cadres or teams to separate strategic points. Northern Luzon has 515 barrio organizing committees and 50 barrio revolutionary committees and Central Luzon 150 and 10, respectively. Southern Luzon has 60 barrio organizing committee and Western Visayas, 10.

The establishment of a barrio organizing committee signifies that a regular squad or an armed propaganda team of the New People's Army has already conducted thorough social investigation, has held general meetings for pouring out grievances and discussing problems along the people's democratic line and has already grouped together the relatively most advanced elements among the masses for committee membership. The barrio organizing committee is a preparatory committee for setting up the barrio revolutionary committee; it is an instrument for transforming an unstable area into a stable area.

Under the barrio organizing committee, the reduction of land rent, the elimination of usury and the practice of simple forms of cooperation are achieved. The people support the annihilation of enemy troops and the elimination of landlord despots, enemy spies and such bad elements as cattle rustlers, extortionists, robbers, murderers, arsonists and the like. The officers and members of the committee serve as the embryo of the organization, education, economic, defense and health committees of the future barrio revolutionary committee and can initiate the creation of these committees and also of the local mass organizations for peasants, workers, youth, women, children, cultural activists and the like.

The barrio revolutionary committee is inaugurated to replace the barrio organizing committee when the peasants are well assured of their ownership of land and continue to engage in simple forms of cooperation, when the people's armed forces are already well developed and the barrio has been cleared of the enemy, when the various mass organizations have been actively performing their tasks, when the five committees which are actually governmental departments of the barrio revolutionary committee have been fully organized and when a local Party branch and several Party groups have already arisen from the mass movement.

The single most important task of the barrio revolutionary committee is to train the people in self-government and develop the barrios into political, economic, military and cultural bastions of the revolution. So far, we have been most successful in building the barrio revolutionary committees in areas that are hilly and forested or are remote from

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concentrations of enemy strength. But they have also arisen to some extent in plains.

The main instrument of the Party in establishing the barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees is the New People's Army. We started to establish the barrio organizing committees when within the months of March and April 1969 we were able to form nine squads and field them over the entire second district of Tarlac and certain limited parts of Pampanga, Zambales and Nueva Ecija which were all adjacent to Tarlac. During the same period, we also started to dispatch cadres to Northern Luzon and other strategic points in the country. From the outset, we were keenly conscious of the fact that the fagots were extremely dry in Northern Luzon and a single spark here would kindle the fire of the people's democratic revolution. At the same time, we were also concerned with preserving and expanding our forces and source of means in Central Luzon.

After three years, we now have in the New People's Army the strength of 72 regular squads or 800 regulars armed with modern weapons. These should be equivalent to eight full regular companies. But we are still in the general process of bringing squads into regular platoon formations. There are now ten regular platoons. Apart from these platoons, we have one regular company and are in the process of building another one. It is only a matter of a short period that we shall be able to adequately put up commands at the company level.

In Northern Luzon, we have 51 squads in such various formations as one regular company, seven regular platoons and 21 separate regular squads. In Central Luzon, we have 15 squads in such various formations as three regular platoons and six separate squads. In Southern Luzon, we have four regular squads. In all regions, including Eastern Visayas and Mindanao, we have cadres with political-military training and their propaganda teams can be easily transformed into fighting units at the appropriate time.

The armed strength of the people's army includes not only its regular fighters but also about 1,500 local guerrilla fighters armed mainly with old single-action rifles and homemade rifles of the shotgun type and about 16,000 militia members (estimated conservatively at 20 members per barrio) armed mainly with homemade handguns and such indigenous weapons as bolos, spears, bows and arrows, hidden spikes and traps, and others. Local guerrilla units vary in strength from one full squad

to a full platoon in a barrio; full guerrilla platoons are characteristically found in forest regions.

As we are now systematically manufacturing shotguns, we can build local guerrilla units faster. As we are now launching the explosives movement in the countryside, both the local guerrilla and militia units can become a more powerful auxiliary force and reserve force, respectively. The widespread use of homemade grenades and land mines can cause incalculable casualties and damage on the enemy and strain his morale.

The New People's Army has engaged in a wide range of military operations against enemy troops and military establishments, landlord despots, informers and bad elements. These operations include arrests, ambushes, raids, sabotage and others. We have inflicted some 1,700 casualties on the enemy in the process. Of these, about 800 were enemy troops who were either killed or seriously wounded. About 900 informers, landlord despots and bad elements were killed. So far, only 22 US military officers have been killed. On the basis of these figures, our armed struggle takes the form of the agrarian war or civil war. Though US military advisers and US military planes occasionally accompany the local reactionary troops, direct and largescale actions by US military personnel are not yet being undertaken against us.

However, whenever the occasion arises, we always attack major Philippine and US military installations and command posts. Among those that we have attacked are the main administration building of the JUSMAG in Quezon City and command posts of the Task Force Lawin in Central Luzon and Northern Luzon. We have successfully raided the Philippine Military Academy in order to seize arms. We have destroyed or damaged six enemy aircraft, including five helicopters; military trucks, jeeps and armored cars; communications equipment; and various military supplies.

We have also taken steps to disintegrate the enemy armed forces. We have disseminated revolutionary propaganda among officers and men in the regular enemy service, military trainees in schools (ROTC and PMT) and in "home defense" centers and students in the Philippine Military Academy. The revolutionary examples of two comrades in leaving the reactionary armed forces and joining the New People's Army have given rise to the Corpus-Tagamolila Movement. Under the direction of the Party, this movement is secretly and systematically conducting political work among enemy officers and men.

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We have made considerable headway in disintegrating the “barrio self-defense units.” Without firing a single shot, we have managed several times to dissolve entire “BSDUs” by persuading their personnel to turn their arms against their PC “supervisors.” A great number of “BSDU” men are secretly in contact with us and are cooperating with us. Our policy towards the “BSDU” is to exert every effort to frustrate its establishment and, if the enemy still succeeds in establishing it through coercion, to maintain secret contact with the “BSDU” men (some or all, as the case may be), get information from them about the enemy and then instruct them to join the people’s army with their arms at an appropriate time.

The fundamental weakness of the “BSDU” is that it serves the people’s enemies, it is created through coercion and it is actually a form of dispersal of enemy strength. Since it is imposed by the enemy on the people who have started to rise up, the key to disintegrating it is to make full use of the good relations between the Party and the people’s army on the one hand and the people on the other. Only the few real enemy diehards among the “BSDU” men are singled out for punitive action.

There is no doubt that the New People’s Army has achieved brilliant successes under the leadership of the Party. But these are still small in comparison to what is still to be achieved. It is of great importance to consider our difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes so that we can advance further. Since the Party had correctly defined the road of armed revolution as the road of winning victory, there is less danger within the Party and the New People’s Army of Right opportunism than of “Left” opportunism. There is definitely no serious trend in the Party to abandon the armed struggle and take up parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. But bourgeois reactionary ideas can take “Left” forms to advance the essence of Rightism even as we are steadily advancing. At the moment, we have to be most alert to “Left” opportunism as the main internal danger.

It should be clear at the outset, however, that we speak of only a danger and that so far not a single “Left” opportunist error of such gravity as to seriously damage or totally wreck the entire revolutionary movement has yet occurred. Even as we cite actual cases of adventurism committed by certain units or certain cadres of the Party, our criticism would have nothing in common with the babble of the Lava revisionist renegades that the Party as a whole has bogged itself down in “Left” opportunism.

They pretend to attack “Left” opportunism only to defend the Right opportunism promoted by Jesus Lava from 1955 onwards and then bequeathed by him to them. In fact, they also defend the “Left” opportunism represented in the past by Jose and Jesus Lava. This ties up with their present anti-Party and anti-people revisionist fascist activity in connivance with the reactionary state. Modern revisionists, who have even become fascist agents, are absolutely incapable of determining what is “Left” opportunism and what is not.

In our previous statement of facts regarding the barrio organizing committee and the barrio revolutionary committees, there is a noticeably great disparity between the number of the latter and the number of the former. This signifies a great disparity between consolidation and expansion, between guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones or between stable and unstable areas. Certainly, consolidation can easily fall behind expansion; there is the law of uneven development.

But it is not good to keep consolidation too far behind expansion at the ratio of less than one barrio revolutionary committee for every ten barrio organizing committees. What would certainly be a better situation than now is to have one or two revolutionary committees for every five barrio organizing committees. The general view that we wish to bring out is that consolidation work should be done well even as we boldly expand so that small units of the New People’s Army do not flounder in too large an unreliable and unconsolidated area.

It is easy for the ideology of the roving rebel bands to gain ground where consolidation work is not done well. There is the danger of related mistaken ideas like the purely military viewpoint, ultrademocracy, disregard of organizational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, subjectivism, individualism or putschism to arise. Without consolidation and, therefore, adequate Party leadership and powerful mass support, our fighting units are susceptible to losing the correct direction. There is always the danger of adventurism, of launching offensives even only of a tactical character with no rear base to rely on.

The great disparity between the number of barrio organizing committees and that of barrio revolutionary committees is not the result of a wilful design or gross negligence by any leading organ. Rather it arises mainly from certain objective conditions that a newly reestablished Party has had to face. Our ideological and political line has been comprehensively laid down in the basic documents of the Party as well as of the New People’s Army from the very beginning. But during the

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last three years, especially from 1969 to 1970, the number of Party cadres and members was grossly inadequate for conducting all-around consolidation.

Furthermore, those few who were available for revolutionary work in the countryside were still lacking in experience. Thus, the original squads that the Party fielded in Central Luzon tended to rely on their previous experience. They had to rely mainly on the barrio organizing committees, without a clear view of what to do next. They kept on creating the barrio organizing committees because they were most acquainted with this form of organization and thought that it was the best way of guaranteeing mass support in the face of intensifying enemy campaigns of “encirclement and suppression.”

The second district of Tarlac, where we fired the first shots to reopen the road of armed revolution, had the specific advantage of having a large mass of people with a fine revolutionary history. But at the same time, it has the specific disadvantage of being the site of large US military bases and Philippine military camps and of being on the plains. There is no barrio here which cannot be reached in a few minutes’ time by armored car or helicopter.

Further making our situation difficult from March 1969 to the later part of 1970, the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique tried to block us from the south in Pampanga and the Eduardo Cojuangco clique also did the same from the north in the first district of Tarlac. We were not only hemmed in by these two reactionary cliques; the Monkees-Armeng Bayan-Masaka gang of the Lava revisionist renegades at first surreptitiously and then openly assisted the Task Force Lawin in perpetrating crimes of bloody intrigue calculated to discredit us.

From March to June 1969, the reactionary armed forces made probing attacks against us with the use of platoon-size patrols and a considerable number of spies. We had no alternative but to wipe out these spies and prevent the enemy troops from becoming effective against us. We also picked off isolated enemy troops in order to seize arms. Intensifying his platoon-size operations, the enemy was able to intrude into the office of the Central Committee, disrupt our work and seize a number of documents on June 9, 1969.

From this day, Task Force Lawin started to field and concentrate a full battalion against us in every “search and destroy” operation. By July 1969, the reactionary armed forces started to station PC troops at the fringes of our guerrilla zone and undertake “clear and hold” operations.

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By September 1969, they were already forcing large numbers of “barrio councils” to set up the “barrio self-defense units” in an attempt to move in on us and deprive us of area for maneuver.

Certain barrios, mainly those in the center of our guerrilla zone, and also the scarcely wooded Tarlac part of the Tarlac-Zambales mountain range were deliberately left open for us by the enemy who had the intention of making these his “killing zones.” At the same time, he fielded “civic action” teams (spy and deception teams) in some of the barrios here, especially along the national highway. He, therefore, conducted counterrevolutionary dual tactics.

Throughout 1970 and 1971, he tried to make use of his predetermined “killing zones” by conducting surprise raids and savage abuses here in regimental or divisional strength through the combined forces of the Task Force Lawin and the Tabak Division. By early 1971, the reactionary military authorities boasted that the New People’s Army had already been crushed in Central Luzon and that its last remnants had either fled to Isabela or were hiding themselves in the Tarlac-Zambales mountains. Puppet chieftain Marcos echoed his fascist henchmen in his January 1971 state-of-the-nation address.

But the truth is the opposite of the enemy’s claims. We have never been crushed in Central Luzon. By employing flexible tactics and effective underground methods, we have managed to preserve ourselves here and we have repeatedly attacked the enemy despite his constant heavy pressure. It is true, however, that most of our barrio organizing committees collapsed for a time; unconsolidated areas gave way to the enemy and our squads became more easy prey for enemy attacks. Also, it is true that in the face of an overwhelming enemy force on a terrain not so favorable to us we have had serious difficulties and shortcomings in giving full play to battles of annihilation against the enemy.

But on the whole in Central Luzon, we have advanced although not as rapidly as in Northern Luzon. Since the second Plenum of the Central Committee, which analyzed and summed up our experience in armed struggle, we have proceeded to steadily recover temporarily lost ground in Central Luzon and to deploy units of the New People’s Army far beyond the confines of the first district of Tarlac. We have also been favored by the disintegration of the Taruc-Sumulung gangster clique in September-October 1970.

Our Tarlac experience from 1969 to 1971 cannot be taken in isolation from our overall efforts on the road of armed revolution. Tarlac was the

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best possible place to establish a people's army and start revolutionary armed struggle in early 1969. By starting with the revolutionary forces there, we were able to arouse the entire nation for the people's democratic revolution and to create a larger scale for people's war in Luzon.

Now, we do not only have Central Luzon but we also have Northern Luzon and other areas. By paying too close an attention to such a narrow area as the first district of Tarlac, the enemy paid scarce attention to the emergence of guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in Northern Luzon. From the beginning, we were aware of the difficulties that we have had to face in Central Luzon and we did immediately exert efforts to open new battlefields.

In our efforts at nationwide expansion, we have also suffered some serious but temporary reverses. It is important to cite the most glaring cases in the Visayas during the last three years in order to emphasize the point that there is great need for doing consolidation work while doing expansion work. It is obvious why in areas distant from the Party headquarters in Luzon there is even greater need for such. It is difficult to replace our very new and very few cadres in the Visayas and Mindanao if they should be encircled and crushed by the enemy before they can have some rear base to rely on.

If we recall our Negros Occidental experience of 1969, we can easily see how grossly erroneous it was for a small group of armed men to seek battle with the enemy even without having organized a single barrio organizing committee in the area. In the case of the Capiz experience of 1971, the armed propaganda team had been able to organize five barrio organizing committees but these proved to be insufficient for coping with an enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression."

These negative experiences are educative for anyone if they were analyzed and summed up. As we have long ago stated, the archipelagic character of the country is at first a disadvantage for us. But through expansion and consolidation, and vice-versa, the guerrilla base areas and guerilla zones that we can create in the Visayas and Mindanao will cause in the long run a more serious dispersal of enemy forces favorable to all revolutionary forces.

The Party and the New People's Army in Northern Luzon are now getting the concentrated attention of the enemy. Though revolutionary forces here are relatively larger and more advanced than those in other regions, it should be borne in mind that these still have to pass so many severe tests, especially as the enemy keeps on intensifying its campaigns

of “encirclement and suppression” here. The regional organization and particular units of the Party and the New People’s Army also have had their mistakes and weaknesses. Most of these spring from the great disparity between consolidation and expansion. A squad or a platoon which covers tens or scores of barrios and which does not do well its consolidation work is susceptible to the mistakes and weaknesses of a roving rebel band.

However, it is to the great advantage of the Party and the New People’s Army in Northern Luzon that before the enemy could exert pressure on the area in the same manner that he had done in Central Luzon our Party cadres and Red fighters have already learned much from the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee, from the concrete experience of their comrades in other areas and from their own experience and study. Furthermore, there are in Northern Luzon such specific conditions favorable to the revolutionary forces as the extreme impoverishment of majority of the people, a mountainous and hilly terrain and a highly diversified agriculture.

As of now, the National Operational Command of the New People’s Army cannot easily meet very often inasmuch as its composites, including the commander-in-chief and his deputy commanders, are tied down either to the Northern Luzon Operational Command or the Central Luzon Operational Command. The Military Commission of the Central Committee therefore performs so many functions which in the future can be passed on to the National Operational Command as a whole.

The Party as a whole should exert more efforts to develop more military commanders and more Party cadres adapted to work in the New People’s Army. As a result of these efforts, we shall be able to set up capable military subcommissions and regional operational commands. Through intensified political-military training and through actual revolutionary armed struggle, more Party cadres and military commanders will certainly emerge to cover wider battlefronts and fill up the command structure of the New People’s Army.

To prepare for the next important stage of development in the growth of the people’s army, we need to develop vigorously a sufficient number of cadres who are ideologically, politically and technically competent to lead and command at least twenty regular companies. Our success in developing a strong leadership in the revolutionary armed struggle depends on our success in arousing and mobilizing the people and, of course, on correctly undertaking consolidation and expansion in our

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mass work. Our Red fighters are drawn from the ranks of the masses and the great bulk of our regular mobile forces will continuously be drawn from local guerrilla and militia units. Our army will march forward victoriously and accumulate strength along the way so long as it can rely on the broad masses of the people.

Building the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Feudal United Front

The Filipino proletariat as the leading class in the Philippine revolution has sent its most advanced detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, into the midst of its most reliable, most oppressed and most numerous ally—the peasantry. An alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry has been forged. This alliance of the toiling masses who compose the vast majority of the Filipino people is the basis for the national united front for people's democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is an alliance built by indefatigable mass work in the countryside and tempered by armed struggle under the leadership of the Party. It comes into force in the unity of the proletarian cadres and the peasant fighters in the New People's Army and also in the unity of the proletarian cadres and the peasant masses in the localities.

To develop the peasantry as a powerful force and ally in the revolutionary struggle, we are carrying out a revolutionary class line in the countryside and we are in this regard building an anti-feudal united front. We rely mainly on the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants in order to isolate and destroy the feudal tyrants and the reactionary armed forces. We also work hard to unite with the agricultural workers in the haciendas. In the forest and mountainous regions, we pay special attention to developing the revolutionary movement among the logging and mining workers and the national minorities. Along the long coastlines of our archipelagic country, we also exert vigorous efforts to arouse and mobilize the poor and middle fishermen.

It is often the case that when we set up the barrio organizing committee there is not a single Communist in the locality and therefore it is only the relationship between the Party in the New People's Army and the peasant masses that bears out the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. In due time, however, the various organizations for workers,

peasants, fishermen, youth, women and cultural enthusiasts emerge to give comprehensive support to the barrio organizing committee.

Subsequently, Party members are recruited from the mass activists of both the barrio organizing committee and the mass organizations. When a local Party branch arises in the barrio, the barrio organizing committee easily matures into the barrio revolutionary committee and the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry becomes firm.

The barrio organizing committee is merely a preparatory committee for the barrio revolutionary committee. The barrio revolutionary committee serves as a full organ of political power and has the character of a local united front government. Party representatives take only one-third of the committee membership. The next one-third goes to the representatives of the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants; and still the other one-third goes to the representatives of other progressive classes and strata.

Communists do not monopolize discussions, decisions and activities in the overall barrio revolutionary committee as well as in the five governmental committees on organization, education, economy, defense and health. They also encourage the mass organizations to take initiative. In other words, Communists have faith and trust in the masses and work hard in order to unite with them.

Of course, all barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committees in a municipality are led by the Party section committee or by some higher Party organ functioning in a particular area. But, when circumstances permit, higher levels of the people's government are established. As a matter of fact, we are now on the threshold of establishing people's councils at the municipal level through municipal conferences of delegates from the barrio level.

From the municipal level, it will again be possible to proceed to the establishment of the provincial people's councils through provincial congresses. But before this, the provincial Party committee will directly supervise the municipal people's government at every level. This will embody our united front policy of "three-thirds." Our barrio revolutionary committees are the foundation of our national united policy and are the embryo of the national coalition government or the people's democratic republic of the future.

In the countryside, the proletarian revolutionaries have maintained close alliance with the petty bourgeoisie. The middle peasants are encouraged to join the simple production, marketing and credit coopera-

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tives set up and controlled by the poor peasants under Party leadership. Intimate relations have been developed with both barrio and town schoolteachers, high school students, college students, professionals, artisans and merchants.

Many activists of these petty bourgeois groups, especially the teachers, students and professionals, are very articulate in promoting the general line of the Party and are very much interested in purchasing and reading our Party literature. Party members have been recruited from the most advanced mass activists of petty-bourgeois background.

We rely mainly on the voluntary contributions of the poor peasant masses and also on production plots of the people's army and the local mass organizations. But aside from these, we are also getting some supplies from the rich peasants, national-bourgeois elements, merchants and logging, plantation and mining enterprises. Their support for us and our support for their legitimate interests are expressions of the national united front.

As our political and armed struggle continues to rise and win more victories, we are increasingly in a better position to apply a fair policy of taxation to support the people's government and the people's army. Our united front with and policy of fairness towards the middle bourgeoisie in the countryside is a good preparation for future relations with the middle bourgeoisie in the cities.

We have closely studied and used the contradictions between the reactionary parties and cliques at the provincial, district and municipal levels. There are also contradictions between the lower reactionary leaders and higher reactionary leaders. We have also made practical use of these contradictions to favor the revolutionary mass movement. It is characteristic of the reactionary parties and cliques to control and base their strength on the "barrio councils."

By having alliance with some of the reactionaries against the diehard reactionaries, we have been able to neutralize or win over so many "barrio councils" which are ordinarily dominated by rich peasants or upper-middle peasants and consequently we have been able to conduct independent mass work among the peasant masses with less danger of being reported to the reactionary armed forces or to an antagonistic local police force.

The more violent and bitter the contradictions among the reactionaries, the graver are the abuses committed against the people and the bankruptcy of the reactionary government becomes more exposed.

Contradictions among the reactionaries are sharpening every day, every month and every year. These merely widen our area for maneuver, encourage the broad masses of the people to move to us and split the local police force and the reactionary armed forces into warring factions.

The consistent rise of “private armies” serves to aggravate the internal split among reactionaries. The call for “peace and order” hypocritically made by the US-Marcos clique is nothing but a call for its monopoly of arms and the fascist suppression of all democratic forces. The reactionary elections held every two years have irreversibly led to the concentration of arms in the hands of the reactionary cliques. Since the Plaza Miranda massacre of 1971, the rise of “private armies” has been accelerated and the US-Marcos clique has further tightened its grip on the reactionary armed forces.

The danger of Right opportunism has been minimized in the firm efforts of the Party to build a united front that is for armed struggle. But as stated before, our inadequacies in arousing and mobilizing the peasant masses as the main ally and main support for the revolutionary struggle have created “Left” opportunist tendencies which involve mainly the failure to base our military actions on our actual political strength. In two years of the past three years, we relied mainly on the thin existence of the barrio organizing committees; there was a tendency among us to think that it was enough for armed squads to create and link up these preparatory committees over large unconsolidated areas. In the relationship between the armed squads and the barrio organizing committees, it was often the case that the squad leader simply gave orders to the chairman or the local head for defense on matters that could have been settled through consultations with the local people’s committees and through mass meetings and mass mobilization.

There were great shortcomings in mobilizing the people for the agrarian revolution; the implementation of even our minimum land reform program of reducing land rent and eliminating usury was grossly uneven in areas where we had already an armed force. In our relationship with allies other than the peasantry, there was a discernible tendency to rely solely on the coercive value of our small armed strength.

A great deal more of propaganda and organizational work among the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie in the countryside could have been done. However, there was no design or line at all to lessen mass mobilization or shunt away possible allies. The Party was simply short of cadres, and those few who were available were lacking in ex-

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perience. Even now that the number of Party cadres and members has significantly increased, tendencies of the recent past persist.

Even as the danger of “Left” opportunism exists, the danger of Right opportunism does not lurk far behind if we do not go deep enough among the peasant masses or if we do not fully mobilize them for the agrarian revolution. It is a fact that it is relatively easier for us to approach for the first time a barrio that is under the influence of some local reactionaries who ally themselves with us against the reactionary diehards.

But to convert the “barrio councils” automatically into the barrio organizing committee or to dillydally in transforming the barrio organizing committees into barrio revolutionary committees is to allow the old influences of the reactionaries to persist. By being overreliant on temporary allies, we can easily make mistakes in our efforts to create our own independent strength and maintain full initiative. So, whenever our temporary allies betray us, our barrio organizing committees would collapse so easily. That means to say that we do not succeed in leading the peasant masses on a revolutionary course.

The national united front cannot be conceived without an understanding of the relationship between the cities and the countryside. The anti-feudal united front and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside inspire revolutionary mass activity in the cities and impress upon the allies that are centered in the cities to rely on the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Of course, we are in turn inspired by the revolutionary forces in the cities and we receive actual support from them.

Revolutionary mass activity in the Manila-Rizal region has set off a chain reaction of revolutionary mass activity in other urban areas and has also influenced the vast number of people in the countryside throughout the archipelago. Since this carries the great red banner of the people’s democratic revolution, we have gained influence on a national scale far in advance of the actual armed strength that we have. Both the revolutionary workers’ movement and the democratic cultural revolution of a new type have produced and tempered so many mass activists to become Party cadres and members, capable of serving as seeds of the revolution all over the country in both cities and countryside.

The revolutionary workers’ movement is developing fast under the leadership of the Party. This is the logical result of small but steadfast efforts that we have exerted in the trade union movement before and after the reestablishment of the Party. In workers’ strikes where we have

Party cadres as trade union members or where we have some other links with the strike-bound union, we have always worked to raise the level of the economic struggle to that of political struggle. In our desire to reach the masses of workers, we have not shirked doing political work within the reactionary trade unions.

Since January 1971, in the course of the mass struggle against the US oil monopolies, we have succeeded in bringing out workers from the factories to marches and demonstrations in several thousands, a number far exceeding workers' participation in any anti-imperialist mass action during the last two decades. Since May Day of 1971, when once more several thousands of workers came out for mass actions under the red banner of the people's democratic revolution, we have become convinced that a new level of revolutionary consciousness and activity has arisen among the workers. Undaunted by the May Day massacre, workers have continued to march forward in increasing numbers. What is more important is that they are doing so in opposition to the yellow labor bosses who have always tried to rein them in.

The resurgence of the revolutionary workers' movement has been spearheaded by the proletarian revolutionaries. But there is no doubt that mass activists of various youth and student organizations have also given valuable assistance to them. The joint efforts of workers and student activists go on today at the picket lines, in mass demonstrations and in study sessions. These signify the wonderful worker-student alliance, the biggest possible alliance of progressive forces concentrated in the city. Such an alliance is exceedingly important and should be developed further. We have as yet so few Party cadres who can work in the workers' movement and they certainly need the support of mass activists of various democratic mass organizations.

These mass activists have contributed a lot by doing propaganda work on the program for a people's democratic revolution in workers' communities as well as in factories where there are no trade unions yet or where reactionary unions reign. At the same time, we are aware of the danger that some wrong ideas and bad influences of the petty bourgeoisie have been brought into the workers' movement to some extent, especially in cases where the workers are not promptly disabused of the notion that only those with higher educational attainment in the reactionary schools can lead. On the opposite side, however, there is the erroneous trend to dismiss nonworker activists as incapable of giving assistance to the revolutionary workers' movement. It is the duty of

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proletarian revolutionaries to develop firm links between worker and student activists in line with the people's democratic revolution.

We have had to face enormous difficulties in developing the revolutionary workers' movement. The more than two decades that the Lava revisionist renegades have sabotaged its resurgence and also the more than two decades that such labor aristocrats as Lacsina, Cid and Oca have prevailed in the trade union movement have served as stumbling blocks. Yet our Party cadres who could work in the trade union movement have been few in number and many of those few have had to be shifted to the countryside time and again. Thus, for sometime before 1971, we were restricted to leading only a few unions directly and had to work mostly within some reactionary labor federations and unions.

The democratic cultural revolution of a new type in the cities has apparently gone far ahead of the revolutionary trade union movement because of the past more than two decades. However, this cultural revolution has assumed unprecedented magnitude, scale and depth only since the first quarter storm of 1970. Of course, this historical phenomenon was prepared for directly by a full decade of anti-imperialist mass actions launched mainly by the youth (coming from the urban petty bourgeoisie) and partly by the working class.

Upon the advent of the widespread campus strikes of 1969 against the reactionary policies of school authorities, it was already evident that a powerful revolutionary storm would be unleashed by the youth against the entire ruling system. Our reestablished Party has been responsible for bringing this democratic cultural revolution of a new type to heights never before witnessed in Philippine history. This propaganda movement carries the program for a people's democratic revolution, and broadcasts on a nationwide scale the Party's line and slogans on particular issues against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Aside from proving the leadership of the Party and bringing out the enthusiastic broad mass support for the general line of the Party, the democratic revolution of a new type has unfolded in a big way the great alliance between the revolutionary proletariat and the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students, teachers and other professionals, and has also pointed to the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic force of the revolution with the special task of bringing all other middle forces towards the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

The various mass actions for national freedom and democracy repeatedly launched in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban centers in

the archipelago have tempered tens of thousands of mass activists and hundreds of thousands of organized and unorganized masses and have won the sympathy of millions of people throughout the country for the revolutionary cause. Repeated acts of massacre and other criminal abuses perpetrated by the US-Marcos clique have not only failed to stop big mass actions but have served to make them even bigger. The revolutionary martyrs from the ranks of workers and students have always inspired fiercer revolutionary courage among the broad masses of the people.

From the crucible of the democratic cultural revolution of a new type, a significant number of mass activists have come forward to assist the revolutionary workers' movement and also to join the revolutionary armed struggle at several points in the countryside. It goes without saying that many of the mass activists have come forward to join the Party. The propaganda movement for a people's democratic revolution is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This revolutionary theory of the proletariat is now at the core of the revolutionary thinking among mass activists in the cities today.

But there is also quite a lot of chaffy and eclectic thinking among them. Quite often there are some mass activists from among the petty bourgeoisie who are still misled by social-democratic and other reactionary ideas. The policy of the Party is to win over all elements that have revolutionary tendencies through persuasion; this involves at the same time being on guard against all kinds of erroneous ideas being smuggled into the ranks of the revolutionaries.

Hard pressed by US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capitalism, which are now in the paroxysms of crisis and are desperately trying to suck more blood from colonies and semicolonies, the national bourgeoisie is slowly coming to recognize the necessity and importance of allying itself with the revolutionary mass movement. The clamor being made by the left and middle wings of the national bourgeoisie for the nationalization of the economy and the broadening of diplomatic and trade relations is becoming more and more insistent.

Nevertheless, the right wing of the national bourgeoisie entertains hopes of getting into "joint ventures" with the foreign monopoly capitalists and is being drawn by the comprador big bourgeoisie to support the sinister campaign for "incentives" and "national treatment" (another fancy legal phrase to replace "parity rights") to benefit these monopoly capitalists. Blinded by their loyalty to the big bourgeoisie, especially the Soviet monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie, the Lava revisionist renegades

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unite with the Trotskyites in attacking the entire national bourgeoisie. Cloaking themselves as “Left” in this respect, they actually support the big bourgeoisie.

So far, only elements of the national bourgeoisie who are in areas where we are strong have directly given concrete support to the revolutionary armed struggle. The national bourgeois groups and personalities in the cities have deemed fit in the meantime to give concrete support only to the democratic mass organizations in the cities, especially in the Manila-Rizal region. In due time, the national bourgeoisie will extend support in greater amount to the revolutionary mass movement as they will recognize more the need for a national united front. The national bourgeoisie is weak and many of the present organizations it belongs to are dominated by the big bourgeoisie.

The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the reactionary government and the current reactionary constitutional convention are basically opposed to national democratic demands. The national bourgeoisie has some representatives in both the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party but these parties are dominated by the powerful representatives of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Since the national bourgeoisie does not yet have any close alliance with us, there is yet no immediate danger of being outwitted or smothered by them. What is even needed today is to gain more support from them for the armed revolution. The danger of political error at the moment lies in allowing some of our Party members to think that the national bourgeoisie is completely reactionary.

We employ national united front tactics on reactionaries not only at the local level but also at the national level. The Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party and various groups within each divide the ranks of the reactionaries in many ways. Should the ruling clique of the ruling party or any combination of cliques decide to launch an anti-communist onslaught, we can have some temporary alliance with the other reactionaries in order to parry off the blows of the enemy diehards and destroy our enemies one by one.

It is well proven in history that whenever the reactionary diehards resort in desperation to fascism they try not only to destroy the illegal opposition but also all kinds of legal opposition. In this light, we can appreciate the correctness of our position in having some temporary alliance with all kinds of opposition that the US-Marcos clique attacked after the Plaza Miranda massacre of 1971. A temporary alliance

with some reactionaries against other reactionaries is a necessary part of general efforts to immediately bring the majority of the people to a common front against the common enemy, as sharply shown in World War II in the national united front against the Japanese fascists.

It is at times when the national united front is broadened to the extent that some reactionaries are included that the danger of Right opportunism is most acute. For example, within the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties during the period of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the reactionaries tried to monopolize the speakers' platforms and restrict all mass organizations to promoting only one official manifesto which misrepresented the revolutionary masses as beggars of concessions from the common enemy, the US-Marcos clique. While the Right opportunist tendency of capitulating to the reactionaries surfaced, certain Party members went to the other "Left" extreme of immediately leading mass activists to denounce the leadership of a certain mass organization without any prior discussion and settlement of problems within the Party.

The armed struggle of the national minorities in Mindanao for self-determination and land is of national significance and of great importance to the Party. The emergence of this armed struggle has to some extent divided the attention of the enemy and lessened its capability of concentrating overwhelming armed forces in Luzon. Objectively, the armed struggle in Mindanao and our revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon help each other. In this sense, we have a united front with the national minorities in Mindanao. Though there is yet no formal agreement with them, their leaders do understand that revolutionary armed struggle elsewhere in the country helps their struggle for self-determination and democracy.

A significant number of youth organizations from the national minorities in Mindanao have taken the line of people's democratic revolution and have allied themselves to revolutionary mass organizations, as well shown in their repeated joint mass actions in Manila-Rizal, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. Some of the youth from the national minorities have also taken the initiative of requesting us to give them political-military training and they have received such training in our guerilla base areas and guerrilla zones in Luzon. In the process, a few Maguindanaos, Maranaos and Tausugs have become members of the Party.

To bring the armed struggle to a higher level in Mindanao, we have dispatched Party cadres there with the explicit instructions of having a

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united front with the present rebel leaders, especially on the question of self-determination and democracy, and of building our own independent strength by stressing the land question among the peasant masses of the national minorities and by uniting them with the poor settlers against the landlord and the landgrabbers, irrespective of religious beliefs. We have also sent Party cadres to areas in Mindanao that are populated predominantly by poor settlers from Luzon and the Visayas.

The US-Marcos clique is deliberately fanning the flames of religious strife so as to obscure the real problems of Mindanao and impose its fascist rule. It has deployed there large armed forces under Christian chauvinist officers and has armed the “Ilagas” (lumpen proletarian elements of Christian chauvinist mentality) to split the national minorities from the poor settlers, drive them away from their lands and to massacre them repeatedly. The real targets of the revolutionary movement are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Because it is facing an avalanche of mass resistance all over the country, the US-Marcos clique is frantically demanding bigger military appropriations for increasing troops and equipment of the reactionary armed forces under the pretext of a “self-reliant defense posture.” At the same time, US imperialism is obsessed with providing war materiel for the reactionary government in line with the “Nixon doctrine.”

It has become too clear to the broad masses of the people that US imperialism and its local reactionary stooges protect their oppressive and exploitative system by armed force and that these can be overthrown only by revolutionary armed force. The brazen parasitism and brutality of the reactionary armed forces is daily exacerbating the people’s suffering from inflation, higher taxes, shrinking income, severe unemployment, bureaucratic corruption and so many evils of the ruling system. Under these conditions, the national united front is gaining strength rapidly.

We are vigorously trying to build the national united front of workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. In all our efforts at building this, we are implementing the policy of developing the progressive forces and winning over the middle forces in order to isolate the enemy diehards. Our most important efforts are now being exerted in the countryside as earlier explained. The local organs of political power that we are setting up are the foundations of the future People’s Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

Even as we are setting these up, we have created a special organ, the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front, to help the

Central Committee in winning over allies in the cities and to prepare the way for the National Democratic Front as an intermediate step towards the people's democratic republic. However, we are not in a hurry to set up any formal national united front organization. The national united front is basically a policy of the Party regarding classes in Philippine society. The results of the work of the Preparatory Commission for a National Democratic Front are not surprisingly very limited at this stage because the revolutionary armed struggle has still to develop further.

In waging revolution in our country, we as Communists never fail to relate our efforts to the world revolution. We are both patriots and internationalists. The Philippine revolution is part of the world proletarian revolution. The broad masses of the Filipino people are in the world anti-imperialist struggle, and together with other peoples of the world they face common enemies.

US imperialism is the biggest foreign exploiter and oppressor of our people and is also the most vicious protector of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Japanese militarism is resurgent and its zaibatus have once more invaded our country under the sponsorship of US imperialism. Soviet social-imperialism has the Lava revisionist renegades as its advance agents and these specialize in counterrevolutionary anti-Party and anti-people activities while donning the mask of anti-imperialism.

We welcome anything in the world that serves to divide, weaken and destroy all these imperialist forces. All defeats suffered by them in the hands of the revolutionary peoples abroad are also our victories. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we are performing our own share of liberating mankind from the scourge of imperialism by fighting US imperialism and all its running dogs in the Philippines.

The main trend in the world today is revolution. And, as we scan the world, we can also see that countries want independence; nations want liberation; and people want revolution. There is no doubt that the international united front is growing even stronger. Close to us, the Chinese people continue to advance in their socialist revolution and are even determined to liberate Taiwan. Close to us, the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples are fighting fiercely for national liberation and national salvation in the main battlefield against US imperialism. We ourselves are actively in the midst of the revolutionary armed struggles of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

In Northeast Asia, the Korean people are determined to reunify their fatherland and the Japanese people are vigorously resisting the

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resurgence of Japanese militarism and the scheme of making Japan the fogleman of US imperialism in Asia. In the Middle East, the Palestinian and Arab peoples persist in their revolutionary struggle against Israeli Zionism and against the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In the Asian subcontinent, the Indian and Pakistani peoples also persist in their struggle against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. All over Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people's anti-imperialist movement continues to cut down the areas for unhindered exploitation by the imperialist powers.

As the world anti-imperialist struggle reaps great victories, all capitalist countries are wracked by deepening crisis and by the powerful revolutionary movements of their own people. They find themselves more and more at odds with each other as each one tries to relieve itself of its own crisis at the expense of the others. Their contradictions become more severe and disruptive of the old counterrevolutionary alliances as they continually maneuver against each other to redivide the world or that increasingly small part of the world which they can still redivide. Under such circumstances, the international united front against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction can be easily broadened, strengthened and moved up to fight the imperialist monsters one by one while they are in disarray.

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Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform

Drafted for the CPP Central Committee, September 1972.

Chapter I. The Main Content of the People's Democratic Revolution

Section 1. The main content of the people's democratic revolution is the fulfilment of the peasants' demand for land and the eradication of the various forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation.

Section 2. It is therefore the prime duty of the people's democratic government to fulfil such demand by implementing a comprehensive land reform program whose essential goal is the free distribution of land to the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and the promotion of productive cooperation among the peasant masses.

Chapter II. The Land Reform Program

Section 1. This land reform program shall have as its minimum goal the drastic reduction of land rent and the elimination of usury; and as its maximum goal the free distribution of land to the tillers who have no land or who do not have enough land. This program shall also have as a constant goal the betterment of wage and living conditions of farm workers in landed estates operated on a capitalist basis.

Section 2. Free distribution of land shall be effected as soon as the Communist Party of Philippines, the New People's Army, the people's democratic government, the peasant associations and other mass organizations, the militia and the local guerrillas are sufficiently strong in the land reform area.

Section 3. The Party Central Committee or a regional Party committee shall have the authority to determine whether the free distribution of land is already possible in a given land reform area.

Chapter III. Rent Reduction and Elimination of Usury

Section 1. In lands where feudal relations exist, land rent shall be reduced to ten percent or even less of every crop. Such land rent may be made in cash or kind.

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Section 2. The net crop shall be arrived at by deducting from the gross crop all agricultural costs incurred by the tenant. Costs for ploughing, harrowing, rent or depreciation of farm animals and implements, irrigation, seeding and seedlings, planting, weeding, fertilizers, pesticides, harvesting, hauling, threshing and milling shall be in the category of agricultural costs. Such shall be determined according to price standards set by the peasant association and also according to current prices.

Section 3. Usury shall be completely eliminated by four methods:

- a. encouraging the peasant masses to keep personal savings;
- b. letting the peasant association operate as a cooperative association in order to accumulate savings and other income;
- c. limiting the rates of interest to only a simple interest of six percent per annum on current debts; and
- d. cancelling all unjust debts and recomputing old debts as far back as five years at the simple interest rate of six percent per annum.

Section 4. Any agricultural cost, especially seed grain, which may be shouldered by the landlord shall be paid for without profit or interest and shall be deducted from the gross crop. The peasant associations shall inquire into every loan agreement between a landlord and a tenant and shall not allow any landlord to compel a tenant to receive any loan from him or from any known usurer, especially when the interest rate charged is more than the simple interest rate of six percent per annum.

Section 5. Rent on work animals and farm implements which are both landlord property shall be reduced parallel to land rent reduction. The rich peasants and upper-middle peasants shall also be persuaded to reduce rent on their work animals and implements.

Section 6. No landlord, administrator or overseer shall be allowed to demand any kind of tribute from the tenant families, whether this be in the form of labor, menial service, fees or anything else in kind from the main or side occupations of the tenants.

Section 7. Rich peasants and upper-middle peasants shall be persuaded to increase the wages of the farm workers that they hire or reduce the rent paid to them by their tenants or subtenants in accordance with standards set by the peasant association. Such standards shall not make the rich peasants and upper-middle peasants lose their status.

Section 8. In case of any calamity like floods, drought, crop disease, fire, enemy action or the like, where at least twenty percent of the crop is destroyed, the tenant shall not pay any land rent to the landlord. Should the calamity damage the crop to the extent of at least fifty percent, the

tenant shall not pay any land rent for the incumbent crop and also for the next crop.

Payments on debts previously incurred on destroyed crops shall be justly settled by decision of the peasant association according to concrete circumstances. The peasant association may decide to cancel the debts to an extent parallel to the amount of destruction, especially if those debts were incurred from landlords and other private moneylenders.

Section 9. In case a tenant for one reason or another forfeits his right to till the land, it shall be the responsibility of the peasant association to determine tenancy rights. The tenancy rights shall be passed on to an immediate relative of the previous tenant or to someone else who is a farm worker or poor peasant.

Section 10. The simple method of withholding information from the landlord about the actual harvest may be employed to reduce land rent drastically. In such a case, one half of the land rent that should have gone to the landlords shall be given to the people's democratic government through the peasant associations or the New People's Army and the other half shall accrue to the income of the tenants.

Section 11. On the eve of the confiscation of landlord property and free distribution of the same, simple nondelivery of land rent to the landlord shall be made concertedly by the tenant masses. One half of the land rent that should have gone to the landlords shall automatically be given to the people's democratic government through the peasant association or the New People's Army and the other half shall accrue to the income of the tenants.

Section 12. The peasant associations and their committees shall conduct mass meetings on land reform, and shall continuously study and discuss and eventually agree on how to distribute the lands to be confiscated from the landlords. Such activities shall facilitate the current as well as future work of the land reform committees.

Section 13. Any landlord who resorts to violent means or any other counterrevolutionary action in order to counteract the campaign to reduce the land rent and eliminate usury shall be punished according to the gravity of the crime, shall have his land confiscated and shall have the loans he has lent cancelled without further compensation. However, other members of his family shall be given the opportunity to have a means of livelihood, including land cultivation, provided they obey the laws of the people's democratic government.

Chapter IV. Free Distribution of Land

Section 1. Land shall be confiscated from the landlords and shall be distributed free to the poor peasant and lower-middle peasant families, who shall have priority in owning the piece of land that they till but who shall at the same time agree to certain readjustments for the purpose of ensuring each family has sufficient land and therefore promoting the common welfare.

Section 2. Land shall be distributed according to the principle of equalizing landed property and enabling the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants to achieve the status of middle-middle peasants. Due consideration shall be given to the following:

- a. the total amount of land available for distribution in the area;
- b. the size and labor power of every family or household receiving the land; and
- c. the quality, location and size of the land.

Section 3. Dependents of revolutionary martyrs, cadres and Red fighters shall enjoy priority in receiving a share of the land being distributed free. In cases where they lack sufficient labor power, the people's democratic government shall see to it that the peasant association in their locality gives them all necessary cooperative assistance in cultivating their land.

Section 4. The middle-middle peasants shall be given some share of the land being distributed free in order to raise the level of their livelihood to some extent, provided that their land share does not give them the status of upper-middle peasants or rich peasants.

Section 5. Workers, handicraftsmen, pedlars and other poor non-peasants who are willing to till the soil shall be given a share of the land being distributed free. Should they continue to have means of livelihood other than tilling the soil, their land share shall be properly adjusted.

Section 6. Work animals, farm implements and such other property confiscated from the landlords shall be distributed free on the basis of equalizing property or turned over to the peasant association for administration and common use.

Section 7. Orchards, fishponds, ranches and other such property which are landlord property but which cannot be divided without prejudicing their productivity shall be turned over to the cooperatives or to the people's democratic government for appropriate purposes.

Section 8. Depending on concrete conditions, one to ten percent of the land confiscated from landlords should be set aside for public use; for production plots of the New People's Army, the peasant associations and other mass organizations; experimental farms; and also for future readjustments in land distribution.

Section 9. The surplus land and other means of production owned by the rich peasants and upper-middle peasants shall not be confiscated. However, these rich peasants and upper-middle peasants shall be persuaded to further increase the wages of the farm workers that they hire or reduce the rent paid to them by their tenants in accordance with standards set by the peasant association. In cases where the rich peasants and middle peasants rent lands from the landlords, such lands shall be considered landlord property and shall be subject to confiscation, with the rich peasants and upper-middle peasants getting their due share in the free distribution of land.

Section 10. The land of revolutionary martyrs, cadres, Red fighters, schoolteachers, professionals and workers which do not exceed the limits of the landholdings of rich peasants shall not be considered landlord property and shall not be confiscated, provided they are tilled by relatives of the owners and provided further that the local masses agree.

Section 11. Homes, industrial and commercial enterprises, artisans' shops, schools, religious houses, plazas, public playgrounds and the like shall be allowed their necessary land sites. Even before the free distribution of land, all tenants shall be assured of ownership of their home lots without paying any amount to their landlord.

Section 12. The members of the enlightened gentry who support the people's democratic government and agree with its land reform program shall not be subjected to any punishment or humiliation, and each of them shall be allowed to keep his own house, personal facilities and industrial or commercial business or a piece of land which is roughly equivalent to the piece of land owned by a rich peasant.

Section 13. Landlords who have not committed any serious crime against the people shall be allotted land to the same extent and quality given to the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, provided they are willing to till the soil and to reeducate themselves through their own labor.

Section 14. Persons of good standing who have left their home barrios for one reason or another shall upon their return be given land for them to till so long as they express their willingness to till the land.

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Section 15. Enemy soldiers and officers who have mutinied against or deserted the enemy shall be absolved of responsibility for past actions committed under orders of their superiors and shall therefore be allowed to enjoy the benefits of land reform.

Section 16. Any landlord who resorts to violent means or any other counterrevolutionary action in order to sabotage or counteract the campaign to distribute land for free shall be punished according to the gravity of his crime. However, other members of his family shall be given the opportunity to have a means of livelihood, including the right to own and till a piece of land, provided that they obey the laws of the people's democratic government.

Chapter V. The Peasant Association as a Cooperative Association

Section 1. The peasant association shall at the barrio level and upwards function as a cooperative association mainly of poor peasants, middle peasants and farm workers, unless there is some particular need for a cooperative association that is distinct from the peasant association.

Section 2. The peasant association shall always foster and undertake among its members such elementary forms of cooperation as mutual aid and exchange of labor in order to promote the common welfare, raise production, reduce certain production costs and eliminate the need for credit from the usurers.

Section 3. The peasant association shall see to it that the products of its members can be sold at the best possible price and shall combat exploitative merchant manipulations. It shall deal fairly with the merchants and allow them a fair rate of profit.

Section 4. Equal grain or cash contributions shall be specially pooled or regularly accumulated from members of the peasant association in order to create various types of common funds such as the following:

- a. for acquiring work animals, farm implements, equipment and facilities that otherwise cannot be afforded by a single person or family;
- b. for setting up a store that buys basic commodities as well as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides in bulk and that consequently sells to the local people at retail prices lower than if the goods were otherwise purchased;
- c. for developing side occupations;

- d. for storing medicine for common illnesses as well as for getting adequate medical and dental services; and
- e. for supporting educational and cultural activities and also recreational projects and facilities.

Section 5. The peasant association may acquire such modern equipment as irrigation pumps, tractors and threshing and milling machines but before any such acquisition it shall demand more efficient and cheaper service from owners of equipment already in operation.

Section 6. When credit is explicitly extended to particular members, the peasant association shall not charge an interest rate higher than six percent per annum and shall accept land, the next harvest, farm animals, implements or some useful personal property as collateral commensurate in value to the amount of credit extended. Credit can be extended only for productive or other worthwhile reasons. The peasant association shall have the right to inquire any time into the actual use of the loan.

Section 7. The peasant association shall apply cooperative efforts in helping the dependents of revolutionary martyrs, cadres and Red fighters cultivate their fields or earn a living in some other way.

Section 8. The peasant association shall develop on a cooperative basis such side occupations as cultivation of orchards and vegetables, poultry-raising, hog-raising, cattle-raising, lumbering, carpentry, collection of wood fuel, fishing, fish-farming, fish processing, handicrafts, tailoring and dressmaking, blacksmithing, transportation (tricycles, jeeps and motor boats), motor repair shops and others.

Section 9. The peasant association shall decide according to concrete conditions how to recover expenses, maintain levels of financial sufficiency and draw a fair rate of return on investments.

Section 10. The peasant association shall acquire lands for cooperative purposes and shall during the free distribution of land have their own share. The lands owned cooperatively shall serve as the base for reaching higher levels of cooperation and their income shall be used for acquiring surplus lands of rich peasants and others permitted to own surplus lands and also the lands of the beneficiaries of land reform who for one reason or another want to sell their lands.

Section 11. Members of the peasant association shall be entitled to an equal share of labor and likewise to an equal share of income in the cultivation of the lands owned cooperatively. However, the peasant association shall devise a system of work done by the members. The members shall be compensated accordingly.

Section 12. Peasant associations of a number of barrios, towns, districts or provinces may undertake joint cooperative projects under the direction of a committee and upon the approval of the people's democratic government at an appropriate level.

Chapter VI. Better Wage and Living Conditions of Farm Workers in Capitalist Farms

Section 1. In farms operated on a capitalist basis, full support shall be extended to the formation of workers' unions and exercise of democratic rights among the farm and other workers and likewise to union demands for better working and living conditions and other benefits.

Section 2. Better working and living conditions and other benefits shall mean job security, a fair minimum wage, a higher wage rate for overtime work and for more dangerous work, a wage scale based on efficiency and length of service, better facilities of work, better housing facilities, vacation privileges, pension plans, operation of store cooperatives to assure them of basic commodities at low prices, free medical and dental services for the worker's entire family, free elementary and high school education for their children, compensation for death or accidents, free burial expenses, and the like.

As much as possible, farm workers shall be allotted private lots in order to undertake side occupations with which to supplement their consumption needs as well as income.

Section 3. Since farm workers, especially those categorized as nonregular and nonpermanent workers in capitalist farms, are drawn from the ranks of the peasant masses, the peasant association shall examine and take appropriate action on any contract or plan by which a landlord, administrator, overseer or labor contractor seeks to recruit farm workers from a locality. The peasant association shall safeguard the political and economic rights of the farm workers who may at the same time join the workers' union in their place of work.

Section 4. Anyone who recruits farm workers shall be prohibited from violating fair contracts, practicing usury, getting cuts on wages, cheating on accounts and other exploitative practices. Anyone who violates this prohibition shall be subject to punitive measures.

Section 5. The agricultural workers' union or the peasant association in the vicinity of a capitalist farm shall see to it that idle or excess parts of a landed estate operated on a capitalist basis shall be distributed for

cultivation. In the case of ranches the area shall be correlated with the actual number of cattle.

Section 6. Depending on concrete circumstances, the people's democratic government may completely take over landed estates operated on a capitalist basis or allow the landowners to continue ownership and management of these under such strict conditions of the workers and to pay taxes mainly in cash to the people's democratic government.

Section 7. Big foreign capitalists shall be strictly prohibited from owning to any extent or controlling in any manner agricultural lands and therefore they, together with their running dogs, shall be subject to punitive measures should they violate this prohibition.

Section 8. The owners, administrators, overseers, labor contractors, including other running dogs, who use private armed guards or enemy troops or police to guard landed estates and oppress the farm workers and the people shall be subject to punitive measures.

Section 9. Agricultural lands operated on a capitalist basis shall ultimately be nationalized by the people's democratic government. The unions and mass of workers shall be oriented towards this goal.

Chapter VII. The Poor Settlers and National Minorities in Frontier Areas

Section 1. In frontier areas, the poor settlers and national minorities shall be organized into peasant associations in order to look after their common interests, foster cooperation and combat feudal and semifeudal exploitation. Unity and understanding between the settlers and original inhabitants shall be promoted.

Section 2. The poor settlers and national minorities in logged over areas, forest clearings, pasture lands or reclaimed areas, shall be assured of ownership of the homestead or lots that they cultivate and shall be encouraged to further develop these.

Section 3. Resettlement of landless peasant in frontier areas shall be promoted in order to make up for land scarcity in certain areas. However, no infringement whatsoever of the equal rights of the national minorities or original inhabitants shall be allowed.

Section 4. The people's democratic government, together with the peasant associations, shall be responsible for the amicable settlement of land disputes in frontier areas.

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Section 5. Big capitalists, landlords and comprador-bureaucrats shall be prohibited from grabbing lands in frontier areas and therefore they, together with their running dogs, shall be subject to punitive measures should they violate this prohibition.

Section 6. Restrictions shall be placed on deforestation with due concern for the general welfare and without prejudice to the welfare of the poor settlers and national minorities.

Chapter VIII. Implementation of the Land Reform Program

Section 1. The people's democratic government shall establish land reform committees at every level in order to supervise land reform work. These land reform committees shall be given the authority to decide on problems pertaining to land reform. Units of the New People's Army shall assist them.

Section 2. The peasant associations and their leading organs shall mobilize the peasant masses in achieving land reform. Aside from conducting mass meetings, they shall make a class analysis of households in their locality; determine the amount of labor power and number of dependents in every family or household; draw up an accurate map of the lands to be confiscated including the adjoining lands thereof; and indicate the quality and sizes of parcels as they are before the free distribution of land and as they will be when free distribution of land shall have been made.

Section 3. Mass meetings shall be conducted as often as necessary in order to strengthen the resolve of the peasant masses to conduct and win the struggle for land. These shall promote the general line of the people's democratic revolution and the current line on land reform in the area; give full play to the pouring out of grievances against imperialist, feudal and bureaucrat oppression; point out the solution of current problems; and foster the spirit of productive cooperation.

Section 4. Despotic landlords and their running dogs who violently oppose land reform shall be arrested by the militia, local guerrillas or regular units of the New People's Army for trial by the people's court.

Section 5. Landlords shall be classified as either despotic or non-despotic; enlightened or nonenlightened gentry; and big, medium or small prior to and in the course of land reform. They shall be treated accordingly, with the most powerful struggle of the peasant masses

concentrated on despotic landlords who are in authority and have big landholdings.

Section 6. In the course of the free distribution of land, the people's democratic government shall issue new land titles through the land reform committees. The land titles of the landlords shall be automatically nullified.

Section 7. The basic unit area for both minimum and maximum goals of land reform shall either be the municipality, a large continuous landed estate or even a barrio.

Chapter IX. Agricultural Taxes

Section 1. The success of land reform shall be the key to self-reliance of the people's democratic government.

Section 2. Tax collection shall be made from the peasant masses on the basis of family heads or households after every harvest. Tax payments shall be made in kind or cash.

Section 3. An agricultural tax shall be collected and shall normally be equivalent to ten percent of the total gains made by the poor and lower-middle peasants as a result of land reform.

Section 4. Only for definite reasons, such as the intensification of the war effort or support for refugees, shall the agricultural tax be raised to as high as the maximum limit of forty percent of the total gains made as a result of land reform.

Section 5. Peasants of middle-middle status immediately prior to land reform shall be required to pay an agricultural tax equivalent to five percent.

Section 6. Rich peasants, upper-middle peasants and other noncultivator owners of agricultural lands comparable in size to those owned by rich and middle peasants shall be required to pay an agricultural tax equivalent to ten percent of their net crop.

Section 7. Peasant associations shall contribute every month to the funds of the people's democratic government an amount equivalent to two percent of their monthly net income.

Section 8. Agricultural capitalists, corporately and individually, shall pay a graduated income tax annually ranging from a minimum of ten percent to fifty percent of their net income in accordance with the following table:

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Net Income in Pesos	Tax (%)
Over 5,000 up to 10,000	10
Over 10,000 up to 20,000	15
Over 20,000 up to 40,000	20
Over 40,000 up to 80,000	25
Over 80,000 up to 160,000	30
Over 160,000 up to 320,000	35
Over 320,000 up to 640,000	40
Over 640,000 up to 1,280,000	45
Over 1,280,000	50

Section 9. Agricultural workers shall pay a monthly tax equivalent to five up to ten percent of wage increases gained as a result of the assistance of the people's democratic government or the New People's Army. This tax shall be apart from dues paid to their unions.

Chapter X. Class Status in the Countryside

Section 1. A landlord is one who owns land but does not engage in labor or only engages in supplementary labor and who depends entirely or mainly on land rent for his means of livelihood. Land administrators, overseers, labor contractors and local bullies who are at least better off than the middle-middle peasants by depending on the exploitation of peasants as the main source of income are also in the category of landlords. Aside from exploiting the peasants, mainly through the collection of land rent, landlords also engage in usury, non-payment or hiring of labor, cheating on accounts, renting out farm animals and implements, operation of modern agricultural equipment and various forms of extortion.

Section 2. A rich peasant generally owns land although in many cases he also rents land. He can be distinguished from the landlord in that he depends mainly on his own labor and tillage of the soil for his means of livelihood. He can also be distinguished from the upper-middle peasant in that he depends on the exploitation of others to the extent of over thirty to fifty percent or thereabouts. He engages in such exploitative practices as hiring wage labor and renting out farm animals and implements and has surplus funds to enable him to engage in moneylending.

Section 3. Many middle peasants own land, although in other cases they rent land. They depend wholly or mainly on their own labor for

their means of livelihood and generally they do not sell their labor power to others.

- a. The upper-middle peasant engages slightly or occasionally in exploitation. But income from such exploitation ranges from over fifteen up to thirty percent of their total income.
- b. The middle-middle peasants generally do not suffer direct landlord exploitation and they themselves do not engage in exploitation. However, some middle-middle peasants engage slightly or occasionally in exploitation, to an extent that their income derived from such exploitation ranges from one percent to fifteen percent of their total income.
- c. The lower-middle peasants sell their own labor to some degree or occasionally so that wages constitute a secondary part of their total income. They are on the verge of becoming poor peasants and are subject to exploitation by others in the form of land rent and loan interest.

Section 4. The poor peasants are wholly or mainly tenants of landlords. They have no land at all or, if they have any, only a very small portion of the land that they cultivate. Sometimes, they lack adequate farm implements and have no farm animal at all. It is a necessity for them to sell their labor power for certain periods.

Section 5. The workers in the countryside generally own no land and farm implements and they depend wholly or mainly on selling their labor power for their means of livelihood. Farm workers fall under this category. They work for capitalist or semicapitalist farms and also for rich peasants and to a lesser extent for upper-middle peasants. Many farm workers earn a living simply by going around with no definite single employer and taking part in agricultural work, especially planting, weeding and harvesting, here and there.

Section 6. In making firm the above classifications, the people's democratic government, the peasant associations and land reform committees shall always take into full consideration the number of family dependents and the actual surpluses that every family or household has.

Chapter XI. Supplementary Rules and Regulations

Section 1. The Party Central Committee shall make the appropriate decisions to modify or supplement this general guide on the basis of further social investigations and actual experience in land reform work.

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Section 2. The regional Party Committee may draft rules and regulations as well as explanations and clarifications to supplement this guide for land reform. These shall be subject to approval by the Party Central Committee.

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