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**THE SITUATION OF THE RECTIFICATION  
MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY  
MOVEMENT, JULY 1995**

Assessment by the Executive  
Committee of the Central Committee

**THREE ARTICLES FROM THE FOUNDING  
CHAIRMAN JOSE MARIA SISON**

Number 4  
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# THE SITUATION OF THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

JULY 1995

## Assessment by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee

The Party's rectification movement, its consolidation on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and its revitalization under the guidance of the general line of the people's democratic revolution are advancing vigorously.

As a result, the reactionary U.S.-Ramos regime's total war and psychological warfare scheme to crush the revolutionary movement have collapsed. Totally defeated as well were the desperate attempts of the revisionist renegades to liquidate the revolution from within after the extreme harm that they had inflicted by being the main promoters of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism. By repudiating the grave deviations and disorientation, by consciously upholding the proletarian revolutionary line and setting tasks firmly based on concrete conditions, the Party has rid itself of serious vulnerabilities to frontal and outflanking attacks from open and concealed enemies.

The Party has identified and repudiated the worst and principal forms of deviation and error of the past. "Left" opportunism was identified and exposed and so was Right opportunism which further surfaced after "Left" adventurism had taken a big beating in practice.

The revolutionary organizations have expanded vigorously. We have stopped the trend of contraction of the guerrilla fronts and reversed it towards renewed expansion. But the adverse effects of past deviations, weaknesses and losses continue to linger. Though less than before, there is still some decrease in the total number of the organized mass base and full-time forces.

There is unevenness in advancing the work of rectification and recovery among the regions. The process has been more complicated, difficult and prolonged than we had previously estimated. The actual

damage is bigger and more severe and its full extent was revealed only in the process of summing-up and rectification. The Party's understanding of the rectification movement, as in other big battles, went through a process of deepening and widening, of twists and turns, and of struggles.

The rectification movement has been encumbered not only by the unremitting attacks of the reactionary U.S.-Ramos regime, the revisionism and opportunism peddled by the revisionist renegades and the reformist wind whipped up by the reactionaries and anticommunist petty-bourgeois groups which have joined the imperialist ideological offensive. Another big obstacle was the accumulation of internal weaknesses resulting from long-standing and serious disorientation, shortcomings and losses.

We must wage the struggle painstakingly to overcome the damage and advance anew. We must have the determination to deepen the rectification movement and strengthen the foundation for renewed advance. Likely, we shall need the rest of this year and next year for completing the process of rectification and totally overcoming the damage. Likely also within next year, our advances in the struggle and expansion of organized strength will become solid.

The rectification movement must be carried through to the end and the Party further consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. The reactionary ruling system is wracked by a severe political and economic crisis. When the situation of the Party improves through the rectification movement, its revolutionary leadership will surely be enhanced among the people and the armed revolution will surely advance.

## **I. IDEOLOGICAL RECTIFICATION AND STRENGTHENING**

The Party has regained strength in the course of intense struggles against the total war and reactionary rule of the U.S.-Ramos regime, against the revisionism and capitulationism peddled by the revisionist traitors, and against petty-bourgeois reformism, as well as against its own grave internal weaknesses and shortcomings. Its commitment and unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, on the general line of the people's democratic revolution and

on the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, is firmer and clearer. Revisionism, dogmatism and empiricism, Right and "Left" opportunism, bureaucratism, ultrademocracy and liquidationism are steadfastly being repudiated. The internal foundations for resolutely advancing the revolution are stronger.

In the last few years, the rectification movement itself is our most important victory in upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and integrating it with our concrete practice. It is a proof of our Party's enduring Marxist-Leninist foundation and its capability to unreservedly and self-critically analyze its own practice from a thoroughly proletarian-revolutionary viewpoint. While the revisionist traitors are wallowing ever deeper in the rut of capitulationism and decay, the Party is resolutely repudiating the past errors and shortcomings and is persevering along the revolutionary path.

The basic documents of the second thoroughgoing rectification movement present a comprehensive analysis of the crucial questions in the theory and practice of the Philippine revolution over the past decade and a half. These questions on line, strategy and policies stem primarily from the positive and negative experiences of the Philippine revolution. At the same time, the big struggles that shook the international proletarian movement from the rise and eventual collapse of modern revisionism have a strong bearing on these questions. Thus, the rectification movement fosters the understanding of the Party and the working class of the Marxist-Leninist line of advance not only in the present but also in the subsequent stages of the revolution.

The Party actively leads in defending and upholding the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought against modern revisionism, opportunism and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois lines. Aside from efforts inside the country, the Party participates and leads in convening international conferences to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We are undertaking theoretical and historical researches and publishing works contributing to the study of experiences in socialist revolution and in the struggle against modern revisionism. The Party is vigorously propagating the antirevisionist line and the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat the systematic antisocialist propaganda of the imperialists, echoed by the revisionist renegades in anti-Stalin, anti-Mao and anticommunist attacks.

To guide the study and practice of its units and members, the Party publishes in *Rebolusyon* and *Ang Bayan* timely analyses and explanation of outstanding national and international issues. The Party militantly combats supraclass, pro-imperialist and reformist lines and views in dealing with such issues as peace, environment, development, women, national minorities and human rights as well as the reformist use of these issues in attempting to cover up the fundamental and principal issues of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Thus, the class stand and correct revolutionary orientation in dealing with principal national and international issues are strengthened anew and previous strong influences of subjectivism and petty-bourgeois opportunism are repudiated.

### **Summing up and Self-criticism**

The rectification movement consists mainly of summing up and criticism and self-criticism. Its propagation and deepening consists of a widespread study of the central documents of rectification and, guided by these, summings-up of experiences at the lower levels and spheres. Basic revolutionary principles are being studied through a comprehensive understanding of concrete experiences over the past decade and a half.

Comprehensive summings-up at the regional level and of main lines of work are important to enable these to thoroughly grasp the conclusions and lessons drawn by the central rectification documents. These are necessary especially because the longstanding and serious deviations, errors and shortcomings have resulted in disorientation seeping down to the basic levels. So as to be able to thoroughly repudiate the deviations and errors and lay a firm foundation for renewed advance, we must make rectification and self-criticism permeate the entire Party.

At first impact after the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee, the outstanding question in the rectification movement was the correct view of the entire experience of the Party in the last decade and a half. The focus was on national policies and programs decided by the Party's central leadership. These questions were further sharpened by the all-out anti-rectification and anti-Party campaign launched by the revisionist traitors.

As the process of summing-up reached the regions and the main lines of work in 1993 and 1994, the Party's comprehension of its past experiences was further enriched. We could then focus more attention on experiences with regard to applying the line, policies and national plans at the intermediate and basic levels. The deviations and damage as well as their manifestations at the lower levels, in the localities and in the direct relations of the Party and the people's army with the masses were identified even more concretely, thoroughly and sharply.

All regional committees have already taken a correct stand on the principal issues and events of the past, in accordance with the rectification movement and basic revolutionary principles. Almost all units have completed their comprehensive summings-up. Regional committees and national staff organs which have yet to complete comprehensive summings-up have undertaken a thorough assessment of their forces and work, or have taken a stand on the outstanding issues of line and principles concerning the struggle against the revisionist renegades.

Among certain units, summing-up has been delayed and the rectification movement has yet to go into full swing due to the urgency of having to confront the sabotage and trouble-making of the revisionist traitors. However, in some other units, the delay also comes from the impact of disorientation and wrong views. For instance, some are still influenced by centrism, bourgeois liberalism and sentimentalism and continue to deny the existence of a two-line struggle within the Party and the centrality of such a struggle in building a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. They refuse to recognize or they cannot comprehend the simultaneous existence and struggle of the proletarian and bourgeois lines in the past and even in the present circumstances of the Party. Thus, they continue to question, though not forthrightly, the need for a rectification movement.

There are also some units that stood firmly against the worst manifestations of the deviations and errors peddled by the revisionist renegades but easily became complacent or satisfied with the superficial analysis of their experience and the situation within their own sphere. They reject and repudiate the errors of others but they fall short when it comes to critically analyzing and criticizing themselves.

In some units, erroneous views continue to arise regarding the dialectical interaction between the summing-up of the whole and of its

parts and between the self-criticism of the higher organs and that of the lower organs. Some hold the view that they are not involved or responsible for the serious deviations carried into the program of action implemented by the entire Party for almost a decade. They tend to overemphasize the particularity of their spheres of work, look only at how they differ from those who committed the most severe manifestations of deviation and overlook the fact that, like the latter, they too had committed serious violations of the line and basic principles, though not extremely.

There are also those who put the blame on the higher organs and regard themselves as merely having been "swayed", "victimized" or having "followed" the errors from above. They reduce the practice of the Party, people's army and the masses in one locality or line of work into a mere organizational question regarding the relation between higher and lower levels, instead of analyzing and fully comprehending their practice at their own level, with its particularity and integrity, as products of the integration of the line and policies of the Party with their own concrete situation and practice. By blaming the higher organs, especially concerning the practice of more than one decade, they in fact deny responsibility at their own level and within their particular area.

These erroneous views result in the chopping up of our past experiences, selectivity in criticism and rectification of deviations and errors, or avoidance of raising issues to the level of questions of line and principle. Efforts at rectification do not go beyond the superficial criticism of the worst deviations of others. The desire to avoid blame and pass it on to others distorts the summing-up and rectification, which is the scientific and critical study of concrete experience to raise our understanding of the principles and theory of making revolution. Instead of earnestly upholding the principles and unity of the Party, such a desire breeds distrust, narrow localism and departmentalism. Thus, efforts at rectification are haphazard and consolidation work is hampered; the internal foundation for decisively recovering from our grave losses and advancing firmly are not laid.

Thoroughgoing rectification demands the correct, critical and comprehensive analysis of concrete experiences at all levels and important lines of work. We must identify and rectify the primary forms and manifestations of deviations, errors and shortcomings at all



levels and lines of work. We must also raise our understanding of our experiences to the level of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line within the Party. We must finish the summings-up of all the regions and improve our comprehension and summing-up of the rich experiences at the intermediate and basic levels. We must also finish the summings-up of principal lines of work, especially united front work, army building and mass work in the countryside, to enable us to consolidate and sharpen our summing-up of experiences and further develop the particular policies and methods of work.

Because the cadres and members of the Party have started to uphold the basic principles and rectify past errors and shortcomings, we will certainly surmount the remaining internal obstacles and arrive at a higher level of unity on the principal questions. Still, we must continue to be vigilant, uphold the spirit of thoroughness in rectification and resoluteness in struggle so as to decisively overcome the most serious deviations, errors and shortcomings. We must continue to be steadfast in our principles and have a broad view so as to thoroughly get rid of erroneous concepts, harmful habits, corruption and various forms of bureaucratism left over by serious deviations and shortcomings of the past.

Empiricism and revisionism took big blows from the rectification movement and Party cadres and members are combating these with heightened consciousness. But we must continue to be vigilant. Empiricism and revisionism will continue to pose a big danger for as long as theoretical education on the three-level Party course is not firmly being carried out; the study and propagation of the theory and history of scientific socialism, the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism are not sustained and thoroughgoing; and haphazardness and eclecticism in theory and principles are not thoroughly overcome. While we are still reeling from the impact of the damage and we have not firmed up our renewed advance, there will be tremendous difficulties in the revolution on which empiricism and revisionism can flourish.

Dogmatism continues to pose a big danger due to the widespread influence of the previous dogmatic style of study and work. The penchant for seeking foreign models and formulas to impose uncritically upon our concrete conditions and practice existed for a

long time. In studying the experiences from other countries and the concrete situation of the Philippine revolution, many comrades had the propensity to simply draw parallelisms, oftentimes very arbitrarily. The previous healthy practice of giving importance to social investigation and class analysis had long been neglected and swamped by the *craving for formulas and schemes for a shortcut to victory*. Dogmatism was fostered by, and in turn fostered, bureaucratism and commandism.

### **The Struggle Against Revisionist Traitors**

In 1994, the revisionist renegades were further exposed and isolated; and this accelerated the disintegration of the groups they were able to deceive and sway. We completed the expulsion of their active operators from organizations led and influenced by the revolutionary movement and thus removed the biggest internal obstacle to the further strengthening of these organizations. In the main, although still intense, the struggle against the sabotage work of the revisionist traitors is now only secondary to undertaking thoroughgoing rectification and consolidation of the organizations and the tasks of the Party.

The revisionist renegades were quickly isolated as soon as their complete ideological, political and organizational bankruptcy became exposed. Until the early part of 1993, the renegades tried to pose as loyal Party members and instigated an antirectification and anti-Party barrage through a campaign of lies and venom against the central leadership. But before long, after the vast majority of Party members denounced them, they were compelled to totally reveal their revisionist, capitulationist and collaborationist line in their bid to consolidate the groups they had deceived. They poured out their hostility towards Marxism-Leninism, the people's democratic revolution and people's war. From their previous insistence on military adventurism and urban insurrectionism, they turned to blatant anticommunism and capitulationism, and thus, completely exposed the single revisionist core of their old and current bourgeois line.

Apart from their revisionism and capitulationism, the revisionist traitors are wallowing ever deeper in corruption. While the chief traitors luxuriate and indulge themselves in the cities, the small bands

whom they have misled in the countryside are completely being mired in gangsterism and roving rebel practices. Whether in the cities or in the countryside, the masses despise them for being saboteurs and wreckers.

The revisionist renegades and their counterrevolutionary line and wrecking operations are the worst representations and consequences of the grave deviations and shortcomings in the past. They stand as negative examples, underscoring the reality and intensity of the struggle between the proletarian line and bourgeois line within the Party. If we do not resolutely advance the ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the Party, if we do not heighten proletarian vigilance, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois line will gain ground and strength, mislead and cause severe damage. This lesson, for which we have paid dearly, should never be forgotten.

### **Three-Level Party Education Course**

Next to summings-up and self-criticism, the most important component of the rectification movement is advancing the Party's three-level course for theoretical education. The long-standing gross negligence in conducting the three-level education course and as a consequence the poor theoretical level of Party cadres and leading committees set the basic conditions for the outgrowth and worsening of disorientation and errors in the past.

Since the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee, there has been a marked improvement in the propagation of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao within the Party. The dissemination of Party documents — from the documents of reestablishment, the first comprehensive rectification movement, up to the second rectification movement and the current Party publications — has also markedly improved. The initiative to propagate Marxist-Leninist-Maoist writings come from the central leadership and from the leading committees in the regions. The translation of these into Pilipino and various local languages have also been revitalized in order to address the needs of the overwhelming majority of the Party members who are unable to read the English texts. There is a marked increase of and heightened enthusiasm for collective and individual reading and study within the Party.

However, attention on the three-level Party course based on the outline approved by the 10th Plenum was delayed. At the outset, time and attention of leading cadres and committees was focused mainly on combating the all-out anti-Party campaign and, subsequently, on the summings-up of the regional committees and main lines of work. The setting up of the machinery for education and instruction was also delayed.

At the current stage of the rectification movement, the main emphasis is on completing and propagating the three-level course. The courses are being improved and targeted for completion and propagation within the current year. The Party is determined to tackle the problem of having a poor theoretical grounding. It is the Party's *fundamental task to arm the cadres and members of the Party with sufficient knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought*. This is the requisite for enabling them to improve and understand — at the level of theory and principles — their positive and negative experiences in the past, more effectively combat revisionism and other forms of opportunism and actively contribute to the development of the Party's revolutionary study and practice.

National organs and most regions have their respective cadre core with the capability to lead the theoretical education at their levels and areas. But long neglect has considerably diminished their ranks. A large bulk of the Party's cadres was recruited towards the end of the '70s and throughout the '80s, that is, at a time that serious disorientation and neglect of theoretical education and ideological building prevailed. Majority of leading committee members in the regions have a superficial acquaintance even of Mao's writings which are closest to the situation and problems of the Philippine revolution. Many cadres and members lack knowledge even of the history of the Philippine revolution. Their knowledge with regard to the theory of scientific socialism, modern revisionism and the history of the international communist movement is even more lacking.

Neglect of the study of theory and principles had prevailed for a long time and bred a bad style in study and work which we must uproot with all our might and replace with the scientific and militant style of *Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought*.

We must provide the necessary time, personnel and resources for education work. All capable leading cadres must directly lead and

participate in this work. We must have a plan for producing and training many more instructors at the different levels. We must systematically and constantly promote the translation, reproduction and distribution, as well as collective and individual reading, of our Party publications and other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist works at various levels and scopes.

## **FURTHER DEEPENING THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT**

Deepening the rectification movement means more thoroughgoing repudiation of the serious deviations and errors through the repudiation of their principal forms and manifestations at different levels, areas and lines of work. It also means decisively overcoming the serious deviations and errors at the theoretical level and deepening and broadening the entire Party's knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and of the history of the Philippine revolution and the international communist movement. Concurrently we must further consolidate the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, set the correct tasks and with all our might reinvigorate our revolutionary work and struggles.

To further advance and deepen the rectification movement and ideological consolidation, let us set ourselves to accomplish the following tasks:

1. Complete the summings-up of the regional committees and main lines of work. Let the spirit of self-criticism and rectification prevail at all levels and in all areas.
2. Raise the entire Party's level of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist consciousness and vigilantly oppose revisionism, subjectivism and other manifestations of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois line.
3. Complete the three-level Party course and give the highest priority to its propagation and study.
4. Broaden the efforts to translate, reproduce and distribute Marxist-Leninist-Maoist writings as well as our Party publications.
5. Step up research work and studies on theory and history. Encourage more research and studies on the history and current

situation of Philippine society, specific characteristics of our people's war and the history of the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism.

6. Step up propaganda within and outside the Party on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the line of the people's democratic revolution and scientific socialism.
7. Raise the entire Party's understanding of the particular characteristics and requirements of our people's war by drawing on the knowledge of the history and the experiences of the past decade and more as enriched several times over through the rectification movement.

## **II. ADVANCING THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**

Our greatest political triumph has been the exposure and repudiation of military adventurism and urban insurrectionism as well as their other face: bourgeois populism, economism and class capitulationism. These "Left" and Right opportunist trends have seriously deviated from the class line of the people's democratic revolution and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. These are outgrowth of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences within the Party and of infantile impulsiveness and carelessness. These derailed the firm and all-sided advance of the movement in the earlier part of the '80s and gave rise to worsening imbalances and weaknesses, worsening loss of initiative and unprecedented damage. The rapid total degeneration of the revisionist renegades concretely demonstrates how noxious has been the poison that the Party expelled through rigorous rectification.

*The Party and the revolutionary movement have not only rescued themselves from the brink of destruction but have also firmed up their proletarian revolutionary line. The determination and capability of the Party and the people to struggle against the U.S.-Ramos regime and persevere in the two-stage revolution against the local reactionary system and the world imperialist system continue to grow.*

The Party is firmly upholding and advancing the people's democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We continue to expose and combat revisionist deceptions

— whether Lavaite, Trotskyite or social-democratic — which claim that the fundamental national and social contradictions of the semicolonial and semifeudal system have been resolved or are being resolved by imperialism, the local big comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. What they claim as vital signs of the country's advance from its backward, agrarian, preindustrial and semifeudal state are in fact the very symptoms of the worsened crisis of semicolonialism and semifeudalism in the country. With the renewed worsening of the general crisis of capitalism worldwide, it becomes clearer that the two-stage revolution and people's war is the only road for achieving national and social liberation, industrialization and progress, and a just and lasting peace.

Let us resolutely consolidate and strengthen the Party, the NPA and the mass movement under the guidance of the correct line. Let us firmly wield the gun and persevere in building up revolutionary strength in the political, military, organizational, economic and cultural fields nationwide through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare as well as through an advancing mass movement in the cities and countryside — while isolating and gradually weakening the reactionary enemy. Let us completely repudiate the revisionist and opportunist line of pushing class collaboration, reformism and parliamentarism when it is not yet possible to engage the reactionary state in strategically decisive battles. What is important now is to painstakingly build up our strength, strike deep roots among the broad masses and lay the solid foundations for further advance in preparation for the approaching period of revolutionary resurgence in the country and the world.

### **Advancing Extensive and Intensive Guerrilla Warfare**

Our people's war is at the stage of the strategic defensive. Specifically, it is in the phase of developing extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an expanding and deepening mass base. This phase currently consists of building more and better consolidated guerrilla fronts the size of a district and developing the guerrilla platoon as the typical formation of the people's army and the main force in military, political and organizational work. Many years and many extremely favorable opportunities for accomplishing this task have been lost as a result of the serious deviations in the past.

No line other than extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare can carry our war and revolution to victory. The line of military adventurism which took the form of premature "regularization" and verticalization was a mere repetition of the military adventurism of the Jose Lava leadership and which caused similar damage. Much earlier, the insurrectionist line of relying on the spontaneous masses devastated the Sakdalistas. Even the parliamentarism and liquidationism peddled by the revisionist traitors are no different from those of the Jesus Lava leadership which had completely liquidated the old merger party and the old people's army. There is no correct road other than to persevere in advancing stage by stage and at every stage create and develop through mass work and armed struggle the requisites for the next higher stage. First, we must reach, arouse and organize the majority of the people and sufficiently weaken reactionary armed forces through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare before striving to raise the level of war and advance to the next strategic stage. Any attempt to overstep these stages through artificial means and reckless offensives will result in nothing but damage and reversals.

Our current priority in the countryside is the internal consolidation of the Party and people's army, as well as the reinvigoration of the organizations of the Party and the mass movement at the basic level. This is the key to completely recovering our past losses and achieving a decisive turn towards renewed expansion and consolidation.

The people's army's has been restructured and its units redeployed in accordance with the line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. The few remaining companies in some regions and fronts were reduced to platoon size either because of a reduction in personnel or because the companies were divided into smaller formations to attend to more important tasks. The shift in emphasis to a spread-out or horizontal disposition — from the previous inappropriate vertically concentrated disposition or verticalization — has immediately brought advantages such as the shift in priority to mass work, effective coverage of wider areas and simplification of the structure and administration of logistics. However, these advantages will endure only if redeployment is combined with thoroughgoing rectification, reorientation and retraining of cadres, officers and fighters. Our tasks in this regard are still enormous.



Although the forces of the people's army have been redeployed, the previous structure of the Party in many regions persists and continues to tie down cadres and personnel in administrative staffs and units instead of being deployed to mass work. To maximize the limited number of cadres for priority tasks at the basic level, the Party structure should be parallel to or should complement the overall deployment of the people's army as the Party's principal form of organization in the countryside.

The territorial Party committees in the guerrilla fronts, sections and subsections should put themselves at the core of guerrilla formations, function as the Party leading committee within the army and at the same time effectively use the forces of the army directly in order to lead and advance mass work, military work, Party building and other important tasks within their scope.

The front Party committee can put itself at the center of a formation consisting of forces the size roughly equivalent to a company and covering a district; the section committee, at the center of a platoon covering a municipality; and the subsection committee, at the center of a squad deployed to cover a number of adjacent barrios. Unnecessary administrative layers should be abolished and regional staff organs trimmed to the minimum. The biggest possible number of cadres should be deployed to directly lead armed propaganda units and mass work at the barrio and municipal levels.

In view of the acute need for cadres, we must revive the system of combining experienced with new cadres; cadres capable of studying and teaching theory with cadres and fighters more experienced in warfare, cadres from other areas with local forces; and fulltime with part-time cadres. These combinations were proven effective in establishing guerrilla fronts at different parts of the country during the '70s. But the system was demolished by the distorted and militarist concepts of specialization, premature verticalization, urban insurrectionism and bureaucratism. At the same time, we must ensure the education and training of our forces, the setting of clear tasks, attentive timely follow-up and regular check-up of units and tasks, and periodic assessments and summing-up.

By discarding the line of military adventurism and premature verticalization, we succeeded in discarding the destructive trend of constantly intensifying the war and eroding the mass base in ever

*shrinking guerrilla fronts. This trend and the serious neglect of work in the mass base made us extremely vulnerable to the enemy tactics of "gradual constriction". Militarist views and policies resulted in the exposure and identification of our guerrilla bases as fixed points for concentrated attacks by enemy combat forces. The one-sided emphasis on concentration and intensification of the war in the premature hankering for strategically decisive battles led to the neglect and undermining of highly mobile tactics and also led to militarist methods for advancing the war. This was further complicated by the premature intensification of the agrarian revolution and verticalization of the organs of political power, the penchant for flaunting revolutionary strength in the bourgeois mass media and other such other recklessness as "parading" of troops and extreme reliance on radio communications.*

Let us master anew clandestine methods of operation, the correct balancing of consolidation and expansion and the ability to swim in an ever widening and deepening mass base and to make the enemy grope in the dark, preserve ourselves and continue to accumulate strength and gradually weaken and defeat the enemy.

The average deployment area for expansion and consolidation work of a platoon-size force is one municipality. In order to extend our influence further, we position ourselves in areas bordering a few municipalities although our actual area of operation would be more or less as big as an ordinary municipality. Currently, our expansion work generally consists of returning to and recovering lost areas. In the main, the situation in many areas is open for expansion. We are hindered only by our limited number of cadres and personnel.

Let us expand boldly and overcome the contraction of our guerrilla fronts. But let us be on guard against the danger of overextension in the deployment of our forces. Let us carefully estimate the size of the area which we can effectively cover based on the number and quality of our cadres and personnel. Let us effectively lead our forces and ensure concrete results with every step. Expand to areas within our capability while ensuring that consolidated areas are developed in every sphere. Overextension usually results only in small and weak units spread out over a large area, extremely vulnerable to being cornered one by one and annihilated by the enemy, difficult to monitor and guide closely, and most often causes more delays and

complications in the process of reconstruction and recovery of guerrilla fronts.

In reconstruction and recovery, we must give principal attention to the following:

- investigations on the conditions of the masses, the mass organizations and the basic units of the Party;
- identification and concentration of good and trustworthy elements;
- identification and neutralization of enemy spies;
- revival or rebuilding of Party branches and mass organizations;
- clarification and forging unity with the masses on the correct view regarding past experiences; conducting criticism and resolving in a principled manner any outstanding question between the movement and barrio people in order to resolve misunderstandings and apprehensions and rebuild the unity between the Party and army and the masses.
- revitalization of propaganda and education work among the masses; and
- step by step revitalization of mass campaigns in production, politics, organization, education, culture, health, etc.

We must ensure that social investigation and class analysis in the barrios are systematized. Let us carefully study the concrete situation of the masses, their problems and demands; let us study the concrete conditions and relations of the various classes in order to have a firm basis for plans and measures in propaganda, organizing and mass struggles.

We must identify the active enemy agents, especially undercover informers and spies. The most vicious among them who have incurred blood debts must be arrested, tried and punished and others less so must be neutralized or banished. Until the enemy intelligence network is eliminated, it will be difficult to overcome the terror and distrust induced by the enemy among the masses as well as to advance the mass movement continuously. At the same time, we need the broad participation of the masses in order to effectively uncover and eliminate concealed enemy agents. We need to be constantly alert and to develop the underground movement while we advance our work. We need to be extra careful especially at the early stages of reconstruction and recovery.

The antifeudal line and struggles are the key to reviving and restrengthening the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside. This is even more urgent in view of the intense socioeconomic crisis and the overall aggravation of feudal and semifeudal exploitation in the countryside. In most cases of guerrilla fronts which we have lost, the previous gains of the agrarian struggles were also lost. In accordance with the antifeudal class line, let us rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the authority of the despotic landlords.

Let us promote campaigns to reduce land rent, eliminate usury, raise wages, improve farm-gate prices of the peasants' produce and raise production on the basis of the revival and renewed strength of the mass organizations, together with other campaigns for political education, culture, health and the like.

We have serious shortcomings in mass base building even in guerrilla fronts which we have maintained. In the areas where the organs of political power have been established, there has been a tendency for the basic units of the Party and the basic mass organizations to be neglected, weakened and inactive. For a long time, the work of supporting the army, maintaining peace and order and socioeconomic projects have relied heavily on the organs of political power — while the Party units and mass organizations have no clear tasks and plans. There is a strong tendency to rely on bureaucratic and commandist methods instead of painstakingly and constantly conducting propaganda, education and organization among the masses. There has been gross neglect of the basic ideological, political and organizational tasks in the basic units of the Party and among the masses. Because of weak Party leadership, the proliferation of livelihood projects funded from abroad has induced economism, petty corruption and nepotism in many areas and caused the further dissolution of underground organizations. Thus, much repair and revitalization work must be done in this regard. Units for mass work, basic Party units and basic mass organizations must be restrengthened and the mass movement reinvigorated. We must give priority to all these while properly defining the tasks and role of the organs of political power and legal organizations.

The main forms of revolutionary mass organizations in the countryside are illegal and clandestine. But we should also wisely employ legal and traditional forms of organization to provide cover for illegal organizations and activities, make room for the masses to maneuver in advancing the struggle and defending themselves against *fascist repression and increase our links with and support from other democratic classes and sectors in society*. We need to utilize various forms of legal and traditional organizations, which in the main are not directly coordinated with each other and with illegal organizations. In the countryside especially, we should not put all our eggs in one basket.

Counterrevolutionary NGOs which pretend to be progressive but whose real aim is anticommunism and counterrevolution must be exposed and isolated. The peasant masses must be mobilized to reject such NGOs and prevent these from spreading venom against the people's war and the revolution, sabotaging the movement and causing splits among the masses. The worst among them who collaborate with the "counterinsurgency" campaigns of the reactionary puppet state should be interdicted and suppressed.

We need to have a separate, comprehensive and more thoroughgoing summing-up at the national level of the experiences in the antifeudal struggle and other principal aspects of work and mass movement in the countryside. There are questions involving theory, line, policy and methods on which we need to focus more particularly to enable us to advance the peasant movement with greater firmness and vitality.

Because the Party and the people's army have been busy consolidating their own ranks and reorganizing the mass base and the guerrilla fronts, there has naturally been a reduction in the intensity of the tactical offensives of the people's army. Grave disorientation, enormous losses and serious problems involving lack of initiative can neither be easily nor quickly overcome. We need to go all-out on rectification, firm up basic tasks and requirements, lay solid foundation and advance anew step by step.

Even after we have strengthened ourselves anew, we shall not resurrect the repudiated concept of "strategic counteroffensive" requiring constant or sustained intensification of warfare as a stage or substage of the strategic defensive. The strategic initiative is not ours

at such a stage, thus it would be extreme folly for us to think that we shall be able to set the entire pace of battles through sustained intensification over a relatively long period. It would likewise be foolish for us to meet head-on the general offensive of a far more superior enemy force by further intensifying and raising the level of the war.

Let us painstakingly accumulate strength by winning small but numerous tactical offensives, carrying out widespread mass movement and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. Let us persevere in weakening the enemy step by step through numerous and repeated blows on the body and occasional strikes on the head, constantly exposing and isolating him politically and exacerbating the splits within his ranks.

As reconstruction and recovery work progresses, tactical offensives of the people's army shall become more frequent and extensive. During periods of intense crisis of the ruling system, guerrilla warfare should be the spearhead of the overall sharpening of the armed and unarmed struggles of the people. The overall situation requires and permits us to heighten our warfare through more frequent and more extensive tactical offensives that we can win. However, even with such opportunities, we should not go beyond the actual level of the development and the strategic defensive stage of our warfare. Heightening should be a process of further extending and deepening guerrilla warfare and further expanding and deepening our mass support.

Let us be on guard against conservatism as we repudiate the previous adventurist recklessness of totally disregarding the situation and requirements of the mass base and the mass movement. Tactical offensives are essential to reconstruction, recovery and revitalization. We need to launch tactical offensives to accumulate armed strength and do away with the obstacles in mass work and the mass movement. Units of the CAFGU and armed goons of local tyrants must be disarmed, dismantled or neutralized. Aside from conservatism in military work, we should also be on guard and struggle against conservatism in expanding and reinvigorating the mass movement and the mass base.

## **Building the People's Army**

We have cut off the tentacles and the worst influences of the revisionist renegades from the people's army. A huge majority of the officers and fighters of the NPA stood firmly for the absolute leadership of the Party and now persevere in the line of the people's democratic revolution and people's war. The entire army is vigorously advancing in the rectification movement to revitalize and restrengthen itself. On the other hand, the small groups that were deceived and influenced by the revisionist renegades in Negros, Panay, Central Mindanao and Manila-Rizal have been rapidly exposed and isolated from the masses and have completely sunk into in gangsterism, capitulationism, degeneracy and disarray. The most degenerate among them are being used by the AFP's intelligence agencies to sow fascist violence against the revolutionary movement and the masses.

To further deepen the rectification movement and consolidate the army, we shall make a separate comprehensive summing-up of the experiences in building the people's army. Let us thoroughly get rid of the wrong concepts, practices and style of work left over by military adventurism and urban insurrectionism, such as commandism, recklessness, carelessness and looseness in discipline. Let us raise the general level of understanding of the theory and line of people's war and people's army among our officers and fighters. We will review the training courses of the army to rid them of militarist concepts and further strengthen political training combined with military training. The reorientation and retraining of the army must stress the correct political line, close links with the masses, flexibility in tactics, courage in battle, tenacity in times of difficulty and simple living.

The Party's leadership over the entire people's army and the ideological, political, organizational and military tasks and leadership of Party branches and groups within guerrilla platoons and squads are being strengthened anew. We have repudiated the bourgeois militarist and liquidationist concepts spawned by military adventurism. A genuine people's army cannot be built and strengthened without the strong and correct leadership of the Party over it, in its entirety and at every level.

Although in the main the army organization in the regions has become more stable, there is still a significant falling out of personnel in most of the regions. This is natural during times of losses and

difficulties, especially in the midst of a difficult and complicated process of rectification and big change in orientation, objectives and methods. But the principal root of this current problem in a number of those who fall out was the recruitment standards in the past which, apart from being defective, were tainted by militarism. Further on was the neglect of internal ideological, political and organizational consolidation and the existence instead of an orientation and method influenced by a purely military viewpoint.

The renewed expansion of the army depends on the expansion and revitalization of the mass movement. On this also depends our success in our efforts to raise the standards for recruitment again.

As a result of the rectification movement, we have foiled the AFP's design to engage the NPA prematurely in strategically decisive battles. When we radically changed the deployment of the NPA, the AFP was compelled to make their own big changes in deployment and priorities.

At any rate, the supposed shift of overall responsibility for "counterinsurgency" operations from the AFP to the so-called civilian PNP at the end of 1994 is a big show. Although there has been a formal transfer of command at the top, the same Philippine Army battalions and companies target, comb and scour most of the NPA guerrilla fronts. Despite the yearly announcements from Malacañang and Camp Aguinaldo that the fight is over, AFP and PNP regular and paramilitary forces continue to concentrate mostly on NPA guerrilla fronts.

The AFP and PNP continue to concentrate combat forces on what they call NPA "strongholds", which they repeatedly target for massive military operations and campaigns. But in the long run, they are compelled to deploy ever increasing forces in areas they label as "chokeland" or "freedomland" with the objective of detecting, pursuing and attacking dispersed NPA guerrilla units conducting mass work and military work over extensive areas.<sup>1</sup>

At the national level, militarization and "counterinsurgency" are the priority on which the reactionary government expends a big bulk of its budget. Apart from concentrated offensives against "strongholds"

<sup>1</sup> The terms "stronghold", "chokeland" and "freedomland" are used by the PNP for classifying areas according to what they regard as the relative concentration of NPA forces and for evaluating the AFP's "clear, hold and consolidate" operations.



and operations against armed propaganda units of the NPA, the AFP and PNP push counterrevolutionary psy-war and intelligence operations. Notable among these is the widespread use not only of established reactionary organizations and institutions such as the civil bureaucracy, the mass media and the church, but also of counterrevolutionary NGOs pretending to be *progressive*. The AFP and PNP encourage and support counterrevolutionary civil outfits that carry the signboard of "people empowerment", "environmentalism" and "development" but at the same time actively undertake anticommunist and anti-NPA propaganda and conduct surveillance on and sabotage the revolutionary guerrilla warfare and the mass movement. The AFP and PNP and the reactionary state, with the help of bogus "peace advocates" and the revisionist renegades, also continue to offer localized peace talks in the bid to create splits in the revolutionary movement and induce disunity or disintegration and capitulation among the revolutionary forces.

Perseverance in extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare and painstaking mass work are the key to fighting and defeating the counterrevolutionary scheme and assaults of the reactionary state and its armed forces. Let us develop the broadest and deepest mass support, master highly mobile warfare, observe strict discipline in the underground and clandestine methods of movement and maintain flexibility and initiative through concentration, dispersal and shifting according to changes in the situation, in order to preserve ourselves and launch the tactical offensives that we can win.

Let the enemy punch the air when he conducts large-scale and concentrated offensives. Do not give him fixed targets that he can repeatedly attack. The enemy will naturally attack areas where guerrilla warfare and the mass movement are advancing. This is why it is necessary to advance guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding scale. Thus, the enemy can concentrate on one front only by leaving larger areas open.

Passivity and loss of initiative can be the result of confining ourselves to a limited area even while exchanging blows and "drawing blood" from an advancing enemy column. These can also be the result of flightism and conservatism in military affairs and mass work. A genuine test of our strength against the enemy is our struggle to advance extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever

widening and deepening mass support. Let us engage the enemy through painstaking expansion and consolidation of our guerrilla fronts and through the conduct of widespread and numerous tactical offensives that we are sure of winning — while avoiding encounters unfavorable to us and avoiding being entrapped in purely military situations and engagements.

### **Revolutionary Movement in the Cities**

The revolution cannot advance without the legal democratic mass movement in the cities consisting basically of the workers' trade union movement both in the public and private sectors, the urban poor movement, student-youth movement, women's movement, and teachers and low-salaried employees and professionals' movement. The legal democratic movement is an anti-imperialist and antifascist movement that links with and supports the mainly antifeudal movement in the countryside. In accordance with the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, the struggle in the cities is principally defensive and legal for a long period of time. However, it accords with and indirectly supports the armed struggle being carried out principally in the countryside.

The perseverance of the legal democratic movement led by proletarian revolutionaries since the 1970s is a major victory of the reestablished Party and is one of the principal reasons for the resolute advance of the revolution despite the twists and turns. Through principally legal forms of struggle, the revolutionary movement was able to take root, expand and gain strength among the democratic and patriotic classes and sectors of society in the cities. At the height of the struggle against the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship, the legal democratic movement involved millions who gained political consciousness from the antifascist struggle and united front. The revolutionary movement gained an exceptionally broad range of influence and leadership among the people. It gained the upperhand in the main legal sectoral movements.

Guided by proletarian revolutionaries at its core, the legal democratic movement persevered and stood as the progressive and democratic opposition to reactionary rule. However, its leadership and influence among the masses consisted mainly of militantly being at the forefront in economic struggles and in the struggles for democratic

rights and reforms against fascism. Actually, such a position achieved by the revolutionary movement is a great and historical victory. But the emergence and aggravation of the problems of economism, bureaucratism and one-sided emphasis on sweeping propaganda and agitation hindered us from advancing firmly and resolutely. After an initial level of expansion and consolidation in the mass movement, our grasp of basic ideological, political and organizational tasks slackened, especially at basic levels.

Worse, from the middle of the 1980s, we felt the disorienting and destructive impact of urban insurrectionism. It whipped up putschist attempts to induce an insurrectionary situation in the cities. It did not only aggravate the all-round neglect of ideological, political and organizational consolidation but also strained the mass movement in the repeated attempts to achieve massive "paralyzations" and overambitious confrontations, which were eventually aggravated by militarist and agent provocateur tactics.

Along with the ravages of adventurism and putschism on the legal democratic movement were the spread and aggravation of economism, populism, coalitionism and bureaucratism. As the pull of urban insurrectionism became stronger, the intrusion of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences and concepts regarding the state, revolution, united front, strategy and tactics and other questions also increased. A measure of the disorientation caused by insurrectionism with its twin, economism and populism, were the confusion and vacillation in dealing with the Aquino puppet regime in 1986, the fundamental errors in the conduct of the 1986-87 ceasefire talks, liquidationist concepts in the conduct of the united front since the mid-80s, the capitulation to the antisocialist and anticommunist offensive of imperialism after the total collapse of modern revisionism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and eventually the full capitulation and class collaboration of those who have now betrayed the Party and the revolution.

Thus the broad leadership and influence of the movement, its outstanding initial victories were not immediately consolidated and secured. None could be maximized to benefit the revolution in a lasting and solid way. Instead, the correct line was combined with, weakened and poisoned by the wrong line. The urban movement was stricken by serious disorientation, rampant slackness, grave losses

wrought by adventurist impetuosity and opportunist vacillations; and finally threatened by an all-out anti-Party campaign. Although it still has broad influence among the masses and the organized forces that it leads is large, the urban mass movement must undertake thoroughgoing and earnest rectification and consolidation to overcome serious errors and shortcomings, regain strength and advance with renewed firmness.

The revolutionary movement in the cities has undergone a complicated and intense process of rectifying serious deviations and errors. The revisionist and opportunist ringleaders were based in the cities and were able to spread the worst disorientation. The all-out anti-Party and anti-rectification campaign and sabotage conducted by the renegades combined with the heightened anticommunist offensive of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries. The U.S.-Ramos regime allowed the revisionist renegades to move around freely, have access to the bourgeois mass media and receive funds from projects of the puppet government and anticommunist international funding agencies, while more closely conducting surveillance, pursuing and attacking the genuine proletarian revolutionary forces.

Despite difficulties, the Party has successfully regrouped the loyal cadres and members who encompass the vast majority of the underground and legal movement in the cities. The dedicated members of the Party firmly fought the degenerates to defend the revolutionary line and to the best of their ability protect the movement built through many years of struggles and sacrifices. The sharp distinction made by the rectification movement between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line was decisive in this struggle. As a result, the proletarian revolutionaries were regrouped and armed and the revisionist renegades were exposed and isolated.

The regrouping of all loyal cadres and members of the Party in the national capital region and the expulsion of the agents of the revisionist traitors, including the Trotskyites, from the revolutionary movement was completed in 1994. By and large, the worst forms of military adventurism, urban insurrectionism and populism have been repudiated. Tasks, priorities and disposition of forces and resources now closely hew to the line of people's democratic revolution. Attention has also been focused on the revitalization of propaganda, education and organizing work at the basic levels.

It was also in 1994 that the further deepening of rectification and consolidation through the comprehensive summing up of experiences could be duly attended to. Thoroughgoing rectification and consolidation require the criticism and repudiation not only of the worst forms of deviation and errors as embodied by the revisionist renegades, but also the principal forms and manifestations these have taken in actual practice.

The deepening of the rectification movement in the cities is still going on. The summing-up of the experiences of basic sectoral movements and some aspects of alliance and united front work have been completed. Currently being undertaken are the summings-up of experiences in territorial work in Metro Manila-Rizal, building of the underground movement, work among the middle forces and other aspects of united front work.

An important component of deepening the rectification movement is the systematization of rectification and consolidation by the Party units and mass organizations at the basic level. A large section of the mass movement remains vulnerable to distortions and deceptions of the revisionist renegades due to looseness and the low level of political consciousness stemming from serious deviations and long-standing shortcomings in basic ideological, political and organizational work. We must decisively cure this weakness; we cannot truly strengthen the mass movement unless we painstakingly and steadily strengthen the basic levels. Neither can we stop the deception and sabotage work of the revisionist traitors for as long as we have serious weaknesses which they can exploit.

Painstaking mass work, intensive and sustained direct propaganda-education and solid organizing work among the urban masses, especially among the proletariat and semiproletariat, in their workplaces and communities, are the foundation for advancing our other tasks in the urban revolutionary movement. Our successes in sweeping propaganda-agitation, broad alliance work and broad mass campaigns must serve to further expand and consolidate our revolutionary strength and leadership at the basic levels and in the localities, aside from supporting the armed struggle and peasant movement in the countryside. Never again should we entertain the notion that the former can replace the latter.

To revitalize mass work and the mass base at the basic levels and ensure the all-sided development of the revolutionary movement in the cities, we must give particular attention to building the strength and consolidating the revolutionary underground movement and the territorial organizations of the Party. Despite the breadth achieved by the legal democratic movement, the underground movement and the Party organization in the cities have been noticeably small. This is the result and manifestation of the relatively low level of our ideological, political and organizational work. Efforts at building the territorial organization in Metro Manila-Rizal had been hindered repeatedly by inappropriate reorganizations, sectarianism, and eventually, factionalism. Aside from ideological and political disorientation, there has been a pile-up of security breaches in the urban underground movement as a result of a careless disregard for rules on underground work and of the bureaucratic proliferation of staff and administrative organs detached from the masses — while Party units and mass organizations remain small and disorganized.

Overall, the progressive and democratic forces maintain broad influence and initiative in the main legal sectoral movements, despite wrecking operations by the revisionist renegades and attacks and harassment by open and concealed reactionaries. Legal national-democratic organizations and alliances maintain broad links with the masses and lead within their respective spheres. After overcoming the sabotage and factionalism of the revisionist renegades, these organizations can now give full attention to putting their ranks in order, further consolidation and expansion.

Because the foolhardy urge for prematurely decisive engagements has been repudiated, the mass movement can now advance in an all-sided manner, by correctly balancing street actions and other tasks in education and organization. There is dialectical interaction between sweeping propaganda and solid mass organizing. Mass mobilizations rely on the organized strength of the broad masses and are not dependent on resources coming from the center.

The genuine and militant anti-imperialist trade union movement is the main force of the legal democratic movement in the cities. The strength built by the militant and anti-imperialist trade union movement is the real basis for the scope of the strength and influence of the urban mass movement.

To revitalize and restrengthen itself, the trade union movement must persevere in reaching, organizing and mobilizing an ever increasing number of workers in defending their economic wellbeing and their democratic and trade union rights against the intensified anti-union and antiworker offensives of foreign monopoly capital and the local comprador big bourgeoisie. It must also combat the Ramos puppet regime's policy of cheap and docile labor and the further deregulation and liberalization of labor relations to favor the interests of big capital.

Economic and trade union struggles must be linked and raised to the level of the anti-imperialist, antifascist and antifeudal struggles. Economism must be thoroughly combated while the economic struggle is being vigorously expanded. Militant unions must be developed not only as organizations for factory and trade union struggles but also as workers' schools for revolutionary class struggle and as machinery for forging close relations and cooperation with other democratic and progressive classes, especially the peasantry.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought must be propagated vigorously among the workers in order to heighten their political consciousness and militancy as well as to combat the imperialist ideological offensive. Let us instill among the workers the lessons drawn from socialist revolution and the restoration of capitalism from within as a result of modern revisionism. We certainly must expose and oppose opportunism and collaborationism peddled in the workers' movement not just by the open pro-U.S. old labor aristocrats but also more adamantly by the more devious revisionists seeking to join the labor aristocracy.

The youth and student movement is beginning to regain strength and to expand. Its rectification and consolidation movement advanced rapidly and the invigoration of its ideological work is reflected by the advance in the political education, organization and mobilization of the youth and students on sectoral, national and international issues; and by its movement to integrate with and support the peasant movement in the countryside. It is also militant in combating the revisionist and reformist petty-bourgeois groups.

Although well positioned in broad school organizations and broad alliances, the youth and student movement is restrengthening itself from a relatively small base of organized forces. Let us persevere in painstaking organizing work in order to expand and strengthen the

progressive mass organizations while its position in broad organizations and alliances is still being firmed up. Let us tirelessly arouse and encourage the youth and students to learn from the masses, serve the people and directly support and participate in the struggle of the masses.

The legal women's movement is a major sectoral movement having extensive links with different democratic classes and strata of society. Although it has persevered in maintaining its legal national-democratic stand against the reactionary ruling system and against the anticommunist sabotage operations of the revisionist renegades, it has suffered serious disorientation and vacillation due to strong incursions of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence from bourgeois feminism in the past. Proletarian revolutionary leadership is now being strengthened while internal rectification and consolidation is being carried out. Such a leadership has a big role to play in arousing and organizing women workers and peasants and in linking the petty-bourgeois women to the struggles of working class and peasant women and of the toiling masses in general. It advances the women's liberation movement against male oppression simultaneous to and hand in hand with the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The movement in the urban poor communities was greatly undermined by militarism and putschism, and subsequently, factionalism and all-out wrecking operations of the Trotskyite Lagman gang. The loyal Party elements in this sector have been regrouped but still need to be consolidated. They are pressed and attacked not only by the fascist AFP and PNP but also by the armed goons of the Trotskyite Lagman gang. The Party persists in advancing work among the urban poor despite the organizational dislocations and difficulties.

The movement of public and private school teachers is regaining strength through rectification and consolidation and diligent organizing at the regional and lower levels. The old legal center of this movement has been used by the revisionist renegades to continue their sabotage of the teachers' movement. Despite this obstacle, the teachers' struggles is persistently advancing against worsening economic conditions, continuing neglect of public education, further deregulation and commercialization of education and its further utilization for training cheap labor for the reexport industries.



In almost all regions outside Metro Manila-Rizal, the revolutionary movement in the cities has suffered various degrees of damage wrought by urban insurrectionism, struggled to rectify, fought the attempts of the revisionist renegades to cause trouble and has been firmly advancing on the road of rectification and revitalization. These regional organizations of the Party have played an outstanding role in frustrating the maneuvers of the revisionist renegades to seize the national leadership of mass organizations and alliances. They are also extending various forms of support to the peasant movement and armed struggle in the countryside. The urban mass movement in the different regions is developing unevenly. Yet their combined organized forces are greater than those of the national capital region. The underground movement and the legal democratic movement in the cities and town centers in different regions must persevere in rectification, consolidation and revitalization.

The legal peasant movement, including the legal organizations of national minorities, is part of the legal democratic movement centered in the cities and, at the same time, of the movement in the countryside. Because of the intense repression of the peasant masses by the reactionary state, their legal organizations suffer many limitations. However, in conducting legal propaganda and mobilization of peasants on antifeudal and antifascist issues, the legal peasant movement plays an important role in helping the broad masses of the people understand peasant issues and struggles and in increasing the maneuverability of the peasant masses in defending their democratic interests. It also plays an important role in exposing and isolating the revisionist traitors who sponsor anticommunist NGOs collaborating with the AFP and PNP in "counterinsurgency" and "pacification" campaigns.

### **United Front**

In united front work, the rectification movement has repudiated the revisionist line which has been peddling bourgeois nationalism and populism against the line of the people's democratic revolution, proletarian class leadership and the socialist perspective of the revolution. In restrengthening itself, the NDF held its First National Conference on July 7, 1994. It has defined the character of the NDF as an alliance of basic revolutionary forces that recognize the leadership

of the proletariat. The conference ratified a constitution and program that firmly uphold the two-stage revolution. It criticized and repudiated the illegal "congress" of 1990 plotted by the revisionist renegades to pit the NDF against the Party and thus undermine, divide and smash the revolutionary movement and the national united front.

In the rectification movement, the Party emphasizes that the national united front is forged for the armed struggle on the basis of the organized strength of the basic forces of the revolution, especially the masses of workers and peasants, and in particular on the basis of the armed strength of the people's army forged as an alliance of workers and peasants. Expanding and strengthening the revolutionary organizations of workers, peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie in the course of the armed and unarmed revolutionary mass movement is the principal method for expanding and strengthening the national united front. Expanding and consolidating the allied organizations is also the principal method for expanding and strengthening the NDF as the most consolidated organizational expression of the national united front. The Party and the NDF have repudiated the revisionist scheme to transform the NDF into a "vanguard organization" serving as a federal center dominated by petty-bourgeois elements, curtailing the independence and initiative of the proletarian party and other "member" organizations and concentrating on coalition-building with various reformist and opportunist groups in order to build a "political center" for urban insurrection.

The Party perseveres in building and developing relations and cooperation with the broadest array of democratic and progressive forces. We do this through bilateral and multilateral relations of various types, at various levels and in various scales, according to particular circumstances and on the basis of the principles of respect for the independence and initiative, of common benefit and common struggle against the enemy. Principally, these are secret bilateral relations of the Party and people's army with allies in the countryside as well as legal bilateral and multilateral, sectoral and multisectoral relations, through the legal movement in the cities. The national united front is the totality of all these bilateral and multilateral relations which cannot and rightly should not be concentrated in a single formal coalition, whether legal or illegal. A graver error is to sacrifice the integrity of the Party, people's army and basic revolutionary

organizations in the vain attempt to build a "political center" upon the illusion that such a center would be able to command all the forces from the Left to the Right.

In the countryside, we build local organs of political power along the line of the antifeudal united front. Through mass work, guerrilla warfare and building basic Party units, we continually accumulate the required strength for building the organs of political power on a broader scale. When the organization and leadership of the Party is weak, the deleterious influences of the rich peasantry and local bourgeois personalities can easily enter and gain dominance over the local organs of political power. And when this happens, such influences obstruct rather than promote the expansion and strengthening of the mass base.

Currently, while attending to the reinvigoration of our work and our mass base, our leading Party committees and people's army units maintain and continue to broaden relations and cooperation with various progressive forces and elements, as well as with actual and potential tactical allies, through clandestine and informal consultations and cooperation. Direct organizing among middle elements through secret cells also continue.

The legal democratic movement is resolutely rectifying the errors of bourgeois populism and coalitionism peddled by the revisionist traitors. Bourgeois populism and coalitionism were carried by the "popdem" line that ran rampant in legal alliance work from 1989 to the early years of the '90s. It pushed "coalition politics" dominated by the bourgeoisie and foreign-funded NGOs and the centrality of "broad" and "multi-tendency" legal alliances; stressed the role and influence of the reformist urban petty bourgeoisie; encouraged the endless duplication and overlapping of coalitions run by one and the same crew of foreign-funded "operators" and "brokers"; and, through direct and indirect means, belittled the progressive organizations of the basic masses.

The Party is now putting the principal stress on expanding and strengthening the progressive organizations of the toiling masses and the middle social strata. To win over the middle forces, we are stepping up direct propaganda and organizing work among them while encouraging them to link up with and support the struggles of the basic masses. A great deal of alliance work is undertaken by the basic mass

organizations in their sectors, by winning over and mobilizing other progressive and democratic elements in economic and political struggles. Relations with other democratic forces and various traditional organizations in the localities are also being expanded while organizations and mass struggles at the basic level are being strengthened.

Legal multisectoral alliances with varying degrees of anti-imperialism, antifeudalism and antifascism continue to play a major role. They are at the forefront in undertaking extensive propaganda and education to expose and resist reactionary rule and policies. They continue to propagate the national-democratic line through legal means. They coordinate mass struggles at various levels and areas to draw broader participation and support.

In contrast with the 1986-87 "ceasefire" talks, the Party's and the NDF's handling of the peace talks with the GRP and of the issue of peace is firmly principled and is more skillful and more fruitful in terms of drawing benefits for the revolutionary movement. The representatives of the Party and the NDF have firmly and effectively upheld and defended the integrity of the revolutionary movement and the line of a just, liberating and lasting peace. The peace pretensions of the U.S.-Ramos regime are effectively being exposed. In level and quality, our handling of the peace question now is in sharp contrast with the vacillations and carelessness in the past which stemmed from the influence of Right opportunism.

The Party has also effectively combated the U.S.-Ramos regime's scheme to initiate localized peace talks, with the help of the revisionist renegades and reformist petty-bourgeois groups. Their objective is to cause splits and induce the capitulation of bits and parts of the movement. The cadres and members of the Party and officers and fighters of the people's army have been promptly alerted to this scheme.

We continue to strengthen Party leadership by performing its tasks in the united front. Serious disorientation and strong revisionist and bourgeois-liberal influences ran rampant for a long period in Party units in this field. Some leading Party cadres and units became the principal purveyors of revisionism, opportunism and liquidationism in united front work and in the urban mass movement. Our objective is to consolidate the Party organization in this sphere. A healthy and

vibrant Party organization is a requisite for firmly carrying out the correct line and tactics of the revolutionary united front. A specific summing-up of united front work has also been set to analyze our experiences more deeply and more thoroughly root out the serious deviations in the course of rectification.

### **III. CONSOLIDATING THE ORGANIZATION**

The Party has passed the most dangerous stages in the struggle against the enemy's general military offensive and against the wrecking operations of the revisionist traitors, as well as in redirecting the entire revolutionary movement from its previous deviations and errors. Although we have suffered big losses and we have not totally overcome the lingering effects of the previous disorientation, our Party organization has maintained its wide coverage of the entire archipelago and its deep roots among the broad masses in the countryside and cities.

The Party is giving serious attention and exerting all efforts in consolidating its ranks, reviving mass work and the mass movement, especially at the basic level, and strengthening the foundations for a renewed advance on a wide scale. In the rectification movement, rotten and incorrigible elements were identified and differentiated from loyal and healthy elements. The Party has rejected the former while determinedly bringing the latter together and firming up their unity of objectives, determination and action on the basis of the proletarian revolutionary line in ideology, politics and organization.

Carrying out and deepening the rectification movement requires, and in turn strengthens, first, the centralized leadership of the Party; and second, the democratic base of the Party through the most vibrant and extensive interaction between the higher and the lower levels and through the correct relationship between the leadership and membership. The Party has regained strength and determination as a result of collectively reviewing the past, engaging in honest criticism and rectification and marching in stride to the challenge of the difficult struggle ahead in order to recover the losses and carry the revolution forward.

The Party's leading cadres and committees at the national and regional levels are ever more consciously united on revolutionary

principles and tasks. The leading committees which were disrupted by the revisionist renegades have been put in order or replaced by committees that are now effectively leading their respective spheres. By firmly taking the lead in upholding revolutionary principles and struggling in the face of great difficulties, leading committees of the Party continue to strengthen themselves as centers of leadership in their respective levels and areas. The leading cadres of the Party are determinedly persevering and taking on responsibilities. There are however a few who have fallen short of being leading cadres. The members of the Central Committee lead in rectification and self-criticism. They directly take on the heaviest responsibilities in the most important areas of struggle.

Through the concrete example provided by leading cadres and through thoroughgoing rectification, the conscious discipline of cadres and members is being further heightened. Fidelity to principles is expressed by genuine concern for the organization and for discipline. The principles of the Party are being firmly upheld against "freedom of factions" and liquidationism promoted by the revisionist traitors. Like their fellow revisionists abroad, they have attacked the vanguard role of the proletarian revolutionary party in order to attack the proletarian revolution and have thus indicated their open class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The rectification movement consciously combats the different strains of petty-bourgeois individualism and other pernicious bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological and political influences which have weakened the Party. Foremost among these are bureaucratism, liberalism, localism, small circle mentality, dereliction of duty, hankering for affluence and employee mentality.

The Party is strengthening the system of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. This system has served well in building *guerrilla fronts in different parts of the archipelago*. But it was destroyed in the relentless drive towards premature "regularization" and urban insurrectionism.

Under the system of premature verticalization of tactical leadership and coordination, the leading organs became increasingly drawn by the details of day-to-day tactical leadership while becoming increasingly careless and loose on questions of basic principles and strategic leadership and losing firm grasp of the concrete situation on

the ground, especially in the countryside. On the other hand, the military and organizational capability and initiative of intermediate and lower levels were weakened and killed by overcentralization of leadership in tactical struggles, by bureaucratism and by serious disorientation. Eventually, dislocations in the relations between the higher and lower levels were exploited by the revisionist traitors in order to further whip up ultrademocracy, localism, autonomism and liquidationism.

Decentralized operations appropriate for guerrilla warfare, especially in an archipelago like the Philippines, are naturally prone to the dangers of localism, even without the influence of serious deviations. Thus, it is important for us to persist in consolidating the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally; in strengthening the leadership of the Party at the national and regional levels; and in combating localism, while raising the capability and initiative of the Party organizations and guerrilla forces to advance within their respective spheres.

There is a crying need for cadres who have the advantage in both theory and experience. Unnecessary layers of administration and coordination are relentlessly being removed to free as many cadres as possible so that they can directly lead the work in the barrios and municipalities and in the factories, communities and schools in the cities. The leading cadres of the Party are tirelessly being mobilized to stay close to lower units and work, directly investigate the situation and actively lead in solving problems and accomplishing tasks.

Through intense struggles, old cadres are further being tempered and many more highly enthusiastic new ones are emerging. The reserves being trained for various levels of leadership in the Party and people's army will further increase as the campaign to bring cadres and mass activists from the cities to the countryside steps up. Shortly, we shall develop a bigger cadre force tempered in struggle, loyal to revolutionary principles and deeply rooted among the masses and, thus, shall be able to further strengthen the leadership of the Party and army at various levels.

We aspire to build a Party organization with a consolidated leadership and a broad and solid foundation on the ground. The current effort to strengthen the basic and intermediate levels is not only an immediate step to recover from past losses but also a continuing task

in comprehensive Party building. The strength and vitality of the Party organization at such levels are directly related to the broadening of strength for sustained growth based on self-reliance and mass support.

In the past, because of premature "regularization", urban-basing and growing bureaucratism, the Party organizations at the basic and intermediate levels were not given the opportunity nor the guidance necessary for strengthening and enabling them to competently handle their tasks and responsibilities. In the countryside, we were just starting to build branches in the barrios and we had only a few section committees when we started building companies rapidly and numerously. In the cities, Party membership remained small even during the height of the antifascist struggles. One of our biggest weakness as a Party has been the neglect of comprehensive Party building and thus the resulting weakness in Party leadership at basic and intermediate levels. This weakness became obvious in the period of the enemy's general offensive (the series of campaign plans under Lambat Bitag) and the wrecking operations of the revisionist renegades.

The rectification movement and the reinvigoration of mass work have produced new recruits to the Party. In the course of further advancing the reconstruction and recovery of guerrilla fronts, we have reestablished links with and regrouped abandoned basic units of the Party. Furthermore, we have reenlisted in the Party roster and reactivated a great number of former members. Thus, we can quickly recover the previous peak in Party membership. Massive recruitment of new Party members will have to be based on the rebuilding and revitalization of mass work and the mass movement at basic levels.

We are determined to push the building of a Party organization with sufficient breadth and depth in order to advance our people's war to a higher level until total victory. As we firm up and stabilize our situation, we can proceed to produce and train thousands of Party cadres and members. We are determined to further raise the proletarian composition of our Party organization by giving priority to recruiting members from the working class.

The Party earnestly pursues the policy of shifting to the countryside urban-based cadres who have been identified and are being hunted by the enemy. This is necessary so that we can escape from multiple perimeters of enemy surveillance, more effectively ensure the security



and stability of leading committees and make advances in building a truly deep underground movement in the cities. We must decisively overcome the immediate difficulties brought about by the big changes in our method of basing, communication and coordination. The damage suffered by the Party from urban-basing and carelessness in the underground movement has been very serious.

In line with simplifying the structures for administration and effectively monitoring the lower levels, the big fixed headquarters in the countryside which tied down a large number of personnel have also been dismantled. Leading committees of the Party are obliged to adapt to the mobility of guerrilla warfare.

We must strictly limit the use of radio communications to few selected tactical coordinations. Over-reliance on radio communications has been one of the principal reasons for the identification of guerrilla bases where leading Party committees maintain their headquarters. It has also made small armed propaganda units extremely vulnerable. Other more secure systems of communication are being revived and developed.

Let us restrengthen the system of reporting within the Party. Let us revive the system of regular and special reports to bring soonest to the attention of the concerned leading organs the information about the work and situation of lower units necessary for maintaining correct and firm leadership at various levels. In the past, we have been amiss in this regard. Thus, we need to pay particular attention to it.

By simplifying the structure of the organization, reducing the number of coordinated campaigns funded from the center and upholding the style of simple living, the Party is able to save its limited funds and utilize it for the most important needs and tasks. Despite great difficulties in generating funds, the principal tasks have been sufficiently provided for, especially those in connection with internal consolidation and ideological work.

Most of the regional organizations continue to be self-reliant and some are even able to contribute to the central fund. Only a few regional organizations that were hard-hit by the wrecking operations of the revisionist traitors need subsidies from the central fund.

By persevering in rectification and consolidation, we are definitely strengthening the unity of the Party on the correct revolutionary line.

By completing the process of rectification, we are better prepared to advance the people's democratic revolution.

The severe crisis of the local semicolonial and semifeudal system compels the reactionary ruling classes to rapidly escalate the exploitation of the toiling masses and the suppression of the people's rights. The workers, semiproletariat, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie are being subjected to extreme exploitation and oppression. The national bourgeoisie is apprehensive as it is hit hard by the crisis. Various forms of resistance and struggle are growing. Meanwhile, the reactionary ruling classes are further escalating fascist repression. The situation is exceedingly favorable for advancing the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist movement more widely, more firmly, more determinedly and more militantly.

Our Party's firm grasp of principles and of the gun shows the deep Marxist-Leninist grounding of our Party, tempered in difficult and self-reliant struggles and resolute in relying on the masses. We are aware that as our Party raises the Red flag, it does so not only for the interests of the Filipino proletariat and people but also for the proletariat of the whole world.

The general crisis of capitalism continues to intensify. The total collapse of modern revisionism has further cleared the way for strengthening and advancing the forces of proletarian revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought shines ever brighter as the guide to the revolutionary proletariat and peoples of the world. The constant intensification of the basic contradictions of imperialism and the continued reinvigoration of proletarian revolutionary forces signal the new dawn for the resurgence of the international proletarian revolution.#

**THREE ARTICLES  
FROM THE FOUNDING CHAIRMAN  
JOSE MARIA SISON**

**I.**

**BASIC CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD  
CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE ROLE  
AND PROSPECT OF THE WORKERS'  
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

Extract from the Message of Solidarity  
to the Kilusang Mayo Uno  
and the 12th International Solidarity Affair

**II.**

**STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE  
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**PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR  
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Extract from the Speech Delivered  
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# **BASIC CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE ROLE AND PROSPECT OF THE WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

**Extract from the Message of Solidarity  
to the Kilusang Mayo Uno  
and the 12th International Solidarity Affair**

## **I. THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES**

The United States (U.S.), the European Union (EU) and Japan, the three global centers of capitalism, were supposed to have made in 1994 a slight recovery from the prolonged recession of the world capitalist system. The U.S. registered a growth rate of 4.1 percent, the EU 2.0 to 3.0 percent, and Japan about 1.0 percent. However, these growth rates are not resulting in a sustained recovery but in another round of slowdown.

The crisis of overproduction persists. The increase of production is excessive relative to the effective market demand in the industrial capitalist countries themselves and elsewhere. There is rapid concentration of investments in higher technology which kills rather than creates jobs. The resulting unemployment and reduction of incomes among the people shrink the consumer market.

The winning firms in the capitalist competition absorb or kill losing firms and lay off what they consider as redundant workers. While trying to maximize profits, they cause the rates of productivity and profit to fall in entire national economies. Apart from the U.S., Germany and Japan, most of the lesser industrial capitalist countries are still in prolonged recession and suffer higher rates of unemployment.

The common effort of the industrial capitalist countries to widen their world market and override the deficits and debt burden of the third world countries by pushing them to privatize state assets, increase the tax burden on the people, accelerate local public borrowing and take short-term speculative capital from abroad has

struck the limits, as most dramatically exposed by the financial collapse in Mexico.

Upon the sinking of the so-called emerging markets, the trillions of dollars of short-term speculative capital are retreating to their imperialist homelands even as the stock and bond markets here continue to be dismal. The homecoming of the speculative funds aggravates the overconcentration of capital in the imperialist countries. Contrary to the claim that there is ceaseless global diffusion of capital, statistics show that the concentration of world investments in the industrial capitalist countries has risen from 69 percent in 1968 to 83 percent in 1993. The growing net outflow of capital from the underdeveloped countries is the unceasing fact. The debt service payments and the superprofit remittances from the underdeveloped countries have rapidly concentrated capital in the imperialist countries and have constricted the world market.

As a result of its overproduction in 1994, the U.S. is deliberately using in a protectionist way the undervaluation of the dollar in international trade to dispose of its surplus products in its home market and abroad and to compel Japan and other competing countries to open up their markets. At the same time, the undervaluation of the dollar arises objectively from its huge deficit and debt problems due to a long period of overconsumption, military overspending and decline of manufacturing up to the latter part of the '80s.

The undervaluation of the U.S. dollar vis-a-vis the currencies of Japan and Germany is intensifying the trade war among them. There are serious disagreements among the industrial capitalist countries within the Group of Seven, OECD, IMF, World Bank and the World Trade Organization. The tendency among the most powerful industrial capitalist countries to consolidate their national and regional markets is fueling interimperialist contradictions.

At the core of the crisis of the industrial capitalist countries is the contradiction between the high productivity provided by high technology (microchips, robotics, genetic engineering, etc.) and the capitalist relations of production. The supermonopolies adopt ever higher technology to enhance their competitive edge and profitability and proceed to eliminate jobs and competitors. The proportion of investments going into the means of production (constant capital) is rapidly rising, leaving far behind the variable capital for wages. The

process has been called jobless growth. The monopoly firms maximize their profits by going into drastic cost-cutting by laying off workers, pressing down wage levels and adopting still higher technology. The result is the contraction of the effective consumer market demand and bankruptcy of the firms that lose in the competition.

In each and all of the industrial capitalist countries, the big bourgeoisie tries to resolve the problems by raiding public funds and private savings of ordinary people for the benefit of private corporations, privatizing state enterprises, cutting back on social welfare benefits in favor of "corporate welfare", killing jobs and destroying the hard-won rights and benefits of the working class movement. However, military spending and other nonproductive deficit-spending by the state are permissible to the big bourgeoisie because these result in contracts with monopoly firms.

The unemployment problem in industrial capitalist countries is far graver than what official statistics show. The official unemployment rates of about 6.0 percent in the United States, 11 percent in Western Europe and 3.0 percent in Japan are misleading. These do not include in the reckoning those who have stopped looking for work and those forced into early retirement. The part-timers, employees without tenure, and those considered as self-employed are mounting and regarded by state agencies as fully employed. The rights to job security, stable or rising real income, medical insurance, unemployment benefits and the like are being cut down. Trade union rights and trade unions are being smashed.

In lesser capitalist countries like Spain, Ireland and Finland, the official unemployment rate goes beyond 20 percent. In fact, in all industrial capitalist countries, the actual rates of unemployment in extensive areas called the rust belts go beyond 20 percent. Tens of millions of people are unemployed. Homelessness is rampant. The "inner cities" populated by workers and the unemployed are becoming more and more blighted. The youth, women, children and minorities are the most victimized by the problem of unemployment and all its consequences.

As a result of the worsening unemployment and other economic problems of capitalism, social unrest is developing in the industrial capitalist countries. Workers' strikes and mass protest actions of the youth and other people are developing. But the working class

movement is still handicapped by previous weakening of the trade union movement, by classical social-democratic and modern revisionist betrayal, by the predominance of trade union reformism and bureaucratism and by the petty-bourgeoisification of public consciousness for a long period of time.

There is a general dissatisfaction over the traditional political parties of the big bourgeoisie. But in the absence or due to the weakness of proletarian revolutionary parties, the big bourgeoisie can still manage to run its political variety show. At the same time, certain big bourgeois groups encourage bourgeois nationalism, anticommunism, social voluntarism, neofascism, racism, religious fundamentalism and cultism in an attempt to obfuscate capitalism as the root cause of social problems, derail the class struggle and preempt the rise of revolutionary forces. Criminality and drug abuse are on the rise.

## II. THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

More than 60 percent of the people of the world are still mired in agrarian backwardness. They are concentrated in the so-called third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America whose underdevelopment and poverty have been aggravated and deepened by the neocolonialism of monopoly capitalism. Contrary to the claim that monopoly capitalism has spread development on a global scale, the overwhelming majority of the third world countries have suffered economic degradation and de-industrialization.

The overwhelming majority of third world countries have been victimized by being compelled under neocolonialism to take foreign investments and loans for expanding raw-material production and infrastructure and suffer ever deteriorating terms of trade between their raw-material exports and manufactured imports. Since the '70s, their economies have been ruined by the overproduction of raw materials for export, by ever deteriorating terms of trade and by mounting deficit and foreign debt problems. They have been prevented from building their own industrial foundation.

Even countries with heavy and basic industries — like China, India and Brazil — have huge portions of their population still wallowing in agrarian backwardness. Their industrial foundation is vulnerable to

being undermined and destroyed by the foreign monopolies and the local comprador big bourgeoisie. In the current situation, even the few economies in East Asia and Latin America which are touted as newly industrialized, are being adversely affected by the attempt of the United States to revive its own manufacturing for export, to consolidate the NAFTA and the All Latin American Free Trade Area and to override the attempts of the other global centers of capitalism to consolidate their own national and regional markets.

While the three global centers of capitalism are intensifying their competition, they continue to be united in shifting the burden of the capitalist crisis to the third world countries as well as to the countries previously dominated and devastated by Soviet social-imperialism. All these subjugated countries are now conspicuously compelled to press down the level of their development and to absorb the surplus commodities and surplus capital from the global centers of capitalism in a manner as to prevent their own industrial development.

Under neocolonialism, the use of surplus capital in the form of direct and indirect investments has been used mainly to finance consumption, raw-material production, bureaucratic corruption and military buildup and only secondarily for spotty and lopsided development of some basic industries and export-oriented manufacturing in a few third world countries. The debt crisis of the third world countries has been compounded by the resort to privatization of state assets accelerated by local public borrowing, higher tax burden and short-term speculative capital from abroad in order to finance the importation of consumer products and anti-industrial programs and projects.

In all the neocolonial client-states, foreign monopoly capitalism and the local reactionaries are undermining and brazenly curtailing the trade union and other rights of the working class and are pressing down wage levels for the purpose of attracting foreign investments and in the name of development and social accord. In the face of the ever deteriorating wage and living conditions, the workers fight for their rights and interests and join up with the rest of the people in mass actions. Progressive trade unions, with a proletarian revolutionary core, are the most advanced and most militant in the broad mass movement for national liberation and democracy.



It is not true that simply because the wage levels in third world countries are at least ten times lower than those in the industrial capitalist countries, the imperialists are shifting their industries to the third world. The imperialists make sure that they retain the industrial core processes and the most advanced technology, that they do not create more industrial countries to compete with them and that they put a brake on unemployment and social unrest in their own countries as much as possible. Thus, only to some limited extent and in a begrudging way do they allow some industries in the third world. Their antagonism towards proletarian revolutionaries in the third world is precisely because these fight for the industrial development of their own countries.

The world's main arena of violent contradictions is still the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries. Several scores of armed conflicts are going on. That is because the people here are the most oppressed and exploited by imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The 80 percent of the world population that live below the poverty line are concentrated in these countries. The overwhelming majority of the unemployed and underemployed are also concentrated here. Understated ILO statistics put these at 120 million and 800 million, respectively.

In the new world disorder following the end of the cold war between U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the violent conflicts in the third world include the following types: imperialist war of aggression to consolidate economic control as in the Persian Gulf war in 1991; internal armed conflicts generated by bankruptcies and austerity measures and characterized by bitter rivalries of bureaucratic cliques as well as by reactionary manipulation of ethnic and religious differences; and civil wars between the forces of armed revolution and those of armed counterrevolution.

Most armed conflicts do not involve any party of the revolutionary proletariat leading the people. The most numerous and most savage armed conflicts are occurring in Africa, which is the most devastated by imperialist exploitation. Let me cite Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Millions of people have become refugees. In the outstanding case of Rwanda, more than a million people have been massacred as a result of imperialist and reactionary

manipulation of ethnic differences. The conditions of civil war persist in Angola and Mozambique despite the truce agreements.

A bitter civil war between the religious fundamentalists and the secularist state is being fought in oil-producing but bankrupt Algeria. Armed Islamic groups continue to wage war against each other in Afghanistan. In the former Soviet Central Asia, particularly in Tajikistan, there is a fierce civil war between the secularists and the religious fundamentalists. In South Asia, there are several serious armed conflicts, involving ethnic and religious differences.

In six countries, there are civil wars where the revolutionary side of the people is led by parties of the proletariat. These are in the Philippines, Kampuchea, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia and Kurdistan. The perseverance of the people in revolutionary armed struggle is highly significant amidst the degradation of armed conflicts into the most vicious struggle for power among reactionary cliques that offers no bright future to the people and that often involves the manipulation of ethnic and religious differences by at least one side. In India, a number of communist parties are developing people's war while there are also communist parties which are successful in parliamentary struggle on varying scales.

In Nepal, the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) has become through parliamentary struggle the main party in the ruling coalition and is trying to solve the social problems under special circumstances. After having won political power through protracted people's war, the new governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea are struggling to improve the conditions of the people. The national liberation movements previously enjoying support from the Soviet Union have gone into compromises and settlements with their adversaries. But social unrest and outbreaks of violence continue.

In certain countries like China and Vietnam, the governments still call their social system socialist. But in fact, capitalism has been restored. The bureaucrat big bourgeoisie at the national and provincial levels collaborate with the foreign and domestic private big bourgeoisie in oppressing and exploiting the workers and peasants in ways and degrees similar to those in the Philippines. There are strong spontaneous currents among the people opposing such effects of capitalist restoration as inflation, growing joblessness, extremely low levels of real income (except for those in the upper 10 percent of the

population) and widespread corruption. The ruling communist parties have been hollowed out by the corrupt revisionist bureaucrats.

There are countries like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba, which are outstanding in their resistance to the impositions of imperialism and which avow the line of national independence and socialism. They are beset by the problems posed by imperialist encirclement, the consequences of revisionist betrayal in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere and by the limited scale of their economies. With overweening arrogance, U. S. imperialism is doing everything to subjugate them through embargoes and aggressive threats as well as offers of accommodation.

The new world disorder, which has been brought about by monopoly capitalism, neocolonialism and revisionist betrayal, is worsening at a rapid rate. It is creating the objective conditions for the rebuilding of revolutionary parties of the proletariat and the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement. It is the prelude to revolutionary upheavals and social revolution on an unprecedented scale.

### **III. EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION**

Since the disintegration of the revisionist regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the new bourgeoisie (consisting mainly of bureaucrat capitalists bred by several decades of revisionist rule) has legalized its long accumulated loot, has rapidly privatized profitable state enterprises and other state assets and has come out unabashedly as the private big bourgeoisie.

But monopoly bureaucrat capitalism persists. It has merely cast off its socialist mask. The state continues to own the whole or substantial portions of many enterprises because the new bourgeoisie uses the stakes of the state as rationale for easier access to state funds or prefers to simply milk the state enterprises or rob them of their products as in previous decades.

It is commonplace for the bourgeoisie to close down the state enterprises because these have become extremely unprofitable. These have lost their markets within and outside the defunct Comecon. The Western foreign monopoly capitalists are dumping their surplus

products to soften their crisis of overproduction rather than put in productive investments.

The Western monopoly firms have bought some of the most profitable state enterprises and shifted some of their plants to the former Soviet bloc countries in order to cut down production costs and avail of much cheaper labor there. The wage level of skilled workers is supposed to be at least 50 percent lower in the Czech Republic than in Germany. But the general trend is to degrade and de-industrialize the economies of the countries in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and cause lopsided development.

Most of the republics of the former Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe have fallen into the general status of the third world countries. At least 10 percent in the increase of the world's unemployed and impoverished is accounted for by the people in these areas. The rapid destruction of the forces of production is conspicuous in the countries formerly ruled by revisionist regimes. Huge industrial plants have been closed down or allowed to rot.

The breakdown and closures of state enterprises have resulted in massive unemployment and unprecedented poverty. Those who remain employed in Russia have a general wage level of U.S.\$50 per month. Social benefits which used to disguise the capitalist character of the revisionist regimes have been abolished. The pensioners, women and children are the most victimized. The new bourgeoisie, which includes a significant number of criminal syndicates working closely with the bureaucrats, rob the assets of the state more viciously than ever before.

The proletariat and the people detest their ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. As a result of layoffs, reduction of real income and delays in the payment of wages, workers strikes and mass protest actions are rising. The most rabid anticommunists who use neoliberal slogans are discredited. But several decades of revisionist rule have robbed the people of revolutionary consciousness. The former revisionists who have become openly anticommunist and use nationalist, neoliberal or social-democratic slogans in their political competition continue to prevail. They are the dominant force in bureaucrat capitalism and private business.

There are parties and groups that consider themselves communist and followers of Lenin and Stalin and are critical of the most rabidly reactionary anticommunists and the revisionists who have openly turned anticommunist liberals or social democrats. But because of their own revisionist background, these communist parties and groups have difficulties in explaining how socialism has been undermined and betrayed through gradual evolution for so many decades. Some of them have started to make a critique of modern revisionism and the former revisionist regimes. Others are still nostalgic and apologetic about the revisionist regimes in contrast with the current regimes.

Violent contradictions have arisen among the ranks of the big bourgeoisie. These are fueled by the extremely worsened social conditions. So far the most violent are the intra-state and interstate wars generated by the rivalries of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists and characterized by nationalist and religious conflicts. Quite appropriately, in the former Yugoslavia where Tito pioneered in modern revisionism, the deadliest civil war is occurring, specifically in Bosnia where more than 300,000 people have already been killed in a three-sided conflict among the Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

Russia itself is afflicted by grave social unrest and by the constant threat of civil war. Moscow has been repeatedly the scene of armed confrontations and coup and countercoup since 1991. The Russian war of aggression in Chechnya is genocidal and is inciting the people in the Caucasus to rebel. The wars in Tadjikistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia persist, despite claims to the contrary. There is high potential of civil wars all over the former Soviet Union.

Fascism is already rampaging and is a growing monster in Russia and other former Soviet republics. Soviet social-imperialism and social-fascism existed while the revisionists masqueraded as communists. But the imperialist press keeps on saying that there is democracy so long as the privatization or closure of state enterprises continues and the bourgeoisie consolidates its position. The Western imperialists will start to say that fascism exists when a military clique takes power directly and invokes bourgeois nationalism to give difficulties to them.

In the meantime, the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are wide open to absorption in the world capitalist system and penetration and intervention by the European Union (especially Germany) and

other imperialist powers as well as by Iran which has the financial resources to propagate Islamic fundamentalism in the Balkans and Central Asia.

Russia has expressed resentment over the integration of the Czech republic, Poland and Hungary in the military framework of NATO. But preoccupied by its own internal troubles and weaknesses and driven by its own subservience to the Western imperialists, Russia is helpless and is merely cajoled by the West with offers of "partnership in peace". What worries the U.S. most about Russia is the latter's sale of nuclear and other military technology to other countries.

As the turmoil worsens in Russia, the other former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe, the conditions have arisen for military cliques to grab political power and run military fascist regimes. The emergence of political and economic conditions worse than now is the precondition for the development of truly revolutionary parties of the proletariat which can draw the fighting principles from the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the legacy of Lenin and Stalin, and lead armed revolutions.

#### **IV. THE PHILIPPINE PROLETARIAT AMONG THE WORLD PROLETARIAT**

The Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is of global significance. This is a revolutionary struggle that is led by the proletariat and has a socialist perspective. This is now among the armed revolutionary movements in the forefront of the global struggle of the proletariat and the people against imperialism and all reaction.

It is a movement that is proud of being in the forefront of the world proletarian revolution. At the same time, it is humble to recognize the difficulties of its own struggle and the need to surmount these self-reliantly in the concrete conditions of the Philippines as well as in unity with the world proletariat and people in the struggle to bring about the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

For so long, the Philippines has been continuously an agrarian adjunct of capitalist development in the West: at first a colony of Spain and then of the United States and since 1946 as a neocolony. The

Filipino proletariat and people have always been driven by their oppression and exploitation to fight for national liberation and democracy.

It is futile of the imperialists and the local reactionaries to conduct the most brutal forms of military campaigns and the most deceptive forms of psychological warfare in the attempt to dissuade the Filipino proletariat and people to wage the national-democratic revolution and look forward to building socialism.

So far, the imperialists and local reactionaries have failed to destroy the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat in the Philippines. Instead, the revolutionary forces have repeatedly consolidated and expanded their strength, rectified their errors and weaknesses and advanced from one level of development to a new and higher one.

The crisis of the domestic and semicolonial and semifeudal system is ever worsening. It is compounded by the crisis of the world capitalist system. There is no way that the U. S.-Ramos regime can industrialize the Philippines by the year 2000 and thereby liquidate the people's war. All the economic and social policies, carried out by the regime upon the dictation of the foreign monopoly capitalists, can only aggravate and deepen the agrarian and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy and society.

The bankruptcy of the reactionary state is laid bare by its increasing difficulties in securing foreign loans to cover its deficits and by its desperate resort to local public borrowing, privatization of state assets, increasing the tax burden and attraction of short-term speculative capital from abroad. The long-term result is further bankruptcy.

If in previous times, the arms supplied by the Pentagon to the local reactionary forces could never suffice to suppress the revolutionary movement, U. S. imperialism and the local reactionaries will further fail to stop the advance of the revolutionary forces, as the new world disorder spreads and intensifies.

For more than 26 years, the Filipino proletariat and people have amply proven that they can persevere in protracted people's war, win victories and build Red political power in various parts of the countryside even as the power of the class enemy is still entrenched in the cities. Even as they engage in revolutionary armed struggle as the principal form of struggle, they have been able to conduct legal forms of struggle successfully.

As they try to contribute the most that they can to the advancement of the world proletarian revolution, they wish the proletariat and the people in various countries to expand and intensify their revolutionary struggles. The workers of the world must unite and raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism. They must conjoin with all the oppressed peoples in the world in order to defeat imperialism and all reaction and march forward on the road of revolution. Under monopoly capitalism, the proletariat and people of the Philippines and the world share a common life of oppression and exploitation and a common revolutionary duty to struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The revolutionary struggle takes various forms in various countries. The trade union and other legal forms of struggle under the leadership of the working class party are necessary in all countries. The concrete conditions for the revolutionary struggle vary from country to country. On a global scale, the various forms of struggle that are being waged in different countries help each other.#



## **STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT**

**Extract from the Message  
to the KARAPATAN Congress  
August 17, 1995**

The establishment of KARAPATAN is a highly significant event. It comes to further firm up the resolve of the human rights organizations and advocates to persevere in the struggle for national liberation and democracy and therefore to uphold, defend and promote human rights in opposition to foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism as well as their special agents who use the slogan of human rights to attack the national-democratic movement.

So long as the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system persists, the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata are exploited and oppressed. Their human rights — civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural — are unceasingly violated by the imperialists and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

There can be an effective advocacy and militant defense of human rights only by knowing who are the violators of human rights and who are the victims and recognizing that the people themselves can fight for their human rights through the national-democratic movement.

It is necessary to repudiate the handful of elements who pretend to be for human rights but who pose as neutral between violators and victims and are in fact hostile to the national-democratic movement. They render a special service to the human rights violators and are therefore shunned by the victims.

### **A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

The substantive scope of human rights covers not only civil and political rights but also the economic, social and cultural rights of the Filipino people. The people assert and fight for the full scope of human rights in their struggle for national and social liberation.

The national-democratic revolution is waged to overthrow the big comprador-landlord state, to liberate the people from oppression and exploitation and to establish the people's democratic state. The constitution of this state carries provisions against imperialism and the local exploiting classes in order to lay the ground for the full realization of the people's human rights in every sphere of social life.

To counter the revolution, the imperialists and the exploiting classes openly and viciously use the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress the revolutionary forces and the people. The outcry rises against state terrorism. The main or sole tendency is to invoke the civil and political rights of the victims, as if these were the only human rights under attack.

There is oppression because it is a prerequisite and concomitant to exploitation. The imperialists and the local reactionaries violate the civil and political rights in order to preserve the system of exploitation. They want the daily violence of exploitation to persist under their state power. This exploitation extends to the violation of economic, social and cultural rights.

While playing a revolutionary role in the past, the bourgeoisie asserted the sovereignty of the people against the so-called divine right of the absolute monarchy and defined the relationship of the state and the citizenry. In the best of bourgeois democratic constitutions, the bill of rights lists the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizenry.

But after seizing political power and making capitalism the dominant socioeconomic system in a number of countries, the big bourgeoisie has systematically misrepresented the bourgeois state as supraclass in order to conceal its oppressive class character and used the abstraction of individual rights in bourgeois constitutions in order to rationalize the privilege of certain individuals to exploit many other individuals.

The exploiters are a class that in fact controls the bourgeois state. It is simply untrue that all individuals in an exploitative society have equal rights, equal opportunities and equal protection of the law and that their only concern is either to harmonize their relations with the supraclass state or overthrow it when it becomes tyrannical and oppressive.

The provisions on human rights of the United Nations Charter (1945) and the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

are in line with the traditional bourgeois concept of human rights as mainly and essentially civil and political rights. What is new about these U.N. instruments is the attempt to set an international standard on human rights and to suggest that the international law on human rights override domestic law.

However, there are enough provisions in these U.N. instruments to allow the contracting states under the principle of state sovereignty to handle all human rights cases within their national borders individually and exclusively and to restrict or even violate human rights by invoking national security, public order and the like. Although they accuse revolutionary states of ignoring the U.N. instruments on human rights, the imperialist states and their client-states have used the principle of state sovereignty to assert exclusive jurisdiction over human rights cases within their national borders.

With utter callousness, the United States and other capitalist powers have described the most brutal pro-imperialist regimes as democratic and belonging to the free world and have used the slogan of human rights to pursue anticommunist propaganda against anti-imperialist states or dignify pressures on other states to submit to the policies of foreign monopoly capitalism.

The United States has been the worst of human rights violators on an international scale since 1945. It is the only imperialist power that has used nuclear weapons to wipe out civilian populations in a few seconds. It has launched wars of aggression to kill millions of people as in Korea and Indochina and nearly 200,000 people in Iraq within one month. It has instigated and supported reactionary regimes to engage in the most barbaric acts, including massacres, torture, bombardments on civilian communities, and forced mass evacuation.

We should not forget the massacre of more than a million Indonesians in 1965 and so many other massacres perpetrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America by the imperialists and their reactionary agents. The Marcos regime dared to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people in 1972 only because the United States approved and supported it. The repression was done in the name of anticommunism and was intended to thwart the growing national-democratic movement.

In Philippine history, the worst human rights violations have been committed by foreign oppressors. Spanish colonialism oppressed and

exploited the Filipino people for more than three centuries. In frustrating and defeating the Philippine Republic from 1899 onward, the United States unleashed such barbarities as massacres, torture, food blockade, forced relocation, arson and artillery fire on millions of people and killed off 10 percent of the population. During World War II, Japan and the United States in their interimperialist contest took turns in inflicting atrocities on the Filipino people.

As a result of the demand of the underdeveloped countries, the U.N. General Assembly passed not only the U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights but also the U.N. Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1966. The self-determination of the people is affirmed and so is the sovereign power of the contracting states, of whatever character, to be separately and solely responsible for the observance of human rights within their national jurisdiction.

In waging the national-democratic revolution, the people uphold the principle of their sovereignty and their human rights as individuals, in association, in patriotic and progressive classes and strata, and as a national community. They struggle to liberate themselves from foreign and domestic oppressors and exploiters in order to assert, defend and advance their human rights and establish the people's democratic state under which they can truly enjoy the constitutional guarantees for their human rights.

To harmonize the relations of the state and the citizenry in the observance of human rights is necessary, if that state is truly an instrument of the citizenry (who are liberated from imperialism and the exploiting classes) and really provides the guarantees that neither itself nor any other entity in society can violate the human rights of any citizen with impunity.

The current reactionary state in the Philippines is an instrument of oppression and exploitation, violating the guarantees of civil and political rights in the bill of rights of its own constitution as well as those in the U.N. instruments on human rights. In the Philippines today, there are four levels of social reality to take into account in dealing with the issue of human rights. The best way to grasp these levels is to grasp them as levels of social contradictions.

These are the contradiction between foreign monopoly capitalism and the Filipino people; that between the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords on the one hand and the people, especially

the workers and peasants, on the other hand; that between the state in the service of imperialism and the local exploiting classes on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other hand; and that between the few individuals who belong to the exploiting classes and the many individuals who belong to the exploited classes.

The aforesaid levels of social reality must be taken into account in the people's struggle for liberation from the forces that negate and violate their human rights. It is imperative to struggle against imperialism, the exploiting classes, the counterrevolutionary state and those individuals who carry out the functions of these anti-people forces. Through the revolutionary struggle, the human and rational regard for human beings as persons with dignity and basic human rights is made to prevail over the inhuman regard for them as mere objects of exploitation.

To fight and defeat the forces of inhumanity it is necessary to uphold the principle that human beings — as differentiated from the beasts — have the inalienable right to life, liberty, the security of person and pursuit of happiness and have such fundamental freedoms as those of thought, belief, expression and assembly, as well as from want and fear.

Such acts as torture, rape, murder, cannibalism and the like are patently inhumane. Anyone committing any of these acts violates the human dignity and rights of the victim as well as his own standing as a human being. Those who render justice to the victim should take care not to degrade themselves in the course of seeking the punishment of the culprit.

In the administration of justice, even one accused of having committed the most heinous crime is entitled to due process, deemed innocent until proven guilty in court, treated humanely and punished according to the gravity of the crime and in a manner that does not demean the system of justice. The punishment is meant to give justice to the victim and serve notice to all that no one can violate the human rights of another person or the people with impunity.

In the people's democratic state, an entire exploiting class is deprived of its means to oppress and exploit the people and certain rights of all members of the entire class are restricted or dissolved in order to prevent them from regaining political power. But not all former exploiters are regarded and treated as criminals nor are they

viewed as beasts. They are given the opportunity to remould themselves and to contribute to society what they can under basically human conditions.

There is a difference between membership in an exploiting class and criminal accountability subject to criminal prosecution. Relatively only a few of the exploiters are subjected to prosecution for criminal offenses before the people's court, as the political measures become effective to deprive the entire exploiting class of its means to oppress and exploit the people.

The constitution of the people's democratic state upholds the power of the proletariat and other working people and contains the crucial provisions against the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords for the purpose of the all-round social revolution. Such provisions make the constitution radically different from the constitution of the current reactionary state. Consequently, the guarantees for the civil and political rights of the citizenry in the bill of rights come into a context of genuine national independence, democracy, social justice and development.

*In the Philippines today, there is a bitter contention, in fact a civil war, between the big comprador-landlord state and the people who are waging the national-democratic revolution and building the organs of political power. The constitution of the big comprador-landlord state is fundamentally different from the Guide for Establishing the People's Government. The latter upholds the people's sovereignty, requires the liberation of the people from imperialism and the exploiting classes and guarantees the human rights of the people in every aspect of social life.*

### **EXPERIENCE IN THE ADVOCACY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

In the advocacy for human rights, it is necessary to muster the forces engaged in the struggle for national liberation and democracy. These are the working class as the leading force, the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry as the main force, the aforementioned classes and the urban petty bourgeoisie as the basic progressive forces and all positive forces which include the national bourgeoisie.

The alliance of the patriotic and progressive forces should also take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries and avail of the less reactionary sections of the exploiting classes as temporary and unreliable allies directly or indirectly against the enemy (the most reactionary faction, which is most subservient to the imperialists). The point is to develop the broadest possible array of forces in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy that is unleashing the worst human rights violations on the people.

In the alliance for human rights along the national-democratic line, the patriotic and progressive forces and elements involved may be motivated by various lines of thought and belief. The proletarian revolutionaries, the progressive liberals, religious believers and other people can find common ground in the national-democratic movement and agree to defend and fight for human rights against the imperialist and the local exploiting classes. In this regard, progressive and patriotic forces have gained a rich experience since the early '70s when upon the instigation of the United States the Marcos regime set out to impose the open rule of terror on the people.

There are the proletarian revolutionaries who have a clear class analysis of Philippine society, take the vantage point of the working class, and consider the national-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution as stages in the advance of the the struggle for human rights. There are the bourgeois liberals who retain the revolutionary or progressive aspect of their political philosophy, share with the proletarian revolutionaries adherence to the people's sovereignty and strive to put the bourgeois-democratic bill of rights and the current bourgeois international canon of human rights in the service of the national-democratic movement. There are the religious believers who find their faith as being in consonance with the struggle for national and social liberation because this upholds the dignity and rights of human beings.

A broad alliance called the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties was formed in 1971 when the U.S.-Marcos regime proclaimed the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and started to suppress the legal forces of the national-democratic movement and all other opposition. The National Democratic Front was established in 1973 in order to preserve, consolidate and expand the forces of the national-democratic movement underground after the U.S.-Marcos

regime proclaimed martial rule in 1972 and attempted to destroy completely all types of opposition.

Within the NDF, the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) took upon itself the task of creating a formation to defend human rights, seek the support of the church people and counter the reactionary support of the institutional church for the fascist dictatorship. The Task Force Detainees came into being in 1974, under the auspices of the Association of Major Religious Superiors in the Philippines.

Through all the years of the fascist dictatorial regime of the U.S.-Marcos ruling clique, the forces of the national-democratic movement struggled to uphold and defend human rights and suffered the main brunt of human rights violations. They ceaselessly offered alliance and cooperated directly and indirectly with all other antifascist forces, including the anti-Marcos sections of the exploiting classes. They excelled in waging armed revolution as well as in developing a broad united front and utilizing legal tactics against the fascist dictatorship.

From the late '70s onward, funds in substantial amounts came from bourgeois and religious funding agencies based in Western Europe to support legal work in human rights. This work was helpful in the reemergence of the legal democratic movement against the regime. But with the foreign funds also came subtle anticommunist ideas and the floating notion that human rights work was merely a matter of civil and political rights and that democracy was merely a matter of restoring the pre-1972 bourgeois democratic institutions and processes.

Towards the middle of the '80s, bureaucratism became conspicuous among the salaried and office-bound personnel in the human rights organizations and other foreign-funded "nongovernmental organization" ("NGOs"). There developed a tendency to neglect painstaking mass work and to depend on funds from outside the mass movement in order to undertake sweeping propaganda and mass protest actions but without the commensurate solid organizing. The wave of mass discontent, arising from the acute economic and political crisis of the regime and from the Aquino assassination, was so strong in the 1983-86 period that mass protest actions could be undertaken even with limited work in political education and mass organizing.

From 1980 onward, the subjectivist notion had gained ground within the central leadership of the Communist Party of the



Philippines that the U.S.-Marcos regime had so industrialized and urbanized the Philippines to the extent that it was no longer semifeudal. This erroneous notion became the common launching base for both "Left" and Right opportunism, both of which overrated the importance of urban work and depreciated the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in protracted people's war.

Both the "Left" opportunist lines of "strategic counteroffensive" (centrally generated) and the "Red Area-White Area" (whipped up in Mindanao) undermined and inflicted severe damage to the revolutionary movement in the entire '80s. By pushing urban insurrectionism and premature regularization of the people's army and drawing cadres away from mass work, these adventurist lines undermined the revolutionary advances achieved by the revolutionary cadres and fighters who carried out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base.

While the "Left" opportunists were riding high in the revolutionary movement, the Right opportunists lurked behind, proposing the "New Katipunan" as a device for liquidating the working class leadership in the revolution under the pretext of thereby attracting more mass support. They used foreign funds to favor the creation of "NGO" offices, the proliferation of alliances and campaign centers addressing the spontaneous masses. Like the "Left" opportunists, they had disdain for painstaking mass work and solid organizing.

The "Left" opportunists passed off modern revisionism as Marxism-Leninism and Soviet monopoly bureaucrat capitalism as socialism for the avowed purpose of courting the Soviet and pro-Soviet parties and governments for military and financial assistance. A revisionist concept of armed struggle, dependent on foreign assistance and impugning the principle of self-reliance, took hold among the putschists. The obfuscation of the longrunning antirevisionist position of the CPP, the silence on Dengist revisionism and the endorsement of Brezhnevite revisionism would ultimately lead to the acceptance of Gorbachovism and anticommunism among the opportunists in the latter part of the '80s.

From the United States, some Filipino assets of U.S. imperialism pushed the seemingly Leftist line of supporting the Philippine armed struggle but dropping the strategic line of protracted people's war and seeking the support of the Soviet Union. Subsequently, they whipped

up the blatantly Rightist line that the downfall of the Marcos dictatorship would spell democratization and that elite democracy could be transformed through reforms within the system by popular democracy. The exponents of "popular democracy" (bourgeois populism) emerged as an ideological parasite within the CPP as early as 1984 and subsequently tried to use the foreign-funded "NGOs and POs" against the national-democratic movement.

After the complete frustration of their line of urban insurrectionism and militarism as early as 1984, the "Left" opportunists in Mindanao obscured their responsibility for their disastrous line, blamed "deep penetration agents" for their failure and launched the bloody witchhunt *Kampanyang Ahas* from 1985 to 1986. Then they swung towards the Right opportunist line by claiming that the strategic line of protracted people's war was to blame for the 1986 boycott error, exaggerating this major tactical error as the biggest strategic error in the entire history of the revolutionary movement and unabashedly calling for bourgeois reformism as the necessary prerequisite to their failed insurrectionism.

They conjoined with the long-standing Right opportunists and with the "Left" opportunists in other regions as well as with the pseudo-Left anticommunist groups in assailing the CPP as having isolated itself not only because of the boycott error but mainly because of the line of the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. As early as 1985, it was evident that the agents of U.S. imperialism were instigating and manipulating the opportunists and pseudo-Left groups to discredit, undermine and derail the national-democratic movement.

Despite the disaster caused by the wrong line in Mindanao from 1984 to 1986, various forms of "Left" opportunism continued to run, cause damage and result sometimes in hysterical anti-informer campaigns in areas other than Mindanao. The Right opportunists used to their advantage the serious damage done by "Left" opportunism. They misrepresented the errors and damage made by the "Left" opportunists as those of Marxism-Leninism.

In 1989, the Right opportunists started to become arrogant and even the worst of the "Left" opportunists started to swing to the position of the Right opportunists. They began to flaunt the books of Gorbachov and Roy Medvedev as their guide and to spread these. They used the anticommunist line in the cold war that the proletarian revolutionary

party and the national-democratic revolution were outdated and hopeless because of "Stalinism" which they adopted as their favorite cussword.

They collaborated with the pseudo-Left anticommunist groups and the thinly disguised agents of imperialism and local reaction in trying to spread revisionism and liquidationism within the CPP. The urban-basing of the central organs of the CPP and even those of the NPA was also taking a toll in terms of ideological confusion and effective enemy operations. Cynicism, gangsterism and "NGO" corruption became visible problems.

The Rightist current ran strong in urban-based progressive organizations and offices. Political degeneration set in among certain elements and sections of the human rights organizations. They succumbed to the pressures of Western funding agencies that the revolutionary forces be depicted as equally responsible for human rights violations as the reactionary armed forces. However, they covered up the Kampanyang Ahos and other bloody witchhunts instigated by the failed putschists in their hysteria and attempt to blame deep penetration agents for the disastrous results of their wrong line.

They harped on the line that democratization and the decline of human rights violations were occurring under the reactionary regime, despite the escalation of the total war policy, which involved the killing of prominent progressive political leaders like Rolando Olalia and Lean Alejandro, labor leaders, human rights lawyers, youth activists, personnel of Partido ng Bayan and others in urban areas from 1986 to 1988 and the wider scale of gross human rights violations under Lambat Bitag I, II and III and other military campaigns of suppression in the countryside from 1986 to the present. Bureaucratism and corruption of a few through multiple compensation in several foreign-funded human rights organizations became more scandalous from year to year.

In 1991, the incorrigible opportunists were already outspokenly anti-Marxist, anticommunist and counterrevolutionary, were spreading pessimism and defeatism among people they came in contact with and were maneuvering to decapitate and disintegrate the CPP and the entire revolutionary movement of the people. They pointed to the fall of the anti-Stalin revisionist regimes as the fall of

socialism and Stalinism and as the proof of the marginalization and futility of the anti-imperialist and class struggle for socialism.

Since 1988, the genuine proletarian revolutionaries have been cognizant of the need for a rectification campaign. The most tactful efforts were undertaken in this regard but proved to be ineffective in stemming the tide. It would only be in 1991 that the proletarian revolutionaries decided to launch the Second Great Rectification Movement with resolve and vigor, unprecedented since the First Great Rectification Movement that had led to the reestablishment of the CPP in 1968.

The counterrevolutionary opportunists who are now specialists of the reactionary regime in using the phraseology of the pseudo-Left and of neocolonialism to attack the national-democratic movement have a handful of cohorts who pretend to be still in the legal work for the protection of human rights. These are the shameless elements in PAHRA who are headed by Ramon Casiple and who are characterized by the following:

1. They vociferously take an anticommunist line and a hostile position towards the forces of the national-democratic movement.

2. They adopt the "universality" (in fact the narrow mentality and interests of the big bourgeoisie) to attack the comprehensive position of the national-democratic movement on human rights.

3. They misrepresent themselves as "neutral" between the violators of human rights and the victims.

4. They condone the Kampanyang Ahos and other barbaric acts and pass off as advocates of human rights the torturers and murderers who were responsible for these.

5. They harp on the democratization of the Philippine ruling system and on the decline of human rights violations.

6. They are office-bound, engage in bureaucratism and put themselves against the human rights workers in the field.

7. They are corrupted by the funds which they get from foreign funding agencies through multiple compensation, top-heavy administrative spending and padding of accounts.

They are programmed to self-destruct because they cannot long pretend to be advocates of human rights while they attack the national-democratic movement and use foreign funds to run their bureaucratic operations and pursue the anticommunist line of foreign funding

agencies. They have tried in vain to sow intrigue among some victims of human rights violations. They shall further fail with their malice because they are thoroughly exposed and have cut themselves off from the new waves of victims of the counterrevolutionary state.

## **FURTHER STRENGTHENING ADVOCACY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

The formation of KARAPATAN is the brilliant result of the rectification in the various human rights organizations and basic mass organizations. KARAPATAN repudiates and replaces PAHRA because the latter has fallen into the hands of a small clique of conspirators who have betrayed the advocacy of human rights and who are opposed to the line and forces of the national-democratic movement.

Being the genuine alliance for the advocacy of human rights, KARAPATAN is certain to further strengthen itself by fighting for the full range of human rights (civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights) along the national-democratic line and by engaging the participation and support of the broad masses of the people. KARAPATAN can only be as strong as it relies on its component organizations and the mass movement. Its representations and issuances can only be as forceful as it can arouse, organize and mobilize the people on human rights issues.

KARAPATAN is carrying a great amount of work in seeking justice for the victims of human rights violations. The U.S.-Ramos regime knows no other way to deal with the crisis but to unleash gross human rights violations on a wide scale. There is more work ahead as the number of victims increase. The socioeconomic and political crisis is ever worsening and oppression and exploitation is ever intensifying.

The economic bankruptcy of the reactionary state is clearly manifested by the rapid sale of state assets, the mounting foreign and local public debt, the huge trade deficit, overdependence on speculative foreign capital, the rising level of taxation, the runaway inflation in basic commodities and so on. The imperialists are rapidly grabbing the superprofits and debt service and so are the big compradors their own profits, the landlords their rent and the high bureaucrats their payoffs.

The agrarian and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy continues to aggravate and deepen. There is massive unemployment in both urban and rural areas. The exploitation of the working people is intolerable and social unrest is widespread and acute. The promise of NIC-hood for the Philippines by the year 2000 is a flagrant lie. The U.S.-Ramos regime is not at all engaged in any program of industrialization and is opposed to genuine and thoroughgoing land reform.

It is of crucial importance to recognize that the big comprador-landlord state remains oppressive, that the official terrorism made conspicuous by the U.S.-Marcos regime has extended to the succeeding Aquino and Ramos regimes and that reactionary military politicians and politicians backed up by blocs of military officers and private armed groups are increasingly in control of the reactionary government and compete for political power and the accumulation of private wealth. These are manifestations of the further deepening of the crisis of the ruling system. The periodic elections are merely moments of defining the reactionary factions which are at odds with each other. The internal contradictions among the reactionaries are likely to become more violent as the economic and political crisis worsens and the people raise the level of their armed resistance to a new and higher one.

There are strong indications that Ramos wants to prolong himself in power beyond 1998, by amending the GRP constitution in favor of a parliamentary form of government. He has gained control over both houses of Congress and he is seeking extraordinary powers to reorganize the executive and judicial branches of the reactionary government. He is pushing the Anti-Terrorism Bill for the purpose of terrorizing the people as he tightens his autocratic hold on the reactionary government. His autocratic ambitions are exacerbating the political crisis of the system.

Exactly at the point that the negotiating panels of the GRP and NDFP entered the stage of formal peace negotiations last June 26 in Brussels, the Ramos regime suspended these negotiations. It did so after maliciously violating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees in the outstanding case of Sotero Llamas. The regime has also recently "suspended" the effectivity of the JASIG.

Even as the Ramos regime appears to be set on terminating the peace negotiations, the Reciprocal Working Committee on Human Rights of the NDFP Negotiating Panel is working on the Draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. In the making of this draft, the basic rights and interests of the entire Filipino people, especially the toiling masses and the middle social strata, are taken into account along the national-democratic line and in accordance with the Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. The available international instruments and standards on human rights and international humanitarian law are also used for critical study, reference and guidance.

The NDFP is asking all human rights and basic mass organizations to help in drafting the said agreement. Whether there will be further peace negotiations or not, the NDFP draft on human rights and international humanitarian law will set an important standard for the advocacy, active defense and observance of human rights.

The draft should uphold, defend and promote the basic human rights and freedoms of individuals and the patriotic and progressive forces of the people in the context of the people's sovereignty and liberating the people from imperialism and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords in all fields of social life and endeavor. The NDFP is bound by the Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government and its Part III on the Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens.

Your human rights work is of crucial importance and is urgently needed. The imperialists and the local reactionaries are frenziedly engaged in human rights violations. The civil war is proceeding because the imperialists and reactionaries have no wish but to destroy the armed revolution one way or another and the people have no choice but to intensify their struggle and win the national-democratic revolution in order to achieve a just and lasting peace.#

## **PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR AND DIPLOMACY**

### **Extract from the Speech Delivered at the Anti-Imperialist Conference in Oslo, Norway, December 8-10, 1995**

The revolutionary forces and the people led by the CPP are building a new revolutionary state even as the old reactionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class is still well entrenched in the cities. The new revolutionary state seeks to displace the old reactionary state in more and more areas of the countryside until it becomes possible to do so in the cities.

The revolutionary organs of political power have been formed since the very beginning of the protracted people's war. These are now in thousands of villages in the Philippines. These are the foundation of higher levels of political power at the municipal, district, provincial, regional and national levels.

### **DIPLOMACY OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT**

At whichever level, the appropriate leading organ of the CPP can exercise sole governmental authority until the organ of political power, appointive or elective, can arise to assume administrative functions. The NDF, as the underground united front organization, helps to prepare the way for the emergence of organs of political power at levels higher than the village level. The CPP is at the core and leads all organs of political power.

Since 1972, the CPP has promulgated the Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. This amounts to the constitution of the organs of political power. But so far, there is yet no public proclamation of the provisional revolutionary government at the national level. In the latter half of the '80s, some regional and provincial governments were proclaimed prematurely and erroneously, unduly exposing regions and provinces where the revolutionary forces and the masses were relatively strong.



The CPP is now avoiding the public proclamation of provisional governments at levels higher than the village level. It has decided that it is better to gain further strength and broaden participation than to beat the drums, blow the trumpets and attract enemy onslaughts. It has recognized that to form organs of political power prematurely at higher levels is to draw cadres away from basic revolutionary tasks at the grassroots and towards unnecessary and costly bureaucratic verticalization.

For quite some time, since the '70s, the CPP and the NDF have related discreetly with foreign governments and offices which take an anti-imperialist stand in addition to ruling revolutionary parties and movements abroad. But even when there is a presumption that the CPP or the NDF is representing the people's democratic government in dealing with a foreign government, there has yet been no open and explicit proclamation of the relations as diplomatic in character. So, the CPP and NDFP have preferred to call these relations protodiplomatic.

In recent years, the revolutionary forces and organs of political power led by the CPP have authorized the NDF to represent them in protodiplomatic and diplomatic relations with foreign governments. Insofar as there is yet no open and formal diplomatic recognition extended by any foreign government, it may be said that the informal and discreet relations that the NDF has with certain governments or offices thereof have a protodiplomatic character.

At the point that the U.S. was about to launch its war of aggression in the Persian Gulf in 1990, the NDF co-signed with the representative of the Iraqi government a document against the impending war of aggression. In connection with the prospect of peace negotiations with the Manila government, the NDF has been in official contacts with several states and interstate agencies and has been the subject of official references in the communications of several states and in resolutions passed by European governments, including those of the Swiss parliament and European Parliament.

The revolutionary organs of political power and the revolutionary forces have authorized the NDF to engage the Manila government in exploratory talks about peace talks and in formal peace talks. In both types of talks, the NDF has faced up to the reactionary government in

the Philippines on an equal footing within the purview of international law.

The NDF has retained its revolutionary integrity and upheld the Rules for Establishing the People's Democratic Government. So has the Manila government stuck to its counterrevolutionary character and 1987 constitution. Both parties can engage in formal peace negotiations only because they have agreed in The Hague Joint Declaration of 1 September 1992 on a framework of mutually acceptable principles such as national sovereignty, democracy and development, and social justice, and of there being no precondition whatsoever that would violate the character and purpose of peace negotiations.

The Hague Joint Declaration also sets forth by mutual agreement the substantive agenda which includes such headings as the following: (1) mutual respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, (2) social and economic reforms, (3) political and constitutional reforms, and (4) end of hostilities and disposition of forces.

As in any peace negotiations, the two contending parties agree to engage in these upon the premise that they try to address the root causes of the war. The NDF takes firmly the position that the revolutionary forces and organs of political power that it represents can engage in the peace negotiations only if such basic problems of the Filipino people as foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are addressed.

The position of the NDF is that under international law the NDF and the revolutionary movement it represents are guided by a constitution, have the inherent status of belligerency acquired through revolutionary hard work and struggle, have a national structure of political authority and military command and exercise effective control over a significant portion of the Philippine population and territory.

Indeed, the NDF and GRP are co-belligerents in a civil war. The GRP is absolutely wrong whenever it claims anywhere that the revolutionary forces and organs of political power represented by the NDF are merely insurgent forces. How can the revolutionary forces in the Philippines be considered a mere police problem, when their just revolutionary cause is clear, they encompass millions of people and

the enemy deploys its regular military forces against them and has spent hundreds of billions of pesos in more than 26 years?

It has been the consistent position of the NDF since 1990 that exploratory talks and formal peace talks with the GRP be held in a foreign neutral venue, with the cooperation and assistance of a foreign state or interstate agency. The NDF has learned well the lessons drawn from the ceasefire talks and ceasefire agreement with the GRP in 1986 and 1987. There are serious costs to the revolutionary government if talks were to be held in Manila or in any guerrilla front in the Philippines.

In connection with the question of venue for exploratory talks from 1990 to 1995, the NDF and the GRP have mutually agreed several times to communicate in parallel to some governments as possible host. They mutually agreed to approach the Belgian government separately and in parallel to request it to host the opening of the formal peace negotiations. The Belgian government, through its foreign ministry, graciously agreed to host and facilitate the formal opening of peace negotiations last 26 June 1995.

The GRP has suspended its peace negotiations with the NDF since 27 June 1995 after failing to release NDF consultant Sotero Llamas from detention in compliance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. However the GRP and the NDF have had back channel communications and are looking forward to the resumption of their negotiations subsequent to the release of Llamas. The two parties are exploring the venues for the meetings of the negotiating panels and the reciprocal working committees in Europe.

### **RELATIONSHIP OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND DIPLOMACY**

A relationship between the protracted people's war and diplomacy is arising from the GRP-NDF peace negotiations. Are these not contradictory with each other? Don't the peace negotiations undermine or run counter to the protracted people's war?

Of course, we recognize that the two different things are contradictory. But we must know what is the principal thing and the secondary one and we must also see the identity that makes the two things related and significant.

It is clear to the NDF as a matter of principle that the protracted people's war is the principal thing and that it goes into peace negotiations as a secondary thing in order to carry forward the unwavering line of struggle for national liberation and democracy. The peace negotiations are one more form of struggle that has arisen between *the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary governments* in the Philippines.

The NDF has made clear to everyone that even as it wisely and properly conducts peace negotiations through its duly authorized negotiating panel, these are secondary not only to the revolutionary armed struggle, which is now the principal form of struggle, but also to the legal mass movement of the patriotic and progressive forces. The overriding principle over all forms of struggle is to fight for national liberation and democracy. Otherwise, peace negotiations become a mode of capitulation.

The peace negotiations as conducted by the NDF is one more form of legal struggle which is not superior to the legal mass struggles but which is superior only in one respect, that these negotiations allow the NDF to face the GRP as an equal under international law. There are quite a number of legal forms of struggle that involve operating within the legal and political framework of the GRP.

What is identical in the revolutionary forces engaging in both protracted people's war and in peace negotiations is the aim of fighting for a just and lasting peace across the battlefield as well as across the negotiating table. So as not to confuse the people, the revolutionary forces always make clear that the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy is the same line for a just and lasting peace. So far, the protracted people's war has given solid results along this line whereas the peace negotiations have not yet begun even only to tackle the first item in the substantive agenda.

The formal peace negotiations between the NDF and the GRP signify a high level of national and international recognition for the strength already achieved by the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. For a long period of time, the GRP regarded the NDF as a containable police problem and as unworthy of being talked to in formal peace negotiations. But at this point in time, the GRP has already co-signed five documents with the NDF.

Two of these documents, The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees of 1995, are signed and approved by the Chairman of the National Council of the NDF and the President of the GRP. The rest are derivative documents within the competence of the negotiating panels. Amidst the provisions of equality, mutuality, joint capacity, reciprocity and the like, there is not a single term, phrase or clause which detracts from the revolutionary integrity of the revolutionary forces and organs of political power or which suggests capitulation of principle or arms on their part.

The NDF can enter into peace negotiations without the GRP being able to impose its constitutional, legal and political presumptions on the NDF only because of the proven strength of the revolutionary forces and organs of political power. Through its highest political and military officials, the GRP has expressed a serious regard for the growing strength of the revolutionary forces in view of the revitalization, consolidation and expansion of that strength as a result of the rectification movement undertaken by the CPP since 1992.

In the course of peace negotiations with the GRP, it is perfectly the legitimate right and interest of the NDF to assert its status of belligerency under the laws of war and to seek international or diplomatic recognition of this status of belligerency.

Whether there are peace negotiations or not or whatever is the progress of these negotiations, it is also possible for foreign governments to recognize said status of belligerency or the political authority of the revolutionary forces and seek from the NDF safe conduct and protection for their citizens, NGO operations and business concerns in the Philippines so long as the strength of the revolutionary forces are growing and the areas under their control are expanding.

Having foresight, the NDF is already studying how diplomatic missions and consular offices can be established in order to relate to and cooperate with foreign governments and foreign nationals.#

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