

Author's Preface

I thank the editors of *Building Strength through Struggle* for putting together the major documents that I drafted and finalized for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the articles that I wrote as Chairman of said committee in the period between the formal declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972 and my capture on November 10, 1977.

Building Strength through Struggle contains the most significant documents and articles on the Filipino people's struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship during its first five years of existence. These expose clearly the character and stratagems of the dictatorship and define the revolutionary course of action, including the establishment of the people's democratic government, the leadership of the working class, the protracted people's war and the development of the mass movement.

To this day, the "Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government," "Special Characteristics of our People's War," "Our Urgent Tasks" and "Elaboration on the 10-Point Program of the National Democratic Front" are highly instructive to the revolutionary forces and people. These historic documents reinforced the earlier foundation documents in guiding the people's democratic revolution and countering various trends of subjectivism and opportunism in the 1980s.

From 1970 onwards, Party cadres and members were provided with theoretical education, politico-military training and experience in mass work and combat in Isabela and other provinces of northeast Luzon. They were subsequently deployed to other regions. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and the declaration of martial law in 1972 forced many urban-based Party members and mass activists to go underground. They were deployed to various regions.

When the Plenum of the Party Central Committee was held in December 1975, the reports showed that the CPP, NPA, the organs of political power and mass organizations of the revolutionary movement had already spread to all regions of the Philippines, except the Moro provinces. The Plenum inspired the regional Party committees and regional commands of the NPA to expand the mass base and create more guerrilla fronts.

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The rapidly growing strength and advance of the revolutionary movement can be traced by reading the annual anniversary statements of the CPP Central Committee on the work of the entire Party and New People's Army and can also be seen in the periodic assessments critical of the policies and actions of the Marcos fascist regime and laying bare its growing isolation and weakness.

However, in accordance with the law of development, the revolutionary movement could not and did not advance on a straight line. It had to confront and solve problems arising from the ferocity of the attacks of the fascist dictatorship and from the major and minor errors and shortcomings within the CPP organs and units. Some of my writings in the book criticize certain major errors and show how these were resolved.

In developing the united front against the fascist dictatorship, we adhered to the line of unity and struggle and thus we maintained independence and initiative. We were critical of the anti-Marcos reactionaries for always putting their hopes on the US to junk Marcos and the revival of the 1935 constitution of the reactionary government. We were strongly supportive of the Moro people's right to national self-determination and were thus critical of the Moro National Liberation Front for yielding to the sovereign pretensions and processes of the fascist dictatorship in the Tripoli Agreement of 1976.

After more than five years of fascist dictatorship, especially after my capture in 1977, Marcos deluded himself into thinking that he had stabilized his rule because he was still commanding the forces of the armed counterrevolution and because he was propped up by US military and economic assistance due to the US military bases as well as by the seemingly endless flow of foreign loans under the auspices of the IMF and World Bank.

But in fact the revolutionary movement had taken deep roots nationwide under the guidance of the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution along the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist line. It challenged not only the autocratic regime but the entire ruling system of big compradors, landlords and the puppet politicians servile to US imperialism.

This book aims to provide readers with a comprehensive and profound understanding of the perseverance, resilience and rapid development of the revolutionary movement. It shows the oppressive and exploitative conditions that generated the people's resistance and

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more importantly the principles and processes of building strength through revolutionary struggle.

Some documents give a sense of the status of the world anti-imperialist and communist movement at the time, such as the following: "Statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the Agreement Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam," "A Diplomatic Victory of the People's Republic of China: A Victory of the Philippine Revolutionary Struggle," "Tribute to the Great Communist Mao Zedong" and "The October Revolution Sixty Years Ago Established the First Workers' State."

May this preface spark the interest of readers in knowing how the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people withstood the ferocious attacks of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, how they ultimately caused its downfall and why to this day they persevere in revolutionary struggle against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system that pretends to be democratic and yet is extremely servile to foreign interests but extremely exploitative, corrupt, brutal and mendacious to the people.

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Utrecht, The Netherlands
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Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship to Achieve National Freedom and Democracy

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The essence of the formal declaration of martial law through Proclamation No. 1081 is the brazen imposition of the US-Marcos dictatorship on the entire Filipino nation and people. This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the US-Marcos clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the complete self-exposure of the US-Marcos dictatorship, the conditions for the rapid advance of the Philippine revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have become far more excellent than ever before. The ranks of the revolutionary movement have rapidly broadened and the various forms of revolutionary struggle, principally armed struggle, have further intensified.

A new level of revolutionary struggle has come about. All over the country, the people are brimming with revolutionary hatred for the US-Marcos dictatorship, the violent opposite of national freedom and democracy which they cherish. It is starkly clear to everyone that a fascist dictatorship, seeking to perpetuate itself through counter-revolutionary violence, can be overthrown only through revolutionary violence. The US-Marcos clique has only dug deeper its grave.

The Usurpation of Absolute Power by the US-Marcos Dictatorship

With an autocratic arrogance reminiscent of absolute monarchy in feudal times, the US-Marcos clique has converted Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution into an overall license to suppress the sovereign rights of the Filipino people in violation of every concept of republicanism. It is the absurd stand of the US-Marcos dictatorship that it can declare and implement an “unlimited form of martial law.” If the fascist logic of the dictatorship were to be followed,

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this particular constitutional provision should have merited being the Preamble, Article I or Article II, but never lower than Article III entitled “Bill of Rights” of the reactionary constitution. Indeed, fascist dictators themselves wantonly violate the priority of principles laid down hypocritically in bourgeois constitutions and pick constitutional provisions out of context in order to suit their tyranny.

Without bothering to get any authorization from Congress, Marcos high-handedly signed Proclamation No. 1081 on September 21 and subsequently signed corresponding general orders, letters of instruction and a presidential decree on September 22 and September 23 before finally making them public at 7:15 on the evening of September 23, 1972. In his “background” speech for his prior acts, all essentially calculated to usurp and concentrate absolute governmental power in his hands and suppress every kind of democratic and revolutionary opposition to his regime, he boasted of wanting “to save the republic and to reform society” and of doing so in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces alone. In this regard, the puppet dictator Marcos kept on repeating “I” and “me personally” to stress his autocratic pretensions.

Proclamation No. 1081 lays down at length the pretexts for martial law and dictatorship, such as that there is not only a “state of rebellion” and “subversion” but even “an actual state of war” throughout the country, including the Greater Manila area. This is supposed to be due to a “criminal conspiracy” of such diverse groups of people as the Communist Party of the Philippines; the Liberal Party; the publishers, editors and other journalists; members of the constitutional convention; Manila TV-radio broadcasters; leaders and members of mass organizations of workers, peasants, students, teachers and professionals, women and others; the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao; and even such unwholesome groups as crime syndicates, petty warlords and the Lava revisionist renegades. Then, the proclamation orders the reactionary armed forces to put the entire country under martial law and detain indefinitely at the whim of the commander-in-chief all those deemed opposed to his fascist puppet regime.

The promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081 immediately violates Article VI, Section 26 of the reactionary constitution which clearly states that “in times of war or other national emergency, Congress may by law authorize the President, for a limited period and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations

to carry out a declared national policy.” This constitutional provision points out the authority of Congress and the necessity of having a declared national policy emanating from it. Marcos did not bother to consult Congress as the national policymaking body of the reactionary government before signing his fascist proclamation. He even went farther by issuing General Order No. 1 and Presidential Decree No. 1 which put Congress to naught.

General Order No. 1 proclaims that the entire nation and the entire government, including all its agencies and instrumentalities, are under the absolute authority of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Under this order, the legislative department and the judicial department, both coequal and complementary to the executive department under the constitution, are arbitrarily rendered inutile and even nonexistent. This order also carries with it the implication that the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces can at whim disregard and violate anyone’s right to public office by virtue of election or civil service rules. In effect, the fascist dictatorship has torn to pieces the very same constitution which it pretends to defend and from which it draws authority.

The promulgation of Presidential Decree No. 1 clearly shows that Marcos has arrogated unto himself the prerogatives and functions of Congress or the legislative department. Under this decree, the “Integrated Reorganization Plan” is simply declared “part of the law of the land” despite the fact that this is a pending congressional bill. The fascist dictator has even seen it fit to berate Congress for not having had enough sense to pass this bill before. By way of confirming his dissolution or absorption of Congress, he invited a number of congressmen on September 25 only to tell them to become “models in their communities” and veiledly to threaten them with dispossession of property by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. To stress the point that he had assumed fascist dictatorial powers, he ordered several members of Congress detained in military camps or put under house arrest, or under threat of detention and other punitive measures.

General Order No. 3 clearly puts all actions of the US-Marcos dictatorship above the civilian courts, including the Supreme Court. It takes away from these the prerogative of trying seven categories of cases of vital importance, such as those involving: 1) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any decree, order or acts issued, promulgated or performed by the dictator himself or his duly designated representative; 2) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any rules, orders or

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acts issued, promulgated or performed by public servants pursuant to decrees, orders, rules and regulations issued and promulgated “by me” or by “my duly designated representative” pursuant to Proclamation No. 1081; 3) crimes against national security and the law of nations; 4) crimes against the fundamental laws of the state; 5) crimes against public order; 6) usurpation of authority, rank, title, and improper use of names, uniforms and insignia; and 7) crimes committed by public officers.

The abovementioned cases are under exclusive jurisdiction of military commissions or military courts created by the chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces under the direction of the dictator. In other words, the US-Marcos dictatorship and its fascist minions can commit every crime with absolute impunity. Marcos himself has scorned the petition of detainees for the writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court as an exercise in futility since he claims now to be the sole authority on judicial matters as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces. He has also declared that he will remove and replace public officials in any government department, including the judiciary; in fact, he has already demanded the resignation of all judges of the lower civilian courts and special courts like the Court of Industrial Relations and Court of Agrarian Relations. The scope of authority given to the military courts is so comprehensive that all civilian courts, including the Supreme Court, are left with no more cases to try, except some of a marginal nature.

General Order No. 3 orders that the present officers and employees of all executive departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the national government, government-owned or controlled corporations, as well as all governments of all the provinces, cities and municipalities and barrios can remain in office only at the pleasure of the US-Marcos dictatorship and can no longer consider as sufficient basis for tenure previous election or civil service eligibility.

Provincial governors and town and city mayors are now so much threatened that some of those who were previously critical of the US-Marcos clique, especially those from the Liberal Party, have started to sing paeans to Marcos as if the criminal character of this scoundrel can be exorcised by capitulation. Presidential Decree No. 1 emphasizes the threat of dismissal against appointive officials and employees even without due process and due cause. The real intention of the “Integrated Reorganization Plan” is to effect mass dismissal of

civilian employees so that their salaries could be used for the purposes of the fascist military although the avowed intention of the dictatorship is to reduce the costs of government by “weeding out” those whom it categorizes as “corrupt, inefficient, ignorant and useless.”

By acting on the sole basis that he is the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces and by implementing his line of “unlimited martial law” above and beyond the entire constitution, Marcos has supplanted “civilian authority” with “military authority,” notwithstanding his previous declaration on September 23 that there was “no military takeover,” and has calculated to perpetuate his dictatorship, notwithstanding his oft-repeated claim that he wants the “national emergency” to end “as soon as possible.”

In his address to his military lapdogs on September 26, the dictator himself declared:

By and large, the military in the Philippines have demonstrated their capacity to govern, rule and exact obedience.... This is the first new principle or main manifestation in the New Society which we would like to create: that there is a breed of men capable not only of ruling others but of governing themselves ... we must thank you and the men under you, noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, all the way down to the lowest level, have shown and demonstrated that this principle in which we believe, that is, that the military can be given all the power....

For all intents and purposes, the US-Marcos dictatorship is hell-bent on employing an armed minority of men (at the moment only about 65,000 including noncombatant personnel) to ride roughshod over the people. This is absolutely necessary as the dictatorship intends to perpetuate itself for “two years or more” (as revealed by top CIA agent Alejandro Melchor in a press interview in the United States, after making a special report on the Philippine situation to his US imperialist masters). This is far beyond the one year and three months that is left of the constitutional tenure of Marcos.

The Suppression of the Basic Democratic Rights of the People

In line with the vile scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship to perpetuate itself in power, General Order No. 2, General Order No. 4 and General Order No. 5 are all aimed at directly intimidating and actually curtailing and suppressing the basic democratic rights of the broad masses of the people. Of course, these are closely related to General

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Order No. 3 which, elaborating on Proclamation No. 1081, subjects the people to final judgment by their fascist persecutors.

General Order No. 2 reiterates the order for mass arrests and mass detention immediately embodied in Proclamation No. 1081. It orders the fascist troops to arrest and detain for as long as it pleases the dictatorship “such persons as may have committed crimes and offenses in furtherance or on the occasion of or incident to or in connection with the crimes of insurrection or rebellion, as well as persons who have committed crimes against national security and the law of nations, crimes against public order, crimes involving usurpation of authority, title, improper use of name, uniform and insignia, including persons guilty of crimes as public officers, as well as those persons who may have violated any decree or order promulgated by me personally or promulgated upon my direction.”

Under this order, anyone can be blacklisted by the US-Marcos dictatorship, blackmailed or actually put through sham trial in the military courts and punished arbitrarily. In the first wave of nationwide mass arrests, conducted from 9:00 p.m. of September 22 to 6:00 a.m. of September 23, several thousands of leading personalities in various legal endeavors and common people were apprehended and thrown into military camps and many of these were brutally tortured or even murdered. So far, only a little over a hundred detainees in the Manila-Rizal region have been reported through the Marcos-controlled government radio stations and the Marcos-owned Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and *Daily Express*.

General Order No. 4 orders the maintenance of a daily curfew throughout the Philippines from 12:00 midnight to 4:00 a.m. This has immediately resulted in the disruption of the livelihood of a great number of people, including workers on the night shift, fishermen, market vendors, transport workers and businessmen, restaurant employees, street peddlers and so many others. To disregard this order infringing on the free movement of the people is to suffer brutal treatment and indefinite detention in a military camp and subsequently in a prison camp. Exemptions to this order can be taken only from a military commander-in-charge in the given area. That military officer acts as the overlord in the area. Within or outside curfew time, it is now the fascist troops roaming the streets who commit all sorts of crimes, frequently extortion, robbery, mauling, drunken behavior and rape. Anyone who

complains can easily get accused of slandering the dictator Marcos and the fascist military.

General Order No. 5 orders the suppression of the basic democratic rights of free assembly and free expression. This is directed against the workers, peasants, youth and all other sections of the population, including political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations. It prohibits under pain of fascist punishment all rallies and demonstrations and other forms of mass actions, including strikes and picketing by workers and others, in vital industries such as in companies engaged in the manufacture or processing as well as in the distribution of fuel, gas, gasoline and fuel or lubricating oil, in companies engaged in the production or processing of essential commodities or products for export, and in companies engaged in banking of any kind, as well as in hospitals and in schools and colleges.

It is clear by this order that while he acts as a dictator towards the broad masses of the people, Marcos is a despicable puppet of the big bourgeoisie, especially the US imperialists. He is specially interested in suppressing protest mass actions against the US oil monopolies and their arbitrary price hikes. At any rate, he is violently opposed to all forms of democratic assembly and expression. He has gone as far as to issue a special order to the armed forces, particularly his secret agents, to eavesdrop on ordinary conversations in order to catch people for "rumormongering."

Letter of Instruction No. 1 also involves the suppression of the democratic right of free expression. It orders the Press Secretary of the Department of Public Information (DPI) after Presidential Decree No. 1, to take over all newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and all other media of communications, wherever they are. The closure of the major Manila newspapers and radio and TV stations has disrupted the livelihood of printing workers, journalists, staff employees, radio-TV talents, newsboys, newspaper dealers and so many others. Pursuant to Letter of Instruction No. 1, the DPI secretary has started to issue his own department orders. Department Order No. 1 orders, among others, that all materials for publication in the newspapers or broadcast on radio and television shall have to carry the approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall have to fall in with the fascist dictatorship and strictly avoid expressing the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. Department Order No. 2 orders that no printer may print any newspaper,

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periodical, news sheet, pamphlet, leaflet or any publication for mass dissemination of any kind without approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall also have to conform with Department Order No. 1. Because of the bureaucratic runaround involved in getting approval for printing orders, the livelihood not only of the press owners but also of the printing workers are adversely affected.

The US-Marcos dictatorship wants to monopolize all channels of information with the vain hope of deceiving the people with its lies. Its fascist totalitarianism leaves no room for such other channels of information as those owned by the Roceses, Lopezes, Locsins and the like though these have never gone beyond legal criticism of the obvious excesses of the US-Marcos clique and have as a matter of fact given utmost space to Malacañang press releases. In the meantime, only those channels of information owned by the fascist government (like Radio Philippines Network; Philippine Broadcasting System and the like); those owned directly or indirectly by fascist dictator Marcos (like Kanlaon Broadcasting System, *Daily Express*, *Lidayway*, *Banawag*, *Hiligaynon*, *Bisaya*, and the like); and those owned by foreign imperialist entities, especially American (*Philippines Herald*, Radio Mindanao Network, Interisland Broadcasting System and the like), are allowed to operate.

This new development is what Marcos calls fighting “subversion” with “sophistication.” This is what we call the crudeness of fascism, the complete unmasking of the ugly face of a fascist dictatorship. Unwittingly, the US-Marcos dictatorship has only convinced the broad masses of the people of the necessity and urgency of putting out and distributing underground publications and resorting to other forms of mass communications (including secret meetings in urban areas and mass meetings in rural areas). It must also be pointed out that it is impossible for the fascist authorities to guard all medium and small printing presses in the country, not to mention some small presses securely kept in the underground.

Gone berserk in its attempt to suppress every kind of opposition to its unjust rule, the US-Marcos dictatorship has as one of its initial acts suspended classes at all levels. Though the initial suspension of classes is only for one week, this has been extended indefinitely at the high school, college and graduate levels. School teachers in primary and elementary schools are now under threat of being dismissed if they disobey strict orders to wage a hysterical campaign of anticommunist

indoctrination and propaganda for the fascist dictatorship. Progressive teachers and students, including officers of student governments, are being apprehended or threatened with detention. Such fascist tactics have only served to increase the number of men and women who are very articulate in denouncing the US-Marcos dictatorship. The indefinite closure of all private high schools and colleges have angered all the teachers whose livelihood has been unduly disrupted and the students' parents who are acutely concerned about the time and living expenses of their children going to waste.

General Order No. 6 and General Order No. 7 are both intended to consolidate control by the US-Marcos dictatorship of firearms and ammunitions in the hands of the reactionary armed forces and police forces and also those in the hands of security agencies and warlords. The first order prohibits the carrying of firearms by private persons and orders the arrest of all persons doing so unless they are authorized by the dictatorship. Marcos himself has declared in his "background" speech that carrying of firearms outside the residence, even if covered by license but without permission of the reactionary armed forces, is punishable by death. The second order requires that all high-powered firearms in the hands of private security agencies, public or private corporations (including gun stores) and private individuals, and those under temporary custody of the Bureau of Customs, Bureau of Posts and clerks of courts (apart from those in pending court cases) be turned over immediately to the firearms and explosives units of the Philippine Constabulary.

To camouflage its real intention of controlling arms for its fascist purposes, the US-Marcos dictatorship has raved mad about "peace and order" and has even pretended to arrest and confiscate token numbers of arms from notorious warlords who are close to it, like Ablan, Bocalan, Crisologo and the like. But the warlords and crime gangs are actually not surrendering their arms. Only some police forces, private corporations and individuals opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship are being forced to turn over their registered arms to the Philippine Constabulary. As a result, these entities are being rendered helpless before the fascist gangsters, warlords and ordinary armed criminals.

Letter of Instruction No. 2 orders the Secretary of National Defense to "take over" the management, control and operation of the Manila Electric Company (MERALCO), the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company (PLDT), the National Waterworks and Sewerage

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Authority (NAWASA), the Philippine National Railways (PNR), the Philippine Air Lines (PAL), Air Manila, Filipinas Orient Airways, and other public utilities. Once more, the US-Marcos dictatorship deliberately refuses even only to mention the US oil companies and other US-owned public utility firms in the Philippines.

The “takeover” of public utilities is neither to achieve nationalization nor to crush an armed opposition in the premises. The NAWASA and PNR are government corporations long under trusted military appointees of Marcos. The PLDT and Air Manila are private corporations controlled and owned by Marcos himself through dummies. The PAL and Filipinas Orient Airways continue to be private corporations under the ownership and control of Marcos’ big bourgeois confreres. The real target for spite of the US-Marcos dictatorship is MERALCO and the Lopezes who are owners of controlling stocks. The military-takeover management here really makes it a point to boss around, go over the company accounts and meddle in operations. Though Marcos himself is a noncontrolling co-owner of this public utility firm, he wants once more to tighten the screw against the Lopezes whom he wants to support his dictatorship completely, especially with the use of the Lopez-owned *Manila Chronicle* and ABS-CBN radio-television network.

Letter of Instruction No. 3 orders the Secretary of National Defense to take over the possession, control and operation of all privately owned aircraft and watercraft of Philippine registry and also to control the movement of nonmilitary foreign-owned and foreign-registered aircraft and watercraft of whatever make. The avowed intention of the US-Marcos dictatorship in this regard is to prevent the escape of his reactionary rivals for power either by sea or by air in their private yachts or private planes. Letters of Instruction Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of Justice, the Secretary of Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank, respectively, are also openly intended to prevent the “escape from the country” of the enemies of the US-Marcos dictatorship. But, of course, the instructions, from Instruction No. 3 to Instruction No. 7, are all meant to curtail the free flow of information regarding the despicableness by which the US-Marcos dictatorship has come about. Only after assuring itself of complete control of the mass media and also the detention of a sweeping range of critics has the dictatorship allowed, under guard

of troops, spies and censors, the transmission of messages via international and domestic carriers and communication firms.

In a vain attempt to deceive the peasant masses, the big landlord and landgrabber Marcos has announced that he has issued Presidential Decree No. 2 proclaiming the whole country as a "land reform area." This is plain drivel of a demagogue. Since the law to be applied is basically the old Agricultural Land Reform Code, which is reactionary by both origin and amendments, nothing will come out of the decree except that it will serve to worsen the plight of the peasant masses as has been proven in previous "land reform areas." The code is essentially nothing more than a set of instructions for the landlord class to exploit the peasantry further. In making his decree, Marcos even fails to conceal his malice as he sternly warns the tenant peasants to "respect" and be "fair and just" to the landlords. The dictatorship is hell-bent on preventing the peasant masses from forming their own associations and is busier than ever in criminally assaulting and rounding up those who have their own militant associations. The reactionary armed forces are now frenziedly attacking the peasant masses and accusing them of being guerrilla fighters of the New People's Army. Thus, the US-Marcos dictatorship has become isolated not only in the urban areas but also in the countryside where the flames of people's war are rapidly spreading.

The "show window of democracy in Asia" which was much touted by US imperialism and its puppets in the past has completely proven to be mere soap bubble. It is now completely gone. Because of its boundless greed for power and wealth, the US-Marcos dictatorship has forced on everyone in the Philippines the choice between armed revolution and armed counterrevolution. The people's revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy has become ever more vigorous and fiercer. In this regard, it is worth taking up CIA agent Melchor's description of his criminal accomplice Marcos, as one who has put his head on the block. This description is very apt. The Filipino people are going to literally chop off Marcos' head in due time, unless his US imperialist masters will first do so in the manner that they did to the abominable Ngo Dinh Diem. At any rate, the Filipino people will continue to maintain their armed strength and fight on even as some other dog would be groomed as one more puppet dictator by US imperialism. In the face of the present fascist tyranny, the broad masses of the Filipino people know how to fight for their freedom.

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The Fabrication of the “State of National Emergency”

An actual state of martial law has long existed in many parts of the country, especially in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon and Mindanao, even before the formal declaration of martial law covering the entire country. The fascist minions of the US-Marcos clique under the banner of military task forces have long operated as the supreme wielders of political authority, abusing and blackmailing the people; robbing and extorting from them; rounding them up and incarcerating them indefinitely on false charges; barging into and even burning homes; committing kidnapping, murder and massacre; and rape with impunity.

These are the concrete manifestations, especially in the countryside, of the trend of militarization and fascization so well condemned by the people throughout the land. These are the bitter results of the more than fivefold increase of the official military budget from 1966 to 1972; the system of conspiracy between the commander-in-chief and his favorites in the reactionary armed forces; the rapid increase in troops and equipment; the fielding of so many “task forces” and “paramilitary units” (BSDUs and “Monkees”); the vicious employment of the Antisubversion Law; the intensification of fascist training in “home defense” centers; the militarist intrusion into civilian offices and functions either under the signboard of “civic action” or “accommodation of retirees from the military service”; the secret but wide-scale issuance of military rank to civilian officials; the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; the unremitting “psywar” campaigns for the acceptance of martial law; the adoption of “contingency plans”; committing crimes of bloody intrigue for the purpose of pitting one group against another; and so many others.

The real situation in particular parts of the country is now being turned into a nationwide situation through the formal declaration of martial law. The US-Marcos dictatorship is bent on committing all kinds of fascist crimes against the broad masses of the people in order to suppress their clamor for national freedom and democracy, province by province and island by island. The fascist dictatorship has the illusion that it can freely do so as long as it has the absolute power over the entire reactionary government and monopoly of the legal channels of communications such as those rendered in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Thus, aside from trying to hunt down the Communist

Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, it has to terrorize the democratic mass organizations, the mass media, the Liberal Party, sections of the Nacionalista Party, sections of the constitutional convention and all patriotic and democratic personages. This is to serve notice to all who can disseminate information and opinions widely to keep silent about fascist crimes that are aimed at protecting the interests of US imperialism and at the same time perpetuating the Marcos puppet gang in power. To achieve its vile scheme, the US-Marcos clique has had to resort to a number of tricks resting mainly on the myth of "urban terrorism." A series of a few bombings is made in the urban areas, blamed on communists and all other democratic forces, turned into an argument for "contingency plans" and, presto, there is a "state of national emergency" which is used as a pretext for doing away with all channels of mass communications except those of the commander-in-chief and his dictatorship.

The dry run for the big trick that is the current "state of national emergency" was the Plaza Miranda massacre on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent suspension of the writ of habeas corpus until January of this year. In the massacre caused by two grenades, nine were killed and more than a hundred people were seriously wounded including almost all the top leaders of the Liberal Party. Within two hours after the incident, the US-Marcos clique was already on radio blaming the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations for the dastardly crime. Then, less than three hours after the massacre, the US-Marcos clique issued only to the reactionary armed forces and without public knowledge until August 23, the presidential proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus and ordering the mass arrest of prominent democratic personages and activists of democratic mass organizations. Immediately after the massacre, there also followed a series of nine petty bombings which had no other motive but to buttress the false public claims of the US-Marcos clique and which could have been committed in certain well-guarded places, like the Manila City Hall and the residence of Rep. Cojuangco, only by a conspiracy in which Marcos himself was involved.

What gave away the bloody hands of the US-Marcos clique with regard to the Plaza Miranda massacre was that Marcos and his lieutenant Enrile readily blamed so many people, including a college president and a prominent radio commentator, and entire mass organizations

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for a crime which was essentially a conspiracy and, therefore, could have involved only a handful of persons in both planning and execution. The broad masses of the people and the survivors of the massacre themselves pointed the finger of blame at the US-Marcos clique, which had been responsible for so many previous massacres. The false accusations of the US-Marcos clique became more ludicrous and incredible when the leaders of the Liberal Party were finally accused of trying to kill themselves in order to get public sympathy and win the elections. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was “lifted” only after the US-Marcos clique appeared satisfied with something, like the Supreme Court decision acclaiming the presidential privilege to suspend the writ, giving credence to a piece of fabrication like the “July-August Plan” and above all noting the existence of a state of rebellion and likewise of a declaration of war from the Communist Party of the Philippines. Then, in a complete turnabout from its previous propaganda of anticommunist lies, the US-Marcos clique charged in court for the Plaza Miranda massacre not some communists but some living-out prisoners of the national penitentiary, which is run by a trusted agent of the US-Marcos clique.

The fascist tricks of the US-Marcos clique did not end with the Plaza Miranda massacre, however. The clique merely took a breather for a few months from its November 1971 electoral defeat. Soon came another series of petty bombings, a total of 16 minor detonations (from March 15 to September 18, 1972) most of which caused only some petty damage on some government and privately owned buildings and three of which were the most serious, causing one death and injuries to more than twenty people. In addition, there were “discoveries” of bombs at Congress and the Department of Foreign Affairs and two patently fake casualtyless ambushes, one supposedly on a Metrocom car and another on Defense Secretary Enrile himself. Most of the bombings and other incidents were made during the months of August and September 1972 immediately prior to Proclamation No. 1081.

It was during the months of August and September, when thirteen of the abovesited incidents were made, that the US-Marcos clique took the posture of raving mad about “urban terrorism” and “urban guerrilla warfare.” Within seconds after every incident, Marcos and his fascist minions would rail against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People’s Army and democratic mass organizations and threaten to adopt some “contingency plans.” Everyday the front

pages of the Manila newspapers would scream and the radio would blare with the quick allegations of the US-Marcos clique. During this period, the Communist Party of the Philippines issued through *Ang Bayan* two statements refuting the false accusations of the fascist clique; some quotations from these statements found their way into Manila newspapers. As during the white terror that followed the Plaza Miranda massacre, the Party reaffirmed its adherence to the theory of people's war and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and strongly condemned terrorist acts where the most likely victims are the people and likewise the stupid "psywar" campaign unleashed by the enemy to cause a mammoth-sized hysteria from a few petty incidents.

A few of the bombings before June 1972 had been claimed by the Lava revisionist renegades in their anticommunist publications as their own doing. And in three bombings, where there were casualties, evidence clearly pointed to the US-Marcos clique as the mastermind and culprit. A PC sergeant belonging to the PC firearms and explosives unit was actually caught by the Manila Police and confessed to being on a "special mission" in connection with the most serious bombing, that at Joe's Department Store. Two AFP plainclothesmen taking a ride in a jeep marked "for official use only" were seen by eyewitnesses in connection with the bombing at the Manila City Hall. Three PC men in uniform were also seen in the process of bomb emplacement and getaway in a PC truck by three delegates of the constitutional convention in connection with the bombing at the Quezon City Hall.

Despite all evidences and clues gathered, the US-Marcos clique did not only continue to insist on its false anticommunist charges but also maneuvered to suppress evidence pointing to its own criminal responsibility. The maneuvers of the clique were so crudely evident that eventually the leaders of the Liberal Party and journalists of the Manila newspapers stood up to raise questions of doubt and also to denounce certain actuations of the powers that be. Then came the public exposure of "Operation Sagittarius" which unmasked the plans of the US-Marcos clique to declare martial law under the guise of taking "contingency plans" to follow up the terrorist incidents made by the clique itself. This operational plan had been leaked out to a member of the Senate by a top-ranking military officer. It was at this point, covering a period of about two weeks prior to Proclamation No. 1081, that

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the US-Marcos clique intensified its efforts to terrorize all its critics by telling them that they could be kidnapped or assassinated.

As if it could deceive the people by a mere repetition of lies, Proclamation No. 1081 continues to treat the incidents, which were mostly bombings in urban areas, as the key factor in declaring a “state of national emergency.” On the other hand, this proclamation has completely unmasked the US-Marcos clique as a totally fascist criminal gang and a bunch of incorrigible liars. How many times did these scoundrels deny scheming to impose martial law? There is not only martial law now but also a full-blown fascist dictatorship to boot. The flimsy basis for what is now called a “state of national emergency” or “an actual state of war” is a series of twenty relatively minor incidents which, as now confirmed by the very promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081, have all along been the calculated doing of the US-Marcos clique to fabricate grounds for a fascist dictatorship all over the country.

The basis for the “state of national emergency” becomes even more flimsy and ludicrous when a textual examination is made of the “Regional Program of Action 1972,” previously referred to variably by the US-Marcos clique as the “Tarinsing Papers,” the “July-August Plan” or “September-October Plan.” It is incorporated in Proclamation No. 1081; now it can be publicly checked and scrutinized. This “regional program of action” is completely a piece of deception, a fabrication pure and simple. It is supposed to be a regional program of action and yet its scope is national and the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines is spuriously tacked on it. It was supposed to have been captured by Task Force “Saranay” in Barrio Tarinsing, Cordon, Isabela on June 18, 1972 and it lists down a number of specific bombing targets for September and October 1972 in the Manila-Rizal region. Despite the supposed advantage of being forewarned by several months, the reactionary armed forces did not thwart the bombing of the listed targets or capture any bomber. Then, consider how the “regional plan” is conceived, put into outline and written according to outline. It is completely childish. To write an instruction like “Create regional chaos and disorder...” is utterly counterrevolutionary and outside of revolutionary thinking and style. This is Marcosian gibberish, a sloppy attempt at forgery.

Before Proclamation No. 1081, there could not have been any “actual state of war” in the Manila-Rizal region. On the very day that Marcos was supposed to have signed this proclamation in utmost secrecy,

people's marches from several assembly points in the Manila-Rizal region and a massive rally of several tens of thousands of people at Plaza Miranda were peacefully conducted under the auspices of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties and with the participation of more than sixty democratic mass organizations. In the entire stretch of the day, the factories, offices, schools and business shops were in normal operation. Congress, the courts, various government offices, the constitutional convention, the restaurants, coffee shops and nightclubs were also in normal operation. The "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region was nothing more than the fantasy of the madman Marcos, otherwise notoriously known as the mad bomber.

The wide-ranging "whereases" of Proclamation No. 1081 contradict each other and serve mainly to show how much of a fumbling liar the dictator Marcos is. He makes one claim that the strength of the New People's Army has rapidly increased, but also makes the opposite claim that it has suffered a disastrously increasing number of casualties and therefore, an increasing loss of arms, from year to year. Besides, he deflates the number of military actions launched against and the number of casualties inflicted on the reactionary armed forces by the New People's Army in the countryside. He makes one claim that the number of regular Red fighters has increased from 560 as of January 1, 1972 to 1,028 regular fighters as of July 31, 1972, but he also makes the opposite claim that the New People's Army got 3,500 M-14 rifles from the *Karagatan* during the month of July. Possession of 3,500 M-14 rifles should mean a great deal more of regular troop increase for the people's army. He makes one claim that some 3,000 high school and college students have dropped out to join fighting units of the New People's Army, but makes the opposite claim that the same people's army has only 1,028 regular fighters and 1,500 combat support. The truth is that at least 90 percent of the regular mobile and guerrilla units of the people's army are peasants; this makes Marcos' claim regarding school dropouts an outright lie even as his own figures fail to tally with each other. Finally, it may be asked, why is it that Marcos is terrified by what he claims is a little over 1,000 Red fighters while at the same time he never fails to brag about the overbearing strength of his military personnel of 65,000? Has he not always been prating that he is "on top of the situation"?

Although in its very first "whereas" it makes the attempt to show that only the Communist Party is the "conspiracy" out to overthrow

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the present reactionary state, Proclamation No. 1081, together with its corresponding general orders and letters of instruction, ends up accusing a wide range of people of being in one and the same “conspiracy” that is supposed to be responsible for a “reign of terror” and “wanton acts of destruction on life and property” in both the rural and urban areas. The dictator Marcos arbitrarily changes the meaning of terms. Obviously, he has already extended his dictatorial power into the realm of the lexicon. Normally, conspiracy is defined as the act of a handful of persons secretly plotting to commit a crime according to a single plan. In the novel meaning now given by the dictator to the term, it is supposed to be the open and mass activity of the most diverse organizations and individuals acting “consciously” and “unconsciously” to oppose such a real conspiracy as that one which has brought about the present fascist dictatorship.

The US-Marcos dictatorship actually insists that the Communist Party of the Philippines is in “conspiracy” with the Lava revisionist renegades and crime syndicates. This is a vicious slander on the Party. But the fascist dictatorship unwittingly exposes its hopeless isolation by linking in word and deed the Communist Party of the Philippines with the democratic mass organizations (of workers, peasants, youth and others), the mass media, the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista Party, certain members of the constitutional convention, the poor settlers, the national minorities and the Mindanao Independence Movement. It is utterly silly, however, for the fascist dictatorship to accuse the Communist Party, together with these, of crimes against the people. If that were the case, there would be no more need for the “extraordinary measures” of the US-Marcos dictatorship, for it would be us who would be isolated and not this despicable dictatorship.

Proclamation No. 1081 takes great stock in citing a decision of the Supreme Court (on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus last year) stating that there has been a state of rebellion since several decades ago and that the program of the Communist Party of the Philippines amounts to a declaration of war. On the basis of this citation, the US-Marcos clique claims to have the right to declare martial law under any condition and anytime it pleases. It further argues that it has already resorted to the use of military task forces and subsequently the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus but that it has failed each time to suppress the armed revolutionary movement which has always succeeded in becoming even stronger despite these measures. So, it

concludes that it has to declare martial law. It further concludes that it is entirely up to the president in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make anything out of martial law since the term “martial law” is supposedly not qualified in Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution. Thus, the commander-in-chief has finally decided to install himself as a fascist dictator under the cover of an “unlimited form of martial law.”

The term “martial law” appears in the context of a constitutional provision, which refers to certain other factors and elements and which even refers to degrees and alternatives. It is not true that the term is absolutely not qualified and that it can be interpreted by the president in any way he wants. The term “place under martial law” implies merely execution or implementation of a national policy determined and declared by Congress. The provision carrying the term appears in the context of the entire constitution which also carries Article VI, Section 26. In times of war or other national emergency, it is Congress that is vested with the authority to decide the national policy and that authorizes by law the president, for a limited period of time and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.

Notwithstanding the existence of a state of rebellion, the formal declaration of martial law was never resorted to in the Philippines or any part thereof in the time prior to the present by Marcos’ predecessors and Marcos himself. Yet the reasons given now by Marcos for the formal declaration of martial law have not only been in fact too blatantly contrived but have also been extremely questionable even among the reactionaries. The broad masses of the people easily see through the legal pretenses of the dictator Marcos. These are extremely flimsy embellishments on the new terrorist incidents plotted to bring about a “state of national emergency,” the fabrication of which rests on the US-Marcos dictatorship.

“New Society” Means Nothing But the Worsening of the Old Society

The US-Marcos dictatorship is not satisfied with pretending “to save the republic” in attacking the national and democratic rights of the sovereign people. It wants to remain in power for as long as it can through sheer armed force by pretending “to form a new society.” The “new society” means the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship. It

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means nothing but the worsening of the old society. The old basic evils that are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall continue to afflict semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines and shall aggravate the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and likewise the suffering of the broad masses of the people through the unmitigated puppetry, bankruptcy, brutality, corruption and mendacity of the Marcos fascist puppet dictatorship.

As confirmed by the statement of the US State Department soon after Proclamation No. 1081, installing the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines does not conflict with the interests of US imperialism. In fact, US imperialism is confidently behind the Marcos puppet dictatorship at the moment. The direct conspirators in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship have been the US “country team” (which includes the US ambassador, the CIA chief of station, the AID director, the USIA director and the JUSMAG chief) and the board of directors and other top members of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines on the master side and the “internal security council” composed of Marcos, Melchor, Enrile and Generals Espino and Ramos of the general staff of the reactionary armed forces and a few others.

The US-Marcos dictatorship is the product of the vicious exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people by US imperialism and its local running dogs for the last seven decades. It is the result of the rapid process of militarization and fascization directed by US imperialism during the Marcos puppet regime to preserve and enlarge its political and economic interests in the country. By trying to draw more superprofits and make up for the losses that they have incurred elsewhere in the world, the US imperialist masters of the Marcos puppet gang have only exacerbated the suffering of the broad masses of the people and have thereby engendered popular resistance and a strong revolutionary mass movement. So powerful has the anti-imperialist and antipuppet movement become that such a desperate measure as the installment of a fascist dictatorship is resorted to. US imperialism has always had the illusion that such fascist dictatorships as those of the Thieu regime in south Vietnam, Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, Suharto regime in Indonesia, Jiang regime in Taiwan and Pak Jung Hi regime in south Korea are more reliable and stable tools of imperialist rule.

The US-Marcos dictatorship falls in with the “Nixon doctrine” that the Philippines must be kept no matter at what cost as a stronghold of counterrevolution in the determined bid of US imperialism to remain

a “Pacific power.” From such an imperialist viewpoint, the most despicable measures must be taken in order to keep this archipelago in the Pacific a vassal state. A fascist gang like that of Marcos would just be too willing to implement these measures in exchange for an indefinite tenure of power in order to pile up more loot for itself. The fascist dictatorship is basically a desperate effort of US imperialism to protect \$2.0 billion US investments (in anticipation of the end of “parity rights”) and to maintain the Philippines as a strategic post in Asia.

US imperialism is today extremely unsettled by the people’s outcry for the confiscation of US-owned lands including the improvements thereon (like buildings, factories, equipment and other installations) and also for the immediate dismantling of US military bases which occupy large tracts of public lands. Even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle, US imperialism has lately suffered so many big reverses that it has decided to resort to the use of extraordinary measures with the use of the Marcos fascist gang. Just before Proclamation No. 1081, it was very clear that the bombing incidents and the corresponding “psywar” campaign were being staged by the US-Marcos clique in order to distract public attention from the strong legal grounds for demanding the immediate end of US imperialist domination. It dawned upon the US imperialists that even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle they were being hopelessly isolated. They had to hurry making use of the Marcos fascist gang which prated about “fairness” and “justice” for them against the popular demands for national emancipation.

The puppetry of the Marcos fascist gang is well proven. This gang has adopted and implemented to the letter every “recommendation” made by US imperialism through such direct agents as the components of the US “country team” and such other agents as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, US monopoly firms, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the like. The dictates of US imperialism have always become the basic policies and projects of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. Some of the most notorious policies and projects are the “floating rate” or the unabated rapid devaluation of the peso in relation to the US dollar; sham negotiations on the unequal US-RP treaties to achieve mere “adjustments”; “national treatment,” “joint ventures” and “incentives”—special privileges for US investments (non-expropriation, investment insurance, unlimited dollar remittances, tax exemptions, access to local credit sources, etc.); heavy foreign

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borrowings from US and “consortium” banks for nonproductive projects; increasing taxation to raise counterpart funds for foreign loans and to support a military buildup; fascist training of the reactionary troops and police; the five-year program for a “self-reliant defense posture”; special privileges for US oil firms in oil exploration and in price-hiking; the “car manufacturing” scheme; free trade zones; and the reorganization plan of the Presidential Committee for the Survey of Philippine Education (PCSPE) for the educational system.

Enjoying absolute powers vis-a-vis the Filipino people, the Marcos fascist gang knows no bounds for its puppetry. It will throw the door open wider for US imperialism and other imperialist powers, especially Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism. The substance of old unequal treaties with the United States will stay either through retention, minor revision or drafting of new ones. The Philippines will continue to suffer violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and will remain a victim of superprofit remittances by the imperialist firms and banks. Because a civil war of a national scale is now on hand and the US-Marcos dictatorship will subsequently resort to the use of US aggressor troops, despite the hypocritical claim of the “Nixon doctrine” about supplying war materiel rather than US manpower, the colonial domination of the Philippines will become more direct and conspicuous in the years to come unless other drastically different conditions arise.

Because it has seized absolute power without so much pretense about having the support of a broad range of political groups, the US-Marcos dictatorship is exceptionally isolated at the moment and has to rely completely on its fascist troops. This extreme reliance on a parasitic and nonproductive military is bound to deepen the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. The present number of military personnel and equipment is not enough to maintain the fascist dictatorship for very long. Only from 32,000 to 34,500 men or only about half of the present total of military personnel are combat effectives. Therefore, it is expected that it will increase military expenditures in order to increase the number of military personnel and equipment. The official 1972-73 military budget of ₱1.2 billion has already been superseded. Even at the present troop level, military expenditures have already increased tremendously since the US-Marcos dictatorship has started to bribe the military personnel, from the rank of private first class upwards, with salary increases and allowances. The fascist

dictatorship will certainly create more inflation through huge military expenditures. It will also have to increase taxes and its foreign debts by leaps and bounds.

To satisfy its greed and bloodthirst, the US-Marcos dictatorship will become even more rabid in suppressing the democratic rights of the people. The workers will not only be prevented from launching strikes and maintaining their unions to raise their depressed real incomes and to assure themselves of job security but they will also have to suffer the unjust accusation that they are the cause of spiraling prices. The peasant masses will continue to be subjected to the most brutal military operations ostensibly against the armed revolutionaries and will be forced to accept the dictates of the big landlord class of which fascist puppet chieftain Marcos is the outstanding representative. The students and their parents will be commanded to accept the rising cost of education and cost of living; student movements will continue to be the target of hysterical anticommunist propaganda, as in the case of trade unions and peasant associations. Teachers and other professionals will have to pay more taxes and will have to suffer more indignities in the hands of the military overlords who dictate on them what opinion to take on issues. Higher government taxes and special extortions from the military will bedevil all businessmen that are not in the good graces of the dictatorship. These are only some of the concrete evils that will plague the country as a result of Proclamation No. 1081.

With absolute power in the hands of the US-Marcos dictatorship and its military minions, unbridled corruption and brutality will go hand in hand to exacerbate the people's suffering. The dictator Marcos himself has long set the example of enriching himself in office more than any other puppet president and of exculpating his agents from the most heinous crimes, including massacres of workers, peasants, students, national minorities and even religious groups. With the suppression of democratic rights, every person and every group is now under blackmail by the fascist dictatorship and its agents. The dictatorship has not only seized every major legal channel of communications and suppressed democratic organizations but it has even outlawed the ordinary conversations of people regarding the present situation and has branded these as "rumormongering."

At present, the US-Marcos dictatorship and its military minions can simply accuse anyone of being a "subversive," "conspirator" or "rumormonger" and extort anything from him at gunpoint. Through

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sheer coercion, the dictator Marcos will be able to acquire more stockholdings and landholdings. At every level of the reactionary government, his fascist minions will continue to do their own grabbing with more impunity. In the streets, the fascist troops will exact tribute more than in the past to the great annoyance of the local police whose most crooked members exact much less. In the campaign to seek out those who oppose the dictatorship, the most brutal measures will be taken such as those which long made the US-Marcos clique notorious. Kidnapping, torture, murder, arson and massacre have long been the political style of the Marcos fascist puppet gang. These can be committed by the fascist troops with more impunity, in both cities and countryside under Proclamation No. 1081.

The propaganda of the US-Marcos dictatorship keeps on harping about the sudden “peace and order” and “elimination of crime” as a result of Proclamation No. 1081. The truth is that fascist dictatorship is the biggest crime and cause of disorder. In the present “new society,” people are massacred or arrested and detained indefinitely on false charges and manufactured evidence. There is no more safety in one’s own home. Anytime, the fascist troops can barge in anywhere to dispose of persons and property in any manner they wish for their criminal ends. These minions of the dictatorship, together with their criminal associates (gangsters, informers, BSDUs and “Monkees”) arrogantly engage in extortion, robbery, torture, rape and other vicious crimes. And these do not get into the police blotter, simply because the victims do not want to become the accused before their abusers. By official record, there appears to be “peace and order” and “elimination of crime.” But crime and disorder, products of an exploitative and oppressive society, do not cease to exist just because the fascist-controlled mass media do not wish to report them.

Despite all attempts of the US-Marcos dictatorship to suppress the truth, the facts of fascist abuse are so widespread and so blatant. The fascist dictatorship will become even more hopelessly isolated by the stench of its lies. The broad masses of the people will only be further angered by mendacious propaganda prettifying the fascist dictatorship as having eliminated crime, lowered the prices of basic commodities, busted graft and corruption and rid the country of filth and pollution, whereas the contrary is the truth.

Deceptions even among a few people do not last long. The “new society” of the US-Marcos dictatorship is nothing but a phrase that

will go the way of all previous slogans of deception spewed out by the US-Marcos clique. So long as the basic sources of evil in Philippine society are not eliminated, the manifestations of evil will always crop up. Marcos is nothing but the general representative of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. What makes him even more distinctively so is that he has chosen to become a fascist dictator, a vicious running dog of US imperialism, under conditions when the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is getting more and more acute everyday. In the "new society," the basic sources of evil that are US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism will persist but will increasingly be under powerful assaults by the broad masses of the people. With a target as easy to hit as the US-Marcos dictatorship, the Filipino people will rapidly become aware of their revolutionary strength, use it to destroy their enemies one by one and aim for a new Philippines that is genuinely and completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous.

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the New Situation

The setting up of the US-Marcos dictatorship through the declaration of an "unlimited form of martial law" and under the fascist principle that "all power can be given to the military" has brought about a new situation. Through the crude employment of armed coercion, dictator Marcos as commander-in-chief has arrogated unto himself and concentrated in his hands all executive, legislative and judicial powers. All of these powers are used not only against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but also against the broad masses of the people and all opposition to the perpetuation of a fascist dictatorship. Upon the setting up of this fascist dictatorship, the objective conditions for a civil war of a national scale have arisen. The entire Filipino people vehemently condemn the US-Marcos dictatorship as anti-national, antirepublican, antidemocratic and decadent and are more determined than ever before to struggle for national democracy and, therefore, for a genuine republic that belongs to them.

It has long been pointed out and stressed to the US-Marcos clique that people's war is the answer to martial law. Now that martial law is here, large masses of revolutionary militants and allied leaders of various forces all over the country have gone underground or have gone to the countryside from cities and towns and are resolutely taking

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every possible and necessary step to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship. Many times more than the previous suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship has increased the number of men and women eager and ready to do their share of fighting in the battlefield. With every national and democratic right suppressed, the broad masses of the people have more deeply realized the need to support or participate in people's war. The revolutionary stand of the Communist Party of the Philippines that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle at the present national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution has never before been clearer than now.

In the new situation, three things stand out. First, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle that calls for the armed overthrow of the fascist government. Second, the Party has the strongest and most experienced revolutionary army, the New People's Army. Third, the ranks of the revolutionary movement have greatly expanded and fighting cadres as well as allies are all over the archipelago determined to conduct people's war. These things would not have stood out as clearly as now were it not for the fascist viciousness of the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle because it is the most prepared to do so ideologically, politically and organizationally. By virtue of its adherence to and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, it can be relied upon to fight steadfastly in a protracted people's war and to deal with the problems of the Philippine revolution in the most comprehensive and correct manner. By virtue of its revolutionary politics, it can be relied upon to serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants, respect the legitimate interests of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and mobilize the biggest mass force to overthrow the tyrannical regime. By virtue of its organizational strength, it has emerged practically unscathed from the vicious blows so far made by the enemy under Proclamation No. 1081.

In so many years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have been the target of all kinds of enemy operations and task forces and yet they have not only managed to preserve themselves and destroy the enemy part by part but have become even stronger through revolutionary struggle. To ensure the growth and development of people's war as a mass undertaking, the Party has indefatigably created Party branches and groups, organs of political

power, mass organizations, people's organizing committees and various forms of fighting units such as the militia, the local guerrilla and the regular mobile (or several guerrilla units concentrated at appropriate times for big operations or a campaign of several battles). In the countryside, the Party is at the core of the New People's Army and is also in the localities and has gained wide support from the peasant masses and inhabitants of towns, provincial capitals and small cities. In the cities, the Party has carefully developed an underground for the worst of emergencies and has at the same time developed unbreakable links with the workers, the urban petty bourgeois and others.

While we consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before, we should not relax in the false belief that the objective conditions are enough to carry us forward. We have to build up the revolutionary forces courageously, not only by waging the principal form of struggle which is armed struggle in the countryside but also by employing effective underground methods in the cities and towns and by using every possible means, legal and otherwise, to facilitate coordination of efforts, propaganda work, intelligence and internal communications as well as communications with allies throughout the archipelago. We should avoid rashness in our actions because the fascist dictatorship carries with it the license to do the worst possible harm against the Party, people's army and the people. We should advance carefully and steadily.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to join hands with all those who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. All those who are interested in achieving national freedom and democracy are welcome in joining with the Party in a broad national democratic front. Those who may participate in this united front are the democratic classes and strata, parties, groups and individuals. Independence and initiative are enjoyed by participants in this united front. But the single common objective of all is to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and institute a truly national and democratic regime. The success of the national democratic front can pave the way for a national coalition government where the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are fairly and justly represented. The Party's Program for a People's Democratic Revolution and also the ten-point guide drafted by the Party in connection with drawing up the program of the National Democratic Front should be

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referred to as guide for forming a national alliance or local alliances of revolutionary forces.

In addition, we hereby pledge to ourselves, to all our allies and to all our countrymen in the context of our program for a people's democratic revolution:

1. To join up with all forces that are opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique and conduct a firm revolutionary struggle to overthrow it;

2. To strengthen the New People's Army, boldly organize guerrilla units all over the archipelago and draw all possible cooperation from everyone opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship;

3. To help reestablish the democratic rights of all antifascist forces including individuals, political parties, trade unions, mass organizations, mass media, religious organizations and all other people, and to take all steps towards a democratic coalition government;

4. To fight for the nullification of all acts of the fascist dictatorship that favor US imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique, and to make possible the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to direct investments, military bases, military assistance, military aggression and cultural aggression;

5. To pave the way for the arrest, trial before a people's court and punishment of the dictator Marcos and his diehard accomplices for the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, bloody crimes against the people and enrichment in office, and make possible the confiscation of all ill-gotten wealth (capital holdings and landholdings) of the Marcos fascist clique and likewise those of all US imperialist firms and agencies collaborating with it; and

6. To welcome to the revolutionary ranks those officers and men of the reactionary armed forces who turn at any time against the US-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by US imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship:

1. The Party should vigorously fulfil its 1972 organizational and educational plan. Despite what appears to be the tightening of the situation due to the US-Marcos dictatorship, the fact is that the entire country has been made far more fertile than before for revolutionary seeding and growth. There is a great need for cadres and their nationwide

deployment. So, the Central Committee is seeing to it that cadres are dispatched from certain regions to other regions. The correct relationship between expansion and consolidation and between the number of cadres in urban areas and that in the rural areas must be settled from time to time by regional Party committees in their respective territories. They must take more initiative in building the Party, the New People's Army and the united front. Stress must be laid on mass work. The gauge of achievement is the quantity and quality of Party branches and groups, fighting units of the New People's Army, organs of political power, people's organizing committees and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. Due to the emergence of the US-Marcos dictatorship, special attention must be paid to improving underground methods, especially in cities and towns, and in maintaining links over extensive areas.

2. The Party should assign more cadres of worker as well as petty-bourgeois background to the New People's Army. Those who can no longer conduct legal work or underground work in cities and towns should be dispatched to the people's army as the Party's principal form of organization and should be built as such. Party branches should be established at the company or platoon level as the case may be and Party groups at the squad level and, in addition, Party branches should be established in localities. The main objective of the fascist dictatorship in the countryside today is the suppression of the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses. We should be good at preserving ourselves by destroying the enemy (fascist troops, spies, local tyrants and bad elements) on the wider scale of the countryside. The New People's Army is based mainly on the peasant masses, the majority class in Philippine society. Special attention should therefore be paid to realizing a genuine land reform program among them. Nothing will ever come out of the decree of the US-Marcos dictatorship proclaiming the implementation of the reactionary "land reform code" all over the country, except intensified feudal and semifeudal exploitation and oppression and, therefore, intensified resistance by the peasant masses. Whenever possible, land should be distributed free to the tillers who do not own land or who do not have enough. The nonpayment of land rent and other related measures can easily be effected when the peasant masses have been sufficiently aroused, organized and mobilized on a wide scale. This also the best way of creating stable base areas. Wherever the guerrilla units of the New

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People's Army are, the least that should be done for the welfare of the peasant masses is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and initiate mutual aid and exchange of labor. Peasant associations, with poor and lower middle peasants prevailing, should be established. Local militia units and guerrilla units should also be raised from the peasant ranks so as to defend their democratic gains. From the ranks of the guerrilla units, we draw the Red fighters for the regular mobile forces of the New People's Army.

3. The Party should continue to build revolutionary trade unions and other suitable organizations (including open associations and secret workers' organizing committees) among the workers in workplaces and communities, despite the fascist ban on mass organizations and strikes. However, care must always be taken to prevent the enemy from identifying Party cadres. The more the fascist dictatorship madly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The longer the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Their wages are buying less and less. They are also under greater threat of unemployment. The fascist dictatorship is mad enough to prevent the workers indefinitely from demanding through their unions and through strikes better working and living conditions. The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers. The Party should organize the workers in factories, mines, haciendas and other areas and raise their political consciousness in the light of the current political and economic crisis. Workers are quick in grasping the Marxist-Leninist ideology, provided this is properly communicated to them by Party cadres. The Party should accelerate its efforts to build Party branches in the workers' places of work and communities. Trade union work should always be combined with ideological and political work.

4. The Party should vigorously arouse, organize and mobilize the student masses against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Although the democratic cultural revolution has already brought out a high degree of militancy among them, the student masses should be further guided by the Party in the new situation so that they can link up with the broad masses of the people and deliver the most effective blows against the fascist dictatorship. If it were not for the fear of the US-Marcos

dictatorship of the student masses, the schools should not have been closed on the Monday following Proclamation No. 1081. But the closure of schools for sometime cannot stop the student masses from recognizing what is wrong and acting against it. The longer the schools are closed, the more ready are the student masses for mass actions. First, the probing mass actions and other propaganda activities; then increasingly bigger mass actions. Various forms of open student organizations and underground coordinating committees can be set up to defy the fascist ban on basic democratic rights. In the case of quite a number of student leaders and other youth leaders, who are blacklisted and who will only be immobilized upon arrest, it is the Party's policy to dispatch them to the countryside or the underground, so long as they are already Party members or are willing to become Red fighters even if they are not yet Party members or even candidate-members. Party groups which are in the midst of the student masses should systematically deploy groups of students to various provinces and towns to condemn the fascist dictatorship and arouse the people.

5. The Party should encourage not only the student masses but also all other sections of the intelligentsia to assert their national and democratic rights and speak out their views against the US-Marcos dictatorship. It is anti-national to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Sorianos to make propaganda in support of the US-Marcos dictatorship and at the same time prevent the Filipino people from speaking out their minds. It is antidemocratic to have only those reports and views supporting a fascist dictatorship disseminated. Teachers at all levels should be persuaded to propagate the national and democratic line among their co-teachers, students and the people and not to make anticommunist propaganda which would only serve to prolong the life of fascist dictatorship in the country. Special efforts should be exerted to get the active support of public school teachers. All government civilian employees should resist attempts of the US-Marcos dictatorship to shift public funds to the military from their departments, disregard their civil service eligibilities or turn over their functions to military personnel. Like the teachers and ordinary government civilian employees, all professionals (doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, lawyers and others) should be won over to the antifascist united front. If positive and progressive, their political influence on many other people is of great value to the revolution. Their direct services and material contribution to the revolution are much needed.

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The most progressive elements in the ranks of the intelligentsia can become Party members.

6. The Party should, aside from the intelligentsia, win over other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In many various ways, they can extend practical support to the revolutionary cause. They can help spread the correct political line against the US-Marcos dictatorship and they can also extend material support to the revolutionary movement. They are hard pressed by the political and economic crisis worsening under the fascist dictatorship. The Party should consider the entire petty bourgeoisie as a basic motive force in the national democratic revolution and win it over in order to tilt the balance securely in favor of the revolutionary side.

7. The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities. The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of US imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and antifascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.

8. The Party should support the struggle for self-determination or autonomy and also for democracy among the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao who have taken up arms. The armed struggle of the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tausugs and others is very significant. Efforts should be exerted in developing revolutionary forces in various parts of Mindanao, especially those outside of the "Muslim" areas; and unity between the national minorities and the poor settlers everywhere should be aimed for in accordance with the general line of the national democratic revolution. The armed struggle in Mindanao can be so coordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon and the Visayas that the US-Marcos dictatorship would become exhausted from running to and fro, from far south to far north of the archipelago and vice versa. It should be the general policy of the Party all over the country to welcome all national minorities into the ranks of the revolutionary movement and to develop Party cadres and Red fighters among them.

9. The Party should seek and develop an antifascist united front at every possible level with the Liberal Party, with certain sections of the Nacionalista Party and various political groups and figures who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. The attempt of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to monopolize power in the country has seriously harmed or put a serious threat to the interests of other reactionaries. The violent split developing among the reactionaries has been obvious since the emergence of the "private armies" and especially since the second Plaza Miranda massacre. Although the US-Marcos dictatorship will try to create the myth of "bipartisan" support for the "Marcos party," the political and economic contradictions among the reactionaries cannot be erased. There are various ways of cooperating with other political groups and figures. Since the US-Marcos dictatorship is bent on disarming them at any cost, they might as well contribute or merely lend their arms to the New People's Army. They can also advise their following to cooperate with the people's army and they can give other kinds of material support. In return, such legitimate interests of theirs as those which do not harm the people can be protected. In cases where there are already armed groups fighting or determined to fight the fascist dictatorship, the New People's Army should be willing to reorganize them or integrate them into its ranks or simply coordinate with them as the case may be.

10. The Party should seek and develop an anti-imperialist and antifascist united front with religious and semireligious groups that are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. It is noteworthy that there are a considerable number of patriotic and progressive priests and ministers who have merited being in the fascist blacklist. It must be always borne in mind that there are religious people who do not agree with the Party's ideology but who readily and completely agree with the Party's political program and line.

11. The Party should draw all possible support from Filipinos abroad, especially the half a million Filipino immigrant workers, professionals and students in the United States. Together with their American and other foreign friends, they can form committees and associations, engage in mass actions and raise funds for their own propaganda activities all in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Eventually, they will be able to channel their material support to the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. Revolutionary friends of the Filipino people all over

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the world should also be encouraged to initiate committees and associations in support of the Filipino revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people should get all possible international support in the same spirit and manner as other peoples have done for their own revolutionary struggles. The peoples of the world are profoundly interested in the victory of the Philippine revolution against US imperialism and its running dogs. The Party should be guided by the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism in this regard.

12. The Party should perseveringly conduct by various means revolutionary propaganda among the officers and troops of the reactionary armed forces. Quite a number of them are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. As a matter of fact, there are three definite trends in the reactionary armed forces: the first one consists of those who support the US-Marcos dictatorship and who are gloating at the chance to abuse the people; the second one consists of those who oppose the Marcos fascist gang but who wish to have it replaced by coup d'etat with another reactionary regime which they consider "democratic"; and the third one consists of those who oppose the US-Marcos dictatorship and who agree with the principles of the Corpus-Tagamolila Movement. The second trend can be subdivided into two: one is biding its time for the near-collapse of the Marcos fascist clique and will move only with assurances from US imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship should be encouraged to take the people's side and take the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antifascist line. They can bring over their arms and join the New People's Army or temporarily establish and lead guerrilla units until such time that they can establish relations with the people's army. The Party should also see to it that the policy of leniency is taken on captive enemy officers and men in order to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces. As the US-Marcos dictatorship conscripts more troops and the people's suffering becomes even more unbearable, there will be more enemy officers and men who will recognize what is right and what is wrong and will gladly turn their arms against the people's exploiters and oppressors.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads, declares that conditions for revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside have been tremendously enhanced by the emergence of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Whereas

Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship

before Proclamation No. 1081 only certain limited parts of the country were battlefields, these can now be boldly expanded throughout the archipelago. Furthermore, whereas before this proclamation it was not yet timely to launch certain limited forms of military operations in urban areas, these can now be done with due consideration given to the strategic line that the revolutionary forces will seize the cities from rural base areas.

The broad masses of the people know how to deal with a mad bull like the US-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the US-Marcos dictatorship is turned into ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall have become a gigantic force capable of carrying the Philippine revolution through to the end.

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Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government¹

October 1972

PART I GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. The People's Democratic Government is led by the proletariat and is based on the toiling masses of the proletariat and the peasantry. It has at the same time a united front character, with all democratic classes, including the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and others, supporting it and participating in it.

Article 2. The People's Democratic Government shall adopt all policies and carry out all measures which are necessary to bring victory to the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These policies and measures shall cover the political, economic, military, cultural and all other spheres of popular activity and shall pave the way for the establishment of a people's democratic republic embracing the entire country.

Article 3. The system of the People's Democratic Government shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism. Individuals are subordinate to the government and general welfare; the minority is subordinate to the majority; the lower level is subordinate to the higher level of government. Functionaries of the government shall either be elected by popular vote or be appointed according to law.

PART II THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Chapter I The Central People's Government

Article 1. The National People's Congress shall be the highest governmental organ of the People's Democratic Government. It shall

¹ Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines in October 1972.

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formulate and issue the necessary proclamation and laws to govern and shall delegate its authority to the Supreme People's Council which it shall elect.

Article 2. The National People's Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the conference of the provincial people's governments and other leading representatives of democratic classes, parties and groups that may be recommended by the National Democratic Front and approved by the delegates of the provincial people's government.

Article 3. The National People's Congress shall be called as soon as possible after the liberation of a considerable part of the country or after the nationwide victory of the revolution.

Article 4. The National People's Congress or the Supreme People's Council shall create the necessary central organs and ministries of the People's Democratic Government.

Article 5. The National Democratic Front shall make recommendations regarding the reorganization and retention of personnel under the People's Democratic Government.

Chapter II

The Local Organs of Government

Article 1. The basic unit of the People's Democratic Government shall be the barrio people's government. The highest authority at this level shall belong to the general meeting of the barrio people called either to elect the barrio revolutionary committee or the organizing committee or to discuss policies and projects undertaken by either committee.

Article 2. Between the general meetings of the barrio people, the highest governmental authority in a barrio in a stable base area shall be the barrio revolutionary committee or in a guerrilla zone, the barrio organizing committee. Either committee shall elect its officials from its own ranks. A barrio organizing committee shall cease to exist whenever a barrio revolutionary committee shall have been elected.

Article 3. The barrio revolutionary committee shall take general charge of all organizational, educational, economic, defense, cultural and health work in a barrio; implement land reform program; organize the people's militia; participate in the work of the people's court; collect

taxes and voluntary contributions; and give all possible support to the revolutionary cause.

Article 4. Five subcommittees on organization, education, economy, defense and health shall definitely be established under the barrio revolutionary committee and as much as possible under the barrio organizing committee.

a. The subcommittee on organization shall take charge of creating and coordinating the mass organizations like those of peasants, workers, fishermen, merchants, youth, women, teachers, children and cultural activists.

b. The subcommittee on education shall take charge of developing revolutionary class consciousness, administering the schools (elementary schools and mass schoolings) and promoting various types of cultural activities.

c. The subcommittee on the economy shall take charge of the implementation of land reform, production and cooperation; and collection of taxes and voluntary contributions for the support of the People's Democratic Government and the New People's Army.

d. The subcommittee on defense shall take charge of organizing the barrio people's militia, keeping internal public order and security, and combating the people's enemies in coordination with the New People's Army.

e. The subcommittee on health shall take charge of public hygiene, local medical work and transport of the sick and wounded to medical stations or clinics.

Article 5. Above the barrio people's government shall be the municipal, district and provincial levels of local government. People's conferences shall be held at these higher levels of local government to determine policies and plans, enact rules and regulations of local application, examine reports of the various governmental organs and elect people's councils after deciding on the appropriate number of council members.

Article 6. Delegates to the municipal people's conference shall include officials of the barrio revolutionary committee and the barrio organizing committees. Delegates to the district people's conference shall include the chairman and vice-chairmen of the people's municipal councils. Delegates to the provincial people's conference shall include the entire or main part of the people's district councils.

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The number of delegates as well as the time for a conference shall be decided by the people's council immediately responsible for such conference. These shall be subject to the approval of a higher people's council, except in the case of provincial people's conference before which the provincial people's council shall seek the approval of the Central People's Government or its current and effective equivalent.

Article 7. The people's council shall be responsible for governmental leadership and shall be the executive organ in its defined territory. Every people's council shall elect among its members a chairman and five vice chairmen responsible for mass organizations, education, economy, defense and health. Plenary council meetings shall be held as often as necessary. However the chairman and the vice-chairmen shall compose themselves into a standing committee of the people's council and administer affairs on a collective basis and in accordance with decisions of the plenary council meetings.

Article 8. The term of office of the barrio revolutionary committees or barrio organizing committees and people's councils at every level shall normally be four years, unless a higher people's council or conference decides otherwise or the people make a petition that results in the dissolution and replacement of a council or committee. A committee or council may make appointments whenever vacancies arise in its ranks. These appointments shall be subject to the approval of a higher committee or council.

Article 9. National minorities shall be entitled to autonomy in provinces, districts, municipalities or barrios where they are in the majority. Autonomous governments shall be adapted to the wishes of the majority of the people of the nationality or nationalities but shall conform basically to the system of government herein presented. In areas where they are in the minority, the national minorities shall be entitled to proportionate representation in conferences and councils, with no prejudice to their representatives assuming positions higher than those held by others.

Article 10. All local organs of government, from the barrio to the provincial level, shall be established under the guidance of a higher political authority that has prior existence and with due regard to the need for maintaining the united front.

Chapter III
The People's Court

Article 1. The Central People's Democratic Government shall create the Supreme People's Court as the highest judicial authority. The People's Democratic Government may also create special courts as may be required by special circumstances.

Article 2. The provincial, district, municipal and barrio people's governments shall create people's courts at their respective levels. In minor and simple cases, there shall be a panel of at least three judges. In major and complex cases especially those involving the death penalty, there shall be a panel of at least nine judges.

Article 3. The people's court shall require specification of charges and sufficient investigation of the case prior to trial and shall always inquire into the side of the complainant as well as the accused. The opposite sides of any case shall be given ample hearing and shall be entitled to counsel as well as the presentation of witnesses and evidence.

Article 4. Trials shall ordinarily be held in public, with anyone from the ranks of the people free to stand up and give his opinion on the case. Whenever necessary, the people's court shall seek the assistance of any pertinent organ of the People's Democratic Government in order to shed light on the issue at bar.

Article 5. Decision on every case shall be arrived at through the process of voting among the judges. Each judge shall explain his vote to his colleagues. Ordinarily, a case may be decided by a simple majority of votes. However, a clear two-thirds majority shall be necessary in decisions meting out the death penalty. All decisions shall be announced and explained through the presiding judge.

Article 6. The decision of a lower people's court shall be appealable to a higher people's court. However, a people's court may accept a motion for reconsideration of its own decision. Cases involving the death penalty shall be automatically on appeal to the highest political or judicial authority in a region and if possible shall be automatically referred to the Supreme People's Court or its current and effective equivalent.

PART III
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Article 1. All citizens are equal before the law and are therefore entitled to equal rights.

Article 2. Citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election irrespective of sex, race, nationality, occupation, social origin, property status, education, religious belief, or length of residence. Only insane persons and persons declared by law as enemies of the people shall be excluded from this right.

Article 3. Citizens have the right to exercise the freedom of speech, freedom of association and assembly in order to advance the revolutionary cause of the toiling masses. The facilities necessary for the enjoyment of these freedoms shall be made available to citizens.

Article 4. Citizens have the right to enjoy the freedom of conscience and religious worship.

Article 5. Freedom of the person of citizens is inviolable. No citizen may be arrested without sufficient legal basis.

Article 6. The homes of citizens are inviolable and privacy of correspondence is protected by law. Citizens are entitled to the freedom of domicile and the freedom to change residence.

Article 7. Citizens have the right to work, to enjoy better working and living conditions, to have personal property and to keep, use or invest personal savings according to law. They also have the right to rest and leisure and the benefit of common welfare funds, social insurance, retirement pension and the like that shall materialize under the People's Democratic Government. The agrarian revolution and the nationalization of the economy are undertaken to change the relations of production and liberate the productive forces of the country and guarantee to the people the enjoyment of the fruits of economic progress.

Article 8. The right to free public education is guaranteed. Schools and other cultural institutions shall be maintained and expanded to undertake the physical and mental development of the people, especially the youth.

Article 9. The freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, technological invention, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits is safeguarded and promoted, with the end in view of developing a national, scientific and mass culture.

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Article 10. Women have equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and domestic life. Marriage, the family and the mother and child are protected by law.

Article 11. Citizens have the right to bring complaints against any person in authority for transgression of law or neglect of duty. Anyone suffering damage or loss of anything due to infringement by persons in authority of his rights as a citizen has the right to compensation or indemnification.

Article 12. Citizens must abide by this Guide and all laws emanating from it. They must uphold discipline at work, keep public order and respect the rights of others.

Article 13. Public property is sacred and inviolable. It is the duty of every citizen to respect the property of the People's Democratic Government.

Article 14. It is the duty of citizens to pay taxes on the basis of their ability to pay and in accordance with the law.

Article 15. It is the sacred duty of every citizen to render military service according to law and make every possible contribution to the defense of the people against foreign aggressors and local oppressors.

PART IV

FLAG, EMBLEM AND CAPITAL

Article 1. The national flag of the People's Democratic Government is a red flag with three great stars in gold to signify Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao.

Article 2. The national emblem is similar to the national flag.

Article 3. The capital of the People's Democratic Government shall be decided according to circumstances.





Dictator Marcos Uses Con-Con to Remain in Power after 1973

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, October 12, 1972.

The fascist dictator Marcos will remain in Malacañang even after 1973, when he shall have completed eight years of the most brutal and most corrupt puppet rule ever experienced by the Filipino people. There will definitely be no presidential elections in November 1973. But sometime next year there will be a bogus plebiscite which will certainly result in the bogus ratification of the bogus constitution now being hurriedly drafted by the Marcos-dominated constitutional convention. The US-Marcos dictatorship is interested in using this bogus constitution as the fig leaf for both its usurpation and perpetuation of absolute power by naked armed force against the people's will.

As has been fixed up under conditions of martial rule, the bogus constitution provides for the incumbent president to remain in office from December 30, 1973 to June 30, 1976 and for him to act during the same period as president of the "transition government" or "provisional government." Under the fascist dictatorship, the assembly will be composed exclusively of Marcos-leaning delegates in the constitutional convention and Marcos-leaning members of Congress. It will certainly exclude all those who are opposed to the Marcos fascist gang who have come either under camp detention, under house arrest or under such threats as detention, assassination, vilification and arbitrary dispossession.

The bogus constitution allows the fascist dictator to enjoy vast powers, including the continued operation of martial rule on the basis of his personal judgment. Thus, he will still be able to perpetuate himself in power from 1973 onwards by armed force. He will simply maintain martial rule on the flimsiest grounds and continuously suppress every kind of legal opposition. All members of the ad interim national assembly will continue to be under the duress of martial rule as well as subject to cajolery and manipulation by the fascist dictator, who will dangle to so many members of the ad interim national assembly so few a number of seats at stake in the May 1976 parliamentary elections. It is certain that he will have himself made the prime minister in 1976.

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However, the fascist dictatorship will never succeed to deceive the people with the bogus constitution. The people know that this scrap of paper is nothing but the dictatorship. They know that as a result of fascist rule the reactionary constitutional convention has become more than ever a farce, a mere puppet show serving the extremely narrow and selfish interests of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Since the issuance of Proclamation No. 1081, all delegates opposed to the anti-national and antidemocratic dictates of the US-Marcos clique have been purged out of the reactionary constitutional convention and have been either put under camp detention, under house arrest or under such threats as detention, assassination, vilification and arbitrary dispossession. In line with its evil purposes, the fascist dictatorship has completely deprived all delegates of the reactionary constitutional convention of their supposed right to parliamentary immunity.

The “plebiscite” slated for next year will be one more big swindling act of the US-Marcos dictatorship. The formulation of questions to be answered by yes or no will be made in a manner as to favor the fascist dictatorship. Then, no matter which way the voting will go, the fascist military will make sure that the counting of votes will go in favor of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Besides, the basic democratic rights, particularly the freedom of assembly and of association as well as the freedom of speech and of the press, shall continue to be suppressed. The Marcos manipulation of previous elections through the use of the reactionary armed forces will certainly become a far cry from the forthcoming “plebiscite.”

In assuming that he can make use of the reactionary armed forces for every criminal purpose, the fascist dictator is cocksure about being able to remain in power for “two years or more.” As immediately implied by his big pretense, which is not only “to save the republic” but also “to build a new society,” Marcos is clearly hell-bent on remaining in power and monopolizing it for a long time to come. Completely isolated from the broad masses of the people, he cannot be but the instrument of the most rapacious forces: US imperialism, the big comprador bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. And being a comprador-landlord-bureaucrat himself with an insatiable greed for power and wealth, he has set himself and his own clique of oligarchs into violent conflict with other reactionaries.

In truth, the US-Marcos dictatorship is aggravating the oppressiveness and exploitativeness of the old society and is hastening

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the collapse of the puppet republic. The entire ruling system is now violently split all over the country as the fascist dictator makes use of brute force to concentrate power and wealth in his filthy hands. The fascist dictatorship has only served to show in the most brazen manner that the reactionaries can no longer rule in the old way. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is bound to become graver and more fatal under the fascist dictatorship. The political and economic crisis of US imperialism is the sure-fire guarantee for the worst of crisis for the reactionary puppets in the Philippines.

Because bestiality has become the open style of rule and the least semblance of democracy has been suppressed, the broad masses of the people have become more intensely aware than ever before of the fact that only an armed revolution can frustrate the armed counterrevolution in the long run. The ranks of the revolutionary movement have unprecedentedly expanded and a new level of revolutionary struggle has emerged. The armed revolutionary movement is bound to grow from small to big all over the country and will outlast and finally defeat the US-Marcos dictatorship. Upon their victory, the broad masses of the people will convene a genuine constitutional convention and create a constitution that will truly serve their national and democratic interests.

The Filipino proletariat and its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, are determined to complete the people's democratic revolution through a protracted people's war. The main content of this revolution and civil war is the fulfilment of the peasants' demand for land. The agrarian revolution will, therefore, be carried out more vigorously even as the US-Marcos dictatorship is dead set on both intimidating the peasant masses with large-scale military operations and on deceiving them on the matter of land reform. Together in a basic alliance, the proletariat and the peasantry conjoin with the urban petty bourgeoisie and also with the national bourgeoisie to fight uncompromisingly for people's democracy against the US-Marcos dictatorship and all the rottenness that it stands for.

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Marcos' Land Reform—A Big Hoax

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The land reform touted by the US-Marcos dictatorship as the “cornerstone” of or chief pretext for its unjust and indefinite rule is a big hoax. The fascist dictatorship is in fact violently opposed to the fulfilment of the peasant demand for land, which is the main content of the people’s democratic revolution.

Under Proclamation No. 1081, the peasant masses are prohibited from having their own militant associations and from asserting their democratic rights. Under conditions of martial rule, the reactionary armed forces have the license to commit all kinds of barbarities against the peasant masses. In areas where the peasant masses have valiantly stood up to oppose landlord oppression and exploitation, the fascist troops are concentrated by the US-Marcos dictatorship in order to suppress them and protect the landlord class.

The political and economic crisis, spawned by US imperialism and domestic feudalism, has been aggravated by the greed and barbarism of the fascist dictatorship. The suffering of the peasant masses has been exacerbated by the rampaging fascist troops who inflict direct mass evacuation, zoning, looting, kidnapping, assassination, abuse of women, blackmail and extortion at checkpoints that are being perpetrated with impunity mainly against the peasant masses, who even before martial rule could not seek redress for their grievances.

As the resistance of the peasant masses rises, the US-Marcos dictatorship shifts public funds to the reactionary armed forces in order to increase their numbers, equipment and antipopular operations. As a result, the reactionary government no longer has as much funds as before disposable for “land reform” and can no longer pretend as much as before to be for “land reform” by purchasing a few excessively overpriced estates from the landlord class and offering these for resale to tenants at prohibitive prices.

Presidential Decree No. 2 dated September 25, 1972 and Presidential Decree No. 27 dated October 21, 1972, two documents which the dictator Marcos boasts of as his masterpieces on “land reform,” are consistent with the antidemocratic and counterrevolutionary character of Proclamation No. 1081. They are also consistent with

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the most obnoxious antipeasant and pro-landlord provisions of the old Agricultural Land Reform Code (Rep. Act 3844) as well as of its latest modified version, the Code of Agrarian Reforms (embodying Rep. Act 6389).

The two presidential decrees do not get out of the old rut of all previous reactionary legislation on “land reform” which runs thus: if a tenant wants to get emancipated, he must pay for the landlord’s land at “fair market value” or at the government’s overprice; or he can start calling himself a “leaseholder” and pay to the landlord a yearly crop of three normal crop years, provided he shoulders all agricultural expenses and takes all risks, including those due to natural calamities and crop epidemics.

The land retention limit of seven hectares set on the landlords by Presidential Decree No. 27 is as pretended and false as any of the land retention limits set by previous legislation because in fact the tenant masses are required to buy out the landlords at “fair market value” or pay the high redistribution price set by the reactionary government. In the first place, this government which promises to expropriate landed estates for redistribution and resale to the tenant masses is a political instrument of the landlords and has extremely limited cash and bonds for buying lands at the “fair market value” it has set as its own limit and burden for implementing expropriation.

It is utterly stupid of the dictator Marcos to boast that his presidential decrees are historically outstanding as they are original. It is redundant of Presidential Decree No. 2 to “proclaim the whole country as a land reform area.” The Code of Agrarian Reforms did so in 1971 by declaring share tenancy throughout the country as contrary to public policy and by calling for its automatic conversion to agricultural leasehold.

And has Marcos easily forgotten that some years ago he heard the same pious generalities in Presidential Decree No. 27 about “the emancipation of the tenant from the bondage of the soil” and “transferring to them the ownership of the land they till and providing the instruments and mechanism therefor,” from another demagogue? In 1963, Marcos as Senate president was at the side of Macapagal when the latter signed into law the Agricultural Land Reform Code and proclaimed the “emancipation” of the tenant masses and “abolition of tenancy.”

The demagoguery of the dictator Marcos is definitely stale. But what is now most striking is the fact that his Presidential Decree

No. 27 has artificially increased land prices and has further put the tenant masses in a position of ridicule under reactionary laws. This decree dictates a higher cost for acquiring land and in effect twits the tenant masses with the fact that they cannot afford to buy land from the landlords. Also, the dictator Marcos by his speech of October 21, 1972 has pronounced the policy that any transfer of land between landlord and tenant shall be strictly a transaction between the two and that the reactionary government shall be out of it. In other words, the reactionary government shall avoid engaging in the buy-and-sell of a few landed estates between landlord and tenant. It is to be expected that it would rather shift funds to the fascist military.

Presidential Decree No. 27 orders that the value of land shall be equivalent to 2-1/2 times the average harvest of 3 normal crop years immediately preceding the promulgation of the decree. In addition, the decree orders that the total cost of the land, including interest at the rate of 6 per centum per annum, shall be paid by the tenant in 15 years of 15 equal annual amortizations. The entire formula set by the fascist dictator for the acquisition of lands from the landlords is simply ridiculous.

Let us translate what appears to be small numbers in the presidential decree into their real dimensions. Assume that the tenanted land is three hectares, irrigated and two-cropped and that the average yield is 50 cavans of rice per hectare per crop. The total annual yield of the entire tenanted land is, therefore, ₱300 cavans of rice. Assume that the agreed price of a cavan of rice is ₱25, which is the current floor price set by the National Grains Authority. The figure that comes out is ₱7,500; it is the money equivalent of the average annual crop. Multiply this by 2-1/2. The figure that comes out next is ₱18,750. This is supposed to be the cost of the three-hectare land, if only the tenant could pay in cash immediately.

At the unqualified interest rate of 6 per centum per annum, the total interest charges on ₱18,750 in 15 years can range from ₱9,000 to ₱16,875. The final total cost of the entire land would therefore range from ₱27,750 to ₱35,625. Divide these figures by 15 in order to arrive at the 15 equal annual amortizations. The figures range from ₱1,850 to ₱2,375.

The per-hectare value of the land, without interest charges, is 6,250. This is far higher than the ₱4,149 per-hectare value of land (including a few urban estates) bought by the Land Bank from 1966 to 1971

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under the Agricultural Land Reform Code. It may be argued that land prices have gone up since then. But it may be riposted that the value of 4,149 per hectare even includes a few higher-valued urban estates and, of course, the overpricing that ordinarily goes into transactions between the reactionary government and the landlords. The best thing to do in order to see how exorbitant a price is ₱6,250 is to go around and observe comparable lands and their current prices. If interest charges ranging from ₱3,000 to ₱5,625 per hectare are added to the principal cost of the land, then the total cost per hectare ranges from ₱9,250 to ₱11,875. In most areas, the land that we speak of can be bought at a price below ₱4,000 per hectare. Presidential Decree No. 27, therefore, gives more than ever a better deal to the landlords and a worse deal to anyone who is baited into believing the bogus land reform of the fascist dictatorship.

Going back to the question of equal annual amortizations, let us now ask if a tenant on a three-hectare, irrigated and two-cropped land can really save and put up an amount ranging from ₱1,850 to ₱2,375 every year and for fifteen years. The answer can be gotten from the masses themselves. Under conditions of increasing inflation under the US-Marcos dictatorship, the tenant family has to pay more for basic commodities (other than grain and vegetables in the backyard) for its subsistence. It has to pay more for fertilizers; pesticides; irrigation fees; hauling; and other agricultural costs requiring cash outlays. Then, there are other agricultural costs in the main involving grain outlays, as in seeding, planting, weeding, harvesting, threshing and milling. If the tenant has no work animals or implements, he has to rent them from the landlords or the rich peasants. At the end of every year, there is not much grain or cash left for any tenant family to ever hope that he can buy out the landlord.

Under conditions of want and hard toil, every tenant family is usually beset within fifteen years by a number of major illnesses, involving heavy medical expenditures or even temporary disability or death of the principal tiller. Within the same long period, calamities like floods, drought, crop infestation and the like is likely to occur. All these can disrupt the timetable of amortizations. If for one year he is in default of payments, the prospective owner-cultivator will never be able to recover financially and will have to suffer complete loss of the land he has hoped to own.

The risks involved in the attempt to buy land from the landlord are exceedingly great for a tenant. Obviously, it is for this reason that Presidential Decree No. 27 requires him to join a “cooperative” first before being allowed to get into the act of trying to buy the land on which he is a tenant. This “cooperative,” an underling of the landlords’ rural banks or the landlord-dominated government, is supposed to guarantee amortizations to the landlord and at the same time stands guard to take over the land lest the land buyer goes in default. Ultimately, the tenant goes back to being a tenant after his futile effort to conform to the bogus land reform or, in other words, the laws of the landlord. The land that he has hoped to own also reverts to the landlord class through a bogus cooperative or the reactionary government.

Not a single poor share-tenant has been or can ever be emancipated by Presidential Decree No. 2 and Presidential Decree No. 27. Yet, as if a few glittering phases would suffice to obscure the truth, the propaganda machinery of the US-Marcos dictatorship has been endlessly claiming that the presidential decrees have already emancipated 715,000 tenants on 1.5 million hectares and distributed to each of them either 3 hectares of irrigated land or 5 hectares of unirrigated land. Anyone with the simplest knowledge of arithmetic will immediately see the Marcos propaganda as a cheap lie. Out of 1.5 million hectares, there can only be 2.1 hectares for every one of 715,000 tenants. Furthermore, the number of tenants in the Philippines is not as small as 715,000 and also the extent of landlords’ holdings devoted to rice and corn is not as small as 1.5 million hectares.

One more myth spewed out by the propaganda machinery of the US-Marcos dictatorship is that land reform is being conducted by the reactionary government in Cagayan Valley. The truth is that the reactionary armed forces are trying by all-out brute force to suppress the revolutionary peasant masses and protect the landlord class. The big landlord Marcos himself is rabidly trying to keep his landed estate of more than 22,000 hectares in the face of the surging revolutionary movement. This landed estate extending from Cordon, Isabela to Diffun, Nueva Vizcaya is the biggest of its kind north of Manila and is the most conspicuous landmark of feudalism in Cagayan Valley. It is also the most scandalous example of land grabbed from poor tenants and settlers.

The Tabacalera Estate of 11,000 hectares has long been offered for sale to the reactionary government by its foreign owners who are

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terribly afraid of the genuine land reform program of the revolutionary movement. They want to sell the land at an overprice and at the same time contract the reactionary government to deliver tobacco and other agricultural products to them. They want the reactionary government to secure the land from the revolutionary peasant masses and not really to make the land the object of any land reform. Should the US-Marcos dictatorship finally buy the land, it would be at an overprice and the landless tillers would not be able to afford the redistribution price.

With regard to the problems of land reform, there is nothing new to expect from the US-Marcos dictatorship except the worsening of the plight of the peasant masses. The Department of Agrarian Reforms created by the Code of Agrarian Reforms has been assigned by the fascist dictator to work out the details of his "land reform" decrees. This department will go the way of its predecessors, such as the National Land Reform Council, the Land Authority and the like. It will be nothing more than a bureaucratic setup for protecting the landlord class and demanding payments for land expropriated at an overprice from a few landlords. The emancipation of the tenant masses and the abolition of the "system of sharecrop and lease-tenancy" have become more gigantic impossibilities under the US-Marcos dictatorship by virtue of Proclamation No. 27 setting the price of land even above "fair market value." What does it profit a poor peasant anyway even if the Land Bank exhausts its funds in buying only a few landed estates? He will still have to pay the heavy price of redistribution.

From 1965 to 1971, the long period during which the Agricultural Land Reform Code was in effect until it was relabeled Code of Agrarian Reforms, the reactionary government "appropriated" ₱1.3 billion and actually released a total of ₱399.24 million to the various "land reform" agencies. Out of the large amount actually released, only the measly amount of ₱36.32 million was released specifically to the Land Bank, which in turn spent only ₱16,002,900 to purchase 32 landed estates having the total size of only 3,876 hectares, the equivalent of a measly portion of one Marcos hacienda. Now, we ask whether a single poor peasant, lower middle peasant or farm worker ever succeeded during the last 7 years in becoming a full owner of a family-size plot from any of these expropriated estates. Not a single one. Most of the 2,268 tenants of these estates have gone in default of their amortizations as in all cases of expropriation and redistribution before 1965. It is only the rich peasants and upper middle peasants who can keep

up with the schedule of amortizations because in the first place they have some amount of surplus lands or have more than enough work animals as well as better farm implements.

There is nothing in the past and there is also nothing in the present to show or indicate that the reactionary government, especially as it is now under a fascist dictatorship, can implement a genuine land reform program. It is important to expose and condemn the past record of the US-Marcos regime on the land problem and likewise the present hoax about land reform being drummed up by the Marcos propaganda machinery. And it is even more important to demonstrate by word and deed that the agrarian revolution being carried out by the peasant masses and the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is the true solution to the problem of feudalism and semifeudalism. All revolutionaries should propagate and implement the Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform under the banner of the people's democratic revolution.

Our land reform program has a minimum goal and a maximum goal. The minimum goal is to reduce land rent to at least 10% of the net crop, eliminate usury completely and develop multipurpose cooperation among the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and farm workers. The maximum goal is to confiscate the lands of the landlords and distribute them free to the poor peasants, lower middle peasants, farm workers and all other impoverished people who are willing to till the soil but who have no land. The achievement of these goals is interconnected with the comprehensive achievement of the people's democratic revolution.

As they come to fully grasp our land reform program on a national scale, the millions of oppressed and exploited peasants will stir up a great storm to sweep away the US-Marcos dictatorship. They will bring about their own total emancipation. At the same time, they will constantly provide the strongest and biggest possible mass support for the people's democratic revolution.

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The “New Constitution” Is a License of the US-Marcos Dictatorship to Oppress and Exploit Further the Filipino People

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Taking full advantage of its martial rule, the US-Marcos dictatorship has been able by armed force, bribery and deceit to ram through the 1971-1972 reactionary constitutional convention a “new constitution” which endorses Proclamation No. 1081, allows the fascist dictator Marcos to remain in power for as long as he can beyond 1973 and perpetuates the vile interests of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Attention needs to be focused on Article XVII entitled “Transitory Provisions” and on Article XIV entitled “The National Economy and the Patrimony of the Nation” in order to expose and condemn the anti-national and antidemocratic character of the “new constitution.” Let us annotate the most counterrevolutionary provisions under these articles.

On Article XVII. “Transitory Provisions”

Section 1. There shall be an interim National Assembly which shall exist immediately upon the ratification of this Constitution and shall continue until the members of the regular National Assembly shall have been elected and shall have assumed office following an election called for the purpose by the interim National Assembly. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution, the interim National Assembly shall have the same powers and its members shall have the same functions, responsibilities, rights, privileges and disqualifications as the regular National Assembly and the members thereof.

There is no definite time limit for the existence of this interim national assembly. It all depends on the pleasure of this interim national assembly or even more precisely on the fascist dictator Marcos as to

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when an election shall be called to elect the regular members of the national assembly.

It is self-serving enough for delegates of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the Convention to include themselves as members of this interim national assembly. Together with the cohorts of the US-Marcos dictatorship, they shall always misinterpret their selfish interests as public interests and prolong their enjoyment of the powers and privileges of members of the regular national assembly.

These scoundrels in the 1971-1972 reactionary constitutional convention have not made any kind of protest regarding the gross violations of their supposed parliamentary immunity, the forcible camp detention and house arrest of several convention delegates who have stood against the dictates of the US-Marcos clique. Instead, they have been bribed into approving the “new constitution” that is actually the handiwork of Malacañang. Among the privileges that each delegate stands to gain as member of the interim national assembly are annual salaries and allowances amounting to at least ₱200,000, aside from a still bigger income derivable from other nefarious activities related to “parliamentary work.” As a whole, the interim national assembly shall be an extremely expensive affair, with no less than 400 members drawing huge salaries and allowances. This shall be far more expensive than the outgoing Congress which has far less members and personnel.

Section 2. The members of the interim National Assembly shall be the incumbent President and Vice-President of the Philippines, those who served as President of the nineteen hundred and seventy-one Constitutional Convention, those members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who shall express in writing to the Commission on Elections within thirty days after the ratification of this constitution their option to serve therein, and those delegates to the nineteen hundred and seventy-one Constitutional Convention who have opted to serve therein by voting affirmatively for this article. They may take their oath of office before any officer authorized to administer oath and qualify thereto, after the ratification of this constitution.

This section seeks to cover up the illegality and unconstitutionality of General Order No. 1 and certain presidential decrees (like Presidential Decree No. 1 and the like) by which the fascist dictator has asserted his absolute authority over all branches of the government and usurped the legislative authority of the Senate and the House of

Representatives. General Order No. 1 renders Congress inutile and even nonexistent, despite the elective status of these members. Presidential Decree No. 1 and similar decrees arrogantly declare certain bills still pending in Congress as "part of the law of the land."

What is exceedingly callous about the section above is that only three persons, especially the person who stands to gain most, the fascist dictator Marcos himself, are automatically members of the interim national assembly while all members of the Senate and the House of Representatives and all delegates of the reactionary constitutional convention are not automatically so. It is obvious that this section is intended to force and at the same time cajole the members of Congress and the convention delegates whom the fascist dictator Marcos has put under camp detention, house arrest and death threat. When the voting was held on the "transitory provisions" last October 26, convention delegates had to secure "safe-conduct passes" from the Marcos hatchetman Enrile in order to be allowed into the convention hall. By virtue of Section 3 (2) hereunder, several senators and congressmen opposed to the fascist dictatorship will not as a matter of principle be able to express in writing to the Commission on Elections their option to join the interim national assembly.

Section 3. (1) The incumbent President of the Philippines shall initially convene the interim National Assembly and shall preside over its sessions until the interim Speaker shall have been elected. He shall continue to exercise his powers and prerogatives under the 1935 constitution and the powers vested in the President and the Prime Minister under the constitution until he calls upon the interim National Assembly to elect the interim President and the interim Prime Minister who shall then exercise their respective powers vested by this constitution.

(2) All proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, and acts promulgated, issued, or done by the incumbent President shall be part of the law of the land, and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after the lifting of martial law or the ratification of this constitution, unless modified, revoked, or suspended by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions or other acts of the incumbent President, or unless expressly and explicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly.

This section with its two paragraphs, is the core of all the "transitory provisions" and even of the entire "new constitution." The fascist dictator Marcos shall continue to concentrate all powers in his hands

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in his three and contradictory capacities as president under the 1935 constitution and as president and prime minister under the “new constitution.” He shall exercise the powers and prerogatives of the president under the 1935 constitution and yet shall not necessarily be bound by the obligation set by the same constitution that he shall have to step down from the presidency in 1973, after he shall have served eight consecutive years as president. His powers and prerogatives shall be absolute and unlimited as ever. Upon the “ratification” of the “new constitution,” all his proclamations, orders, decrees and instructions and acts shall be “part of the law of the land” (and the supreme part at that) and shall remain valid, legal, binding and effective even after the formal lifting of martial law. In other words, a fascist dictatorship shall exist.

The first paragraph shows that the fascist dictator Marcos does not have full trust in the interim national assembly though this assemblage shall surely at the beginning be composed of members who are prevalently his agents. Thus, it is not the interim national assembly but it is explicitly he alone who shall decide when the interim national assembly shall elect the interim national president and interim prime minister. Going by his self-interest, Marcos shall be able to keep himself in power for as long as he can and shall prevent for as long as he can the election of the interim president and interim prime minister. Outside and inside the interim national assembly, he has the powers and prerogatives to suppress any demand for such an election within the interim national assembly. However, he shall also be able to call for such an election and assure himself of being elected interim prime minister. He may do so, especially in face of the fact that after 1973 he shall be vulnerable to questions involving the provision in the 1935 constitution that a president cannot retain his office for more than eight consecutive years.

The second paragraph makes the fascist dictator more powerful than the entire interim national assembly. While the interim national assembly is in office, he shall have the supreme power of enforcing his old proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts and also promulgating new ones above and beyond the interim national assembly. Thus, this interim national assembly shall in principle and practice be inferior to one person and shall have mere decorative value for the fascist dictatorship. If only the incumbent president or the regular national assembly, but not the interim national assembly, shall have

the power to modify, revoke or supersede the proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts of the incumbent president, then what is the point in the aforementioned section (second sentence) stating that the interim national assembly shall have the same powers as the regular national assembly? Under the above Section 3 (1) and (2), the interim national assembly shall merely be the rubber stamp of the fascist dictator. In effect, the provisional or interim government shall not have the least shred of the parliamentary form. It shall have a superpresidential, dictatorial and fascist form reflective of what makes the present regime entirely anomalous.

Section 5. The interim National Assembly shall give priority measures for the orderly transition from the presidential to the parliamentary system, the reorganization of the Government, the eradication of graft and corruption, the effective maintenance of peace and order, the implementation of declared agrarian reforms, the standardization of compensation of government employees and such other measures as shall bridge the gap between the rich and the poor.

It is obvious by this section that the interim national assembly and the fascist dictator Marcos intend to keep themselves in office for as long as they can. Their declared intention is to perform not the functions of a transitional government that may last for one year or so but those of a long-term government that may last for several more years. The preposterous slogan of "save the republic and build a new society" expresses the US-Marcos dictatorship's pipe dream of suppressing the people and reigning forever.

At any rate, the US-Marcos dictatorship talks of government reorganization and standardization of compensation of government employees only to tighten its control over all branches of the government by armed intimidation, build up and shift funds to the fascist military, lay off a great number of civilian government employees, disregard elective and civil service status of lesser officials, promote sycophants and increase their salaries at the expense of middle and low-ranking employees. It talks of eradicating graft and corruption but the fascist dictator Marcos and his cronies have been for so many years the biggest and blackest perpetrators of malfeasance in the reactionary government. Marcos himself is the most notoriously undesirable character in the reactionary government. He has enriched himself in office in a manner that would make all previous presidents petty

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thieves. He has had a big cut in every major government contract or major business deal where government permission or guarantees are required. His large stockholdings and landholdings mostly under the names of dummies (Benedicto, Montelibano, Cojuangco, Zobel, Menzi, Elizalde, Silverio and others) have been acquired through abuse of political authority.

The US-Marcos dictatorship talks of peace and order only to unleash the most vicious fascist crimes against the great masses of peasants, workers, students, teachers, professionals, women, small and medium businessmen, national minorities and even against the legal oppositionists in the Liberal Party and Nacionalista Party. Behind the drive to collect high-powered firearms is the scheme of the fascist dictatorship to monopolize firearms and suppress the people and all possible opposition. Wanting to impose a “peace and order” for the benefit of the exploiting classes, the fascist dictatorship has on its part intensified counterrevolutionary violence and made it necessary for the people on their part to intensify revolutionary violence. The Marcos mass media may monopolize all legal news channels and impose a news blackout on the people’s resistance but the fact is that revolutionary armed struggle has spread more rapidly from the northern end to the southern end of the Philippines since Proclamation No. 1081.

It is simply incongruous for the US-Marcos dictatorship to talk about bridging the gap between the rich and poor. The truth is that it has taken every step to aggravate the exploitation of the broad masses of the people. The “new constitution” revolves around the term “just compensation” to preserve the interests of the big bourgeoisie (foreign monopolies and big compradors) and the landlord class. Presidential Decree No. 27 has served only to artificially raise the price of the landlord’s land and taunt the tenant masses that they cannot really buy out the landlords. We shall further discuss the intensification of imperialist, big comprador, landlord and bureaucrat exploitation under the fascist dictatorship.

Section 9. All officials and employees in the existing Government of the Republic of the Philippines shall continue in office until otherwise provided by law or decreed by the incumbent President of the Philippines, but all officials whose appointments are by this Constitution vested in the Prime Minister shall vacate their respective offices upon the appointment and qualification of their successors.

Section 10. The incumbent members of the Judiciary may continue in office until they reach the age of seventy years, unless sooner replaced in accordance with the preceding section thereof.

It is clear by these two sections that those in the service of the reactionary government shall continue to be completely at the mercy of the fascist dictatorship as under General Order No. 11, General Order No. 3 and Presidential Decree No. 1. But what interests the fascist Marcos most in these two sections is that he can change the present composition of the Supreme Court as he pleases and also make all the courts consistent instruments of his anti-national and antidemocratic executive fiats.

Under Section 4 of Article X entitled the "Judiciary," which provides that the members of the Supreme Court and judges of inferior courts shall be appointed by the prime minister, and under Section 1 (1) of the same article, which provides that the Supreme Court shall be composed of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and fourteen associate justices, the fascist dictator Marcos shall be able to continue threatening the present justices of the Supreme Court with replacement and shall also be able to simply add four more justices of his own choosing to the present eleven justices in order to make the Supreme Court a thoroughly rabid instrument of the fascist dictatorship.

The US-Marcos dictatorship hopes to ensure that the Supreme Court shall continue to act in favor of the dictatorship in all cases involving Proclamation No. 1081. Even now, the present Supreme Court composed mostly of Marcos appointees has allowed the cases of political detainees to be overtaken by the "new constitution." It is this same court which previously swallowed hook, line and sinker the tale of the Marcos fascist gang about the "July-August Plan" in 1971. Like the "judicial" appendage of any antipopular dictatorship, it has been an accomplice in the commission of fascist crimes.

Section 11. The rights and privileges granted to citizens of the United States or to corporations or associations owned or controlled by such citizens under the Ordinance appended to the nineteen hundred and thirty-five Constitution shall automatically terminate on the third day of July nineteen hundred and seventy-four. Titles to private lands acquired by such persons before such date shall be valid as against other private persons only.

Section 12. All treaties, executive agreements, and contracts entered into by the Government or any subdivision, agency, or instrumentalities thereof, including government-owned or controlled

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operations, are hereby recognized as legal, valid and binding. When the national interest so requires, the incumbent President of the Republic or the interim Prime Minister may review all contracts, concessions, permits, or other forms of privileges for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of natural resources entered into, granted, issued or acquired before the ratification of the Constitution.

The first sentence of Section 11 above appears to be progressive in the sense that it provides for the termination of the rights and privileges of US business entities under the Parity Amendment on July 3, 1974. But in fact the second sentence negates what the first sentence provides. The second sentence protects US entities and assures them of continued enjoyment of the lands (and improvement thereon) which they have unconstitutionally and illegally acquired. Elsewhere, the “new constitution” also requires “just compensation” for the takeover by the state of any private property. These constitute the complete negation or reversal of the recent Supreme Court decision on the Quasha case. The “new constitution” can be used to oppose the principle that US entities have no right to own private lands in the Philippines and that the lands and improvements thereon (including structures and other investments) which have been illegally required are subject either to retrieval by previous private owners or confiscation by the state.

In this regard, the fascist dictator Marcos has been most vociferous in calling on US business entities to create interlocking dummy corporations (where US entities may own as much as 40% of equity) to serve as “owners” of the lands and also in assuring them of “just compensation” with regard to the dim possibility that the state may decide and act to expropriate these lands for them. All these serve to keep US business entities in undiminished ownership and control of Philippine lands. They are all calculated to defeat the people’s clamor for confiscation of the illegal US landholdings, including the structures and investments thereon.

Section 12 throws away the provision under the 1935 constitution (Section 7, Article VII) that treaties entered into by the president need the concurrence or final ratification of the Philippine Senate in order to become binding and effective. Under the “new constitution” it shall suffice for the fascist dictator Marcos and his executive agents to enter into treaties, executive agreements and contracts with other

countries and foreign entities and these shall immediately be recognized as legal, valid and binding. US imperialism is certainly anxious now to arrange with their chief Filipino puppet a "treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation" in order to carry over the worst features of the Laurel-Langley Agreement that is to terminate soon. Also the Japanese zaibatsus must be more hopeful now than before that the Japan-Philippine "treaty of amity, commerce and navigation" will be ratified by the fascist dictator; this will be far better for them than individual business licenses for "liaison offices" which Marcos used previously to circumvent the nonratification of the aforesaid draft treaty.

As an autocratic head of state, the incumbent president Marcos also reviews all contracts, concessions, permits or other forms of privileges for the exploration, development, exploitation or utilization of natural resources entered into, granted, issued or acquired even before the ratification of the "new constitution." This means to say that he shall have absolute power to deal with US imperialism and other foreign monopolies any way that he shall be in a position to amass wealth even more viciously than when he was supposed to have enjoyed less power in the days before Proclamation No. 1081.

It is absolutely clear that the fascist dictator Marcos has been propped up precisely to protect and step up the oppressive and exploitative interests of US imperialism and other related forces. In the succeeding discussions on certain provisions of Article XIV, we shall be able to see even more clearly that US imperialism together with its most rabid local running dogs, is behind the fascist dictatorship and the "new constitution." The most extraordinary measures are taken by the most rabid local reactionaries whenever the interests of US imperialism are at stake and whenever the dominance of these need renewal and expansion. The forcible making of the fascist dictatorship and the "new constitution" is directly related to the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement. It is an event exceedingly comparable to the forcible making of the fascistic Roxas regime and the adoption of the Parity Amendment and the Bell Trade Act.

On Article XIV. The National Economy and the Patrimony of the Nation

Section 1. The National Assembly shall establish a National Economic and Development Authority, to be headed by the Prime

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Minister, which shall recommend to the National Assembly, after consultation with the private sector, local government units, and other appropriate public agencies, continuing, coordinated, and fully integrated social and economic plans and programs.

Section 3. The National Assembly shall, upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority, reserve to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations wholly owned by such citizens, certain traditional areas of investments when the national interest so dictates.

The National Economic and Development Authority will be the cloak for the US-Marcos dictatorship in plundering the social wealth of the country. It will be no better than all or any such agencies as the National Economic Council, the Presidential Economic Staff, the Board of Investments and the like. It shall continue to extend foreign investors and big local compradors such special privileges and incentives as those carried by the Investment Incentive Act, Export Incentive Act and the like.

As the head of the National Economic and Development Authority, the fascist dictator Marcos shall be able to relay to the national assembly "recommendations" of US imperialism which are usually first passed on to him and his "technocrats" by the US imperialist agents in such agencies as the Agency for International Development (AID), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and leading US corporations, banks and foundations. By having the most decisive say on treaties, loan agreements, franchises, concessions, licenses and business contracts, he shall be able further to enlarge upon his personal wealth which is now superior in position and magnitude even to that of the Ayala, Soriano and Zobel groups. Indeed, bureaucrat capitalism has its rewards for Marcos and his cohorts as the top oligarchs in the country.

Like the 1935 constitution, the "new constitution" allows US and other foreign investors to own and control even to the extent of 100% of corporate equity in most areas of investments. More than 50% of the \$2 to \$3 billion of US investments are now in these unrestricted areas of investments. Even in such areas as the operation of public utilities and exploitation of land and natural resources, foreign investors can comply with the requirement of at least 60% Filipino equity but they can control Philippine corporations in various ways to an extent far beyond what their formal ownership of 40% equity or even less may seem to indicate. They can exercise this control through

interlocking corporations and "service contracts." This control allows them to draw superprofits as if there were no restrictions on the extent of the foreign equity.

It is very striking that Article XIV is now completely silent on what specifically are the "traditional areas of investments" that shall be reserved to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations wholly owned by such citizens. In previous drafts of the "new constitution," there were references to retail, indent, import and wholesale as areas where 100% Filipino equity is required. But now even these secondary areas of the economy are open prey to "recommendations" of the fascist dictator. By its obvious silence, Section 3 tends to nullify even the Retail Trade Nationalization Act.

Section 5. No franchise, certificate, or any other form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations organized under the laws of the Philippines at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, nor shall such franchise, certificate, or authorization be exclusive in character or for a longer period than fifty years. Neither shall any such franchise or right be granted except under the condition that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the National Assembly when the public interest so requires. The State shall encourage equity participation in public utilities by the general public. The participation of foreign investors in the governing body of any public utility enterprise shall be limited to their proportionate share in the capital thereof.

Section 9. The disposition, exploration, development, or utilization of any of the natural resources of the Philippines shall be limited to the citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations or associations at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens. The National Assembly, in the national interest, may allow such citizens, corporations, or associations to enter into service contracts for financial, technical, management, or other forms of assistance with any foreign person or entity for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of any of the natural resources. Existing valid and binding service contracts for financial, technical, management, or other forms of assistance are hereby recognized as such.

Section 5 above is quite similar to and as reactionary as Section 8 of Article XIV of the 1935 constitution by allowing the grant of a franchise, certificate or some other form of authorization for the operation for a period of fifty years of a public utility to the citizens of the Philippines

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and to Philippine corporations or associations in which foreign equity is not more than 40%. What makes this section utterly worse than its predecessor is that it explicitly allows participation of foreign investors in the governing body of a public utility, throws away the recent Supreme Court decision on the Luzteveco case disallowing foreigners to be employed in local businesses and assures the foreign personnel of local US oil and transportation firms of continued privilege. This section also encourages the “general public” to buy stocks so that these could be manipulated by a few big capitalists who control a solid bloc of stocks. A solid bloc of stocks even if amounting only to 40% equity or even less can easily control the diffused stocks of the “general public” even if these amount to 60% equity or more in a corporation.

Section 9 is also similar to and as reactionary as Section 1 of Article XIII of the 1935 constitution by allowing the disposition, exploration, development, exploitation or utilization of all public lands and all natural resources by citizens of the Philippines and to Philippine corporations or associations in which foreign equity is not more than 40%. What is new in this section is that it approves one more method of circumventing the formal requirement of 40% foreign equity in Philippine corporations, ensuring foreign control of Philippine business entities and, of course, enlarging the profits normally earned by 40% equity in Philippine corporations. This method consists of allowing citizens of the Philippines and corporations and associations to enter into “service contracts” for financial, technical, management, or other forms of “assistance” with any foreign person or entity for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of any of the natural resources and public lands. The arguments used by the US-Marcos dictatorship for the adoption of this method are standard colonial and puppet arguments like the Philippines and the Filipinos having no capital, technology and experience.

Even before the “ratification” of the “new constitution,” Marcos threw the country wide open for oil exploration by foreign oil firms, mostly American and Japanese, by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 8 making the pending Senate Bill No. 531 (entitled an Act to Promote the Discovery and Production of Indigenous Petroleum and Appropriating Funds Therefor) a “part of the law of the land.” Presidential Decree No. 8 sets the pattern for “service contracts”—a pattern for assuring foreign investors control over the public lands and natural resources, tax exemptions and high profits far beyond what 40% foreign equity

would yield. This kind of decree is considered valid and binding by Section 9.

Section 11. The National Assembly, taking into account conservation, ecological, and development requirements of the natural resources, shall determine by law the size of lands of the public domain which may be developed, held or acquired by, or leased to, any qualified individual, corporation or association, and the conditions therefor. No private corporation or association may hold alienable lands of the public domain except by lease not to exceed one thousand hectares in area; nor may any citizen hold such purchase or homestead in excess of five hundred hectares or acquire by purchase or homestead in excess of twenty-four hectares. No private corporation or association may hold by lease, concession, license, or permit, timber or forest lands and other timber or forest resources in excess of one hundred thousand hectares; however, such area may be increased by the National Assembly upon the recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority.

Though certain limits are set on the size of public lands to be disposed to individuals, corporations or associations, such limits are still extremely large and harmful to public interest and furthermore, will not stop the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords from holding unlimited areas of public lands under the various individual names and corporate names. Going by precedents, the reactionary government will certainly lease out individually to private corporations public lands far in excess of 1,000 hectares and also individually to private persons far in excess of 500 hectares. It will still allow private persons to acquire by purchase or "homestead" public lands far in excess of twenty-four hectares.

In fact, big landgrabbers in frontier areas have always insisted that vast tracts of cultivated lands are public lands only to proceed to holding these by lease, concession, license or permit and later on securing titles to these lands as their own private lands by claiming to have developed them. In the process, the landgrabbers dispossess the poor settlers and the national minorities through armed force and deceit with the active support of the reactionary government which has always encouraged the comprador-landlords to expand their landholdings by grabbing public lands and has repeatedly declared as part of its sham land reform program that they can get public lands in exchange for their lands that may be expropriated elsewhere.

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Also, the reactionary government has encouraged US corporations, especially those in agriculture, mining and logging, to hold hundreds of thousands of hectares of public lands. Corporations of the reactionary government have been most instrumental in letting foreign plantation interests take hold of wide tracts of public lands in Mindanao and elsewhere under the cover of the “growers’ agreements.” And, of course, the entire “new constitution” is silent about the fact that US military bases and stations sit on about 200,000 hectares of public lands. This occupation of public lands by a foreign military power is properly prohibited by the definition of territory by a truly sovereign state.

The last two sentences of Section 11 above is utterly ridiculous. In one sentence, it is made to appear that no private corporation or association may hold by lease, concession, license or permit timber and forest lands and other timber or forest resources in excess of 100,000 hectares. In the subsequent sentence, it is provided that such areas may be increased by the national assembly upon the recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority. Indeed, bureaucrat capitalism can always cook up situations and reasons for disposing unlimited amounts of public lands.

Section 6. The State may, in the interest of national welfare or defense, establish and operate industries and means of transportation and communication, and, upon payment of just compensation, transfer to public ownership utilities and other private enterprises to be operated by the Government.

Section 7. In times of national emergency when the public interest so requires, the State may temporarily take over or direct the operation of any privately owned public utility or business affected with public interest.

The property and interests of the big bourgeoisie, including the foreign monopolies and the local big compradors, are well sanctified by the “new constitution.” Section 6 above, quite similar to and as reactionary as Section 6 of Article XIII of the 1935 constitution, categorically provides that public utilities and other private enterprises cannot be transferred to public ownership without “just compensation.” The Investment Incentives Act goes even as far as to guarantee the right of non-expropriation to foreign investors. Consistent with this act, US imperialism has tied down the reactionary government to investment insurance schemes covering US investments so that the guarantees

for the extraordinary privilege of non-expropriation shall not only be in word but also in fact.

The basic requirement of "just compensation" guarantees that the property and interests of the big bourgeoisie are not to be dismissed but are even to be enlarged. How can a financially bankrupt government, with small revenues and huge internal and external debts, offer "just compensation" to its foreign masters? Even before the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the fascist dictator Marcos has made it clear that US investors should not worry too much about reducing their equities to 40% in corporations engaged in the areas of public utilities, land and natural resources for as long as neither the reactionary government nor private Filipino businessmen can afford to buy them out. This is what Marcos calls "justice" and "fairness" to his imperialist masters. Furthermore, even if the US investors were to be bought out on their equity excesses, they are still free to shift their capital to so many other lucrative fields of investment in the country.

Without any mention of "just compensation," Section 7 above provides that in times of "national emergency" the state may temporarily take over or direct the operation of any privately owned public utility or business. This section is specifically intended to preempt claims for damages that may be made by business enterprises maliciously shut down or taken over by the fascist dictator Marcos for his political and economic gain. Under Proclamation No. 1081, there has been a real and selective but temporary takeover of such enterprises as the MERALCO, ABS-CBN, ABC, *Manila Times*, *Manila Chronicle*, Free Press, Iligan Integrated Steel Mill Inc. and so many others. It has never been in accord with public interest for the fascist dictatorship to make such takeover. Such takeover is merely a part of the narrow scheme to suppress the opponents and critics of the US-Marcos dictatorship and also allow the private business interests of the fascist dictator to muscle in. The most conspicuous private business interests of Marcos that have been benefited by Proclamation No. 1081 are the *Daily Express*, KBS-RPN, Liwayway Publications Group, PLDT and ELISCO. With regard to the long-term implications of either Section 6 or 7 we state that a reactionary state can never truly stand for national welfare, defense or public interest.

Section 12. The State shall formulate and implement an agrarian reform program aimed at emancipating the tenant from the

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bondage of the soil and achieving the goals enunciated in this constitution.

Section 13. The National Assembly may authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of private lands to be subdivided into small lots and conveyed at cost to deserving citizens.

Taken together, Sections 12 and 13 demonstrate the rank hypocrisy and demagoguery of the US-Marcos dictatorship. The first section repeating phrases from Marcos' Presidential Decree No. 27 provides that there shall be an agrarian reform program. On the other hand, the second section echoing Section 4, Article XIII of the 1935 constitution demands that "just compensation" be paid to the landlords in cases of expropriation. In effect, the tenants can be emancipated only if they themselves can afford the prohibitive redistribution price (plus interest and tax payments) demanded by the reactionary government. In other words, the "new constitution" actually sets a condition for preventing the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants from coming to own their share of land.

It must be pointed out that there has never been any poor peasant, farm worker nor lower-middle peasant who has been emancipated by trying to pay the landlord's land under the "expropriation" program of the reactionary government. In the first place, the reactionary government is restricted by its own political character and financial limitations from expropriating even only 1% of the total landholdings of the landlord class. For instance, only 3,876 hectares were expropriated at the cost of ₱16,002,900 by the reactionary government during the entire life of the Agricultural Land Reform Code from 1963 to 1971. This area is equivalent only to a very small portion of the Marcos hacienda of 22,000 hectares in the Cagayan Valley.

Lately, the fascist dictator Marcos has made it even more obvious than ever before through Presidential Decree No. 27 that the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants can never hope to give "just compensation" to the landlords or afford the redistribution price set by the reactionary government. The formula dictated by Presidential Decree No. 27 for determining the value of the landlord's land, i.e., the average annual crop (based on the three normal crop years) multiplied by two and one-half (2 1/2) plus annual interest charges of 6% for fifteen years, has artificially increased the value of the landlord's land far beyond its "fair market value." Presidential Decree No.

27 is even more foolish than the Agricultural Land Reform Code of 1963 and its 1971 modified version, the Code of Agrarian Reforms. This decree has served only to expose further the counterrevolutionary character of the fascist dictatorship among the peasant masses and to stress the correct revolutionary program of distributing land to the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants at no cost. The fascist dictatorship is simply daydreaming when it claims that Presidential Decree No. 27 has effectively counteracted the agrarian revolution being waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the peasant masses.

Our Attitude and Policy on the "New Constitution"

There is no fundamental difference between the 1935 constitution and the "new constitution" in the sense that US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continue to be given the license to ride roughshod over the broad masses of the people. The most striking difference that is in the "new constitution" is neither the adoption of the parliamentary form of government, the lowering of the age of suffrage nor any thing else of the sort, as some may superficially think, but it is the rabidly counterrevolutionary endorsement of a fascist dictatorship out to preserve the old society even while calling it a "new society" against the ever rising tide of the revolutionary mass movement. This "new constitution" is essentially and completely repugnant to the national sovereignty and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

Now that the final draft of the "new constitution" is out, it is absolutely clear that the very idea of holding the 1971-1972 constitutional convention, without any prior fundamental change of the social order, has been part of a long-nurtured scheme of the US-Marcos clique to keep itself in power even beyond 1973 through a vicious rightist counterrevolutionary coup and a fascist dictatorship. The 1970 elections for delegates were fashioned in such a way or in such a manner as to bring the reactionary constitutional convention the biggest possible number of big comprador, big landlord and big bureaucrat delegates beholden to the political machinery of the US-Marcos clique.

Subsequently in the convention, the US-Marcos clique scandalously manipulated its minions against a broad range of progressive delegates determined to stop the obvious scheme to perpetuate Marcos in power. The Quintero expose showed up corrupt methods employed

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by this clique to keep its minions in tow. Then in one fell swoop upon the declaration of martial law, the full-fledged fascist dictatorship took every measure to suppress its opponents inside and outside the convention. Thus, it came to pass that the US-Marcos dictatorship succeeded in ramming through the convention the final draft of the “new constitution” now offered for “ratification” as one more farce—a sham plebiscite on January 15, 1973.

Only after the final signing of this “new constitution” by the farcical constitutional convention on November 30, 1972 has the fascist dictator Marcos decreed with the silly air of self-indulgence an order to his military minions to allow “free discussion and debate.” This he does while he continues to unleash the wildest and most futile kinds of onslaughts against the broad masses of workers, peasants, students, youth, women and the national minorities. This he does while he continues to suppress all open and legal organizations, mass media and other entities that are firmly opposed to his tyrannical rule. This he does while his spies continue to eavesdrop on the people’s ordinary conversations.

The fascist dictator Marcos now appears to believe that he has sufficiently intimidated the broad masses of the people and deceived them about his perverse record and ambitions. He has monopolized the use of armed force in urban areas and elsewhere, all instrumentalities of the reactionary government, the mass media, the schools and everything else which he can actually take over or threaten with armed force. He is going to boast that as some sort of military conqueror he is comparable to the infamous imperialist general Arthur MacArthur who as head of the US aggressor troops in the Philippines issued in 1902 General Order No. 68, declaring martial law. Even while this colonial military order was not lifted until sometime in the thirties, the US colonial government issued and put into effect “fundamental laws” governing the Philippines as a colony.

Though he has several times boasted of his Proclamation No. 1081 as a “new and outstanding contribution to international jurisprudence,” the fascist dictator actually traces the antecedents of this proclamation to the general order of a barbaric foreign aggressor, US imperialism, which he continues to serve. What the US-Marcos dictatorship calls “martial law Philippine style” is also nothing but a cheap imitation of the tricks of such contemporary fascist dictators as Thieu, Pak Jung Hi, Lon Nol, Suharto, Jiang, Thanom, Papadopoulos and the like, and

also of such bygone fascist dictators as Hitler, Mussolini, Batista, Ngo Dinh Diem and the like. All have had their own constitutions permitting them to rule indefinitely.

The confidence of the fascist dictator Marcos in allowing "free discussion and debate" on the "new constitution" arises from several facts. The period before January 15 is extremely short. The most possible legal means of communications spout only his counterrevolutionary propaganda. The printing and handling of ballots are under the full control of his rabid agents in the Commission on Elections and in the reactionary armed forces. The constitutional convention delegates eager to take their share of the loot are bound to do a lot of campaigning all over the country. Local officials of the reactionary government irrespective of their political parties are under duress and are under strict orders to support the "new constitution" under the pretext of "nonpartisanship." Furthermore, the counting of votes or, more precisely, the misreporting of votes to the public shall finally be made by his rabid agents even as the honest school teachers shall have made a fair counting of votes. The fascist dictator has always stressed that there is no more turning back from his mad lurch. He is terrified by the prospect of having to pay with his life the many grave crimes of fascism, puppetry and corruption that he has perpetrated on the people. His stakes are now far higher than in any previous election when he at any rate resorted to fraud and terrorism. Likewise, the stakes of his imperialist masters are high. Thus, he would resort to every possible measure in the forthcoming "plebiscite" in order to perpetuate himself in power and to give a semblance of the constitutionality and legality to his usurpation of absolute power. It is by the "ratification" of the "new constitution" that he hopes to be able to cling more tightly to US imperialism and rule indefinitely.

But the people will never respect a "constitution" that is the product and token of their enemy. Since the fascist dictator is fond of drawing parallelisms between the Philippines and south Vietnam, let us remind him that the late unlamented Ngo Dinh Diem was able to fabricate his own "constitution" against the people's will while he boasted that he was preempting the revolution in south Vietnam. Such constitution and such boasting only damned Ngo and the Vietnamese revolution advanced even more vigorously. We are certain of two possibilities for the fascist dictator Marcos: either he shall be outmaneuvered by his fellow reactionaries in a relatively short time or he shall stay in power

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long enough to hear the New People's Army approaching Malacañang. In any case, the people's wrath shall have something to do with his fate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to expose and condemn the "new constitution" as a license for keeping the US-Marcos dictatorship indefinitely and for aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people by foreign monopolists, the big compradors and the big landlords. We are determined to focus attention on the pro-imperialist and antidemocratic provisions which make the "new constitution" essentially and completely counterrevolutionary. Together with all our allies, we are determined to arouse and mobilize the entire nation and people to reject this filthy scrap of paper made in Malacañang. It is apt to call this the Marcos constitution in order to unmask its despicable author.

The US-Marcos dictatorship may be able to frustrate and make a mockery of the people's will in a "plebiscite" that is under its control. But then in the end, will a filthy scrap of paper really save the fascist dictatorship from the wrath of the people? Mere hypocritical invocations of "constitutional rule" will not make the fascist dictatorship less than its abhorrent self. The longer the US-Marcos dictatorship reigns, the more determined are the broad masses of the Filipino people to overthrow it. They shall surely win under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Reject the Marcos constitution!

Expose the sham plebiscite!

Down with the martial rule of the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

Long Live the Filipino people!

Long Live the Philippine revolution!

★ ★ ★

The Party Enters its Fifth Year since Reestablishment

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, December 26, 1972.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully undergone the test of four years of difficult revolutionary struggle since the Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968. By keeping to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, this revolutionary party of the proletariat has steadily grown and steeled itself in the crucible of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution.

The emergence of the US-Marcos dictatorship has only served to show the utter bankruptcy of imperialist and feudal rule and to underscore the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the party that is most prepared and most capable to lead the broad masses of the Filipino people in the life-and-death struggle for national freedom and democracy.

As the party enters its fifth year since its reestablishment, it has to fight ever more vigorously and ever more militantly against a fascist dictatorship that knows no bounds for its puppetry, brutality, corruption and mendacity. A new and higher level of revolutionary struggle has come about; conditions for waging armed revolution against armed counterrevolution are more than ever excellent. The widespread criminal abuses of the fascist dictatorship have not cowed the people but have roused them to exert greater revolutionary efforts along the course charted by the Party and the proletariat.

The Party Develops the Marxist-Leninist Standpoint, Viewpoint and Method

Because it is firmly founded on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines is bound to outlast the US-Marcos dictatorship. Under the impact of the revolutionary movement resolutely led by the Party, the US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to be swept away into the dustbin of history. This fascist dictatorship is a mere passing phase in the evil

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career of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. On the other hand, the Party shall live on as the revolutionary leader in the national democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

The determination of the Filipino people to achieve national freedom and democracy is most concentrated in our Party which, acting as the most advanced detachment of the proletariat, constantly strives to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Among Party cadres and members, the works of Marx, Engels, Stalin and Mao Zedong are disseminated, read and studied in order to shed light on the Philippine revolution and develop the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

The scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the reservoir of revolutionary strength for the Party and the people. As the Philippine revolutionary struggle intensifies, the persistent struggle of the Party against modern revisionism, purveyed by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades, is serving well the cause of national freedom and democracy. The Party remains firm in striving to fulfil its central task of overthrowing the reactionary state and can more easily than before its reestablishment avoid the pitfalls of subjectivism, either in the form of dogmatism or empiricism.

The Central Committee has always taken the lead in the Party in giving a national form to Marxism-Leninism. It has issued comprehensive and concrete analyses of Philippine society and revolution. It has not allowed a single major national issue or problem to pass without concrete analysis and without expression of a definite political stand. It has issued timely statements against the puppet and comprador-landlord US-Marcos dictatorship, exposing its fascist character and defining the current tasks of the Party.

The plan to provide Party members and candidate-members with primary education on Marxist-Leninist principles and on the Philippine society and revolution is well fulfilled. The Central Committee and the regional committees are working hard to carry out the intermediate and advanced courses of study. In line with their Marxist-Leninist education, Party cadres and members at every level and in every unit of work sum up their work on a regular and timely basis. Criticism and self-criticism is carried out in order to rectify errors, improve the style of work and raise the level of work.

**The Party Maintains Its Political Leadership
in the Revolutionary Struggle**

The Communist Party of the Philippines has asserted its leadership in the Philippine revolution by correctly setting and pursuing the general line of the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It draws strength from the revolutionary armed struggle that it is indefatigably waging in the countryside and from the national united front that it is patiently developing. Having a full grasp of the correct political program, the Party can avoid major errors of policy, such as Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism, or rectify them whenever they occur.

The New People's Army is the Party's principal instrument for bringing together the proletariat and the peasantry, for carrying out the agrarian revolution, for building mass organizations in the countryside and for establishing local people's government in preparation for nationwide seizure of political power. It has been steeled by persevering revolutionary struggle against fascist counterrevolution. It has not only preserved itself against military "task forces," the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and now the declaration of martial rule and the advent of a full-fledged fascist dictatorship but has continued to advance and wipe out enemy forces in ever increasing numbers.

The New People's Army has wiped out landlord despots, including incorrigible bad elements, and several thousands of enemy troops since 1969. Since the formal declaration of martial rule, it has wiped out enemy troops at an accelerated rate far exceeding any previous rate and on a rapidly expanding scale. More guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones are arising in every major region of the country. Furthermore, the Mindanao national minorities are now politically and militarily coordinating with the Party and the New People's Army. But what is most fearsome to the enemy is that the Party has provided the New People's Army and the peasant masses the Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform in order to systematize, expand and intensify the agrarian revolution and fulfil the main content of the people's democratic revolution. The land reform hoax of the US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to go the way of all such hoaxes in the past in the face of the agrarian revolution.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has become so grave that the US-Marcos dictatorship has been set up to oppose

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the rising tide of the revolutionary movement. This fascist dictatorship is in line with the "Nixon doctrine" and is specifically calculated to retain and enlarge US imperialist and comprador-landlord interests in the country. The Marcos constitution rammed through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention reflects the malevolent schemes of the US imperialists and their most rabid running dogs. The new turn of events in the Philippines demonstrates the common bankruptcy of the fascists, revisionists and various stripes of reformists who have harped on the line that the "new constitution" is the "last hope of the people."

In the present situation, the national united front is expanding rapidly as a result of the wanton assaults of the US-Marcos dictatorship on the broad masses of the proletariat, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Among those assaulted are also the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalistas, the overwhelming majority of the legal press, the national minorities and others who have opposed the flagrant abuses of the US-Marcos clique. The fascist dictatorship has in effect isolated itself from the broad masses of the people and at the same time aggravated its violent conflicts even with other reactionaries. The imposition of the present fascist rule is the culmination of the second Plaza Miranda massacre and all other massacres perpetrated by the US-Marcos clique.

The Party is enthusiastically bringing together all democratic classes, groups and personages in a broad national united front against the US-Marcos dictatorship. The most solid expression of this united front is the establishment of local organs of political power in countryside. The barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committee being built in guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones, respectively, serve as the basis for the development of the national united front and the people's democratic government. Having revolutionary foresight, the Party has seen fit to put these committees in their proper context by issuing the Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government.

In the cities, the Party is also actively striving to bring together a broad range of allies who look forward to a coalition government on a nationwide scale and who are at any rate contributing what they can to the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Despite enemy assaults, the workers' revolutionary movement and the cultural revolution continue to advance. The many democratic mass organizations,

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especially those in factories, schools, communities and offices, have gone underground. But they continue to conduct mass work and effective propaganda against the US-Marcos dictatorship. At the same time, so many mass activists who are in the blacklist of the enemy have been integrated into the New People's Army.

Party Members Are Drawn from the Ranks of the Revolutionary Masses

The Party continues to draw its members and candidate-members from the ranks of Red fighters and activists in the mass organizations and localities. The Party has a broad mass character. Its cadres and members are tested revolutionaries with the capability of leading large numbers of masses. Furthermore, the Central Committee has during the last two years been quite successful in deploying cadres to all major regions of the country and in creating provisional and duly elected regional committees which have in turn created Party branches and groups in units of the New People's Army, localities and mass organizations.

Largely due to its correct ideological and political line, the Party has been able to develop its present organizational strength. It has now a few thousands of Party members and candidate-members. But this number is still small in relation to the gigantic tasks at hand and ahead. Many functions are still crying for more revolutionary cadres. As a matter of fact, most members of the Central Committee are tied down to regional work. Because of the infancy of the Party, violations of democratic centralism and sectarianism do occur at certain levels and in certain areas. However, these mistakes are being vigorously counteracted by the Central Committee and the whole Party.

Since last year's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, efforts have been intensified to develop the revolutionary underground on an extensive scale. Thus, upon the imposition of martial rule, the Party has been able to avoid the crushing blows of the enemy. It now functions as the core of a much-expanded underground. However, there is a continuing need to develop the underground and the system of communications between the Party center and the regions and within the regions. The enemy is hell-bent on employing its superior system of communications to its advantage and to deliberately trying to cut off one area from another. So far, we have been able to counteract

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his tactics and circumvent or penetrate his blockades. We are also determined to disrupt his system of communications.

Every unit of the Party and also every unit under Party leadership should strive for self-reliance. Also, the style of hard struggle and simple living should characterize all Party cadres and members while they exert all efforts to improve the people's livelihood by carrying out the agrarian revolution, the workers' strike movement and other like struggles. The Party should see to it that the people's democratic government and the people's army are supported not only through contributions, taxes and confiscations but also through productive activities.

The Philippine Revolutionary Struggle Enjoys the Support of the World's Peoples

The revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is immensely supported by the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction, the victorious advance of the Indochinese people against US imperialism, the revolutionary struggles of all other Southeast Asian peoples and the revolutionary unity of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other peoples of Asia against US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

The revolutionary struggles of the Palestinian and Arab peoples against Israeli Zionism and the two superpowers; of the African peoples against colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination; of the Latin-American peoples against US imperialism; of the Eastern European peoples against Soviet social-imperialism; of middle-sized and small countries against big-power chauvinism and nuclear blackmail; and of all working people in capitalist countries also constitute powerful support to the Philippine revolution.

The revolutionary struggles and victories of the peoples of the world have drastically weakened the imperialist countries to the core and lessened the area for unhindered imperialist exploitation and oppression. US imperialism is increasingly finding itself hemmed in and in contradiction even with its own capitalist kindred, like Japan, Western Europe and the Soviet Union. Suffering serious setbacks all over the world, US imperialism is increasingly unable to cover up its deep-seated contradictions with the America proletariat and people.

The Party Enters its Fifth Year since Reestablishment

The revolutionary mass movement in the United States is steadily gaining ground.

Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over are increasing in number and raising their fighting prowess. They serve as the guarantee for the advance of the world proletarian revolution. They lead the peoples of various countries in a resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to lead the Philippine revolution from victory to victory. It is exerting all efforts to arouse and mobilize the Filipino people, achieve the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and its local running dogs and fulfil its share in the liberation of mankind from the scourge of imperialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Unite to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle!

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

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Statement of the CPP on the Latest Fascist Proclamations and the “Citizens’ Assemblies”

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, January 22, 1973.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, in representation of the true national and democratic interests of the broad masses of the Filipino people, condemns Proclamations No. 1102, No. 1103 and No. 1104 high-handedly issued by the fascist dictator Marcos last January 17, 1973 to a two-hour “congress” flaunting the signboard “Kapulungan ng mga Barangay.” These proclamations are a flimsy embellishment of the US imperialist-instigated rightist coup d’etat on September 21, 1972 and a travesty of the people’s sovereignty.

The Party likewise condemns the false basis on which these proclamations have been issued. The “citizens’ assemblies” or “barangays” that are claimed by the fascist dictatorship to have voted on questions pertinent to these proclamations from January 10 to 15, 1973 were imaginary in most parts of the country and rigged up in the few places where they were actually held. The “results of voting” cited by the fascist dictator are sheer fabrication.

Three More Fascist Proclamations

1. Proclamation No. 1102 announces the “ratification” of the Marcos constitution. While recognizing the difference between the “citizens’ assemblies” and the plebiscite demanded by the 1935 constitution, this proclamation arbitrarily and self-contradictorily considers or interprets the two as equivalent to each other, with one being able to replace the other.

By the twist of a phrase, the fascist dictator has taken it upon himself to “ratify” a constitution whose most decisive and most abhorrent articles and provisions (Article XIV and Article XVII) promote the interests of US imperialism and a particular pack of its running dogs headed by himself.

This constitution licenses Marcos alone to remain in power indefinitely and to wield absolute authority over the entire reactionary

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government. All the unjust proclamations, general orders, decrees and instructions, including those which are still to be made and of which the people cannot as yet be aware, are approved by this constitution (specifically by its Section 3, Article XVII).

Acting according to his own proclamation, Marcos pronounce to the “Kapulungan ng mga Barangay” the effectivity of the “new constitution” and consequently the non-effectivity of the 1935 constitution as of 12 o’clock noon of January 17, 1973. All officials and employees of the reactionary government are now supposed to be able to remain in office only with the indulgence of the fascist dictator, irrespective of their claims to elective or civil service status. Both houses of Congress have been dissolved automatically and the Supreme Court is bound to become even more subservient to him who has the power to replace the incumbent justices and put in five new appointees.

Marcos seeks to tack the label of “constitutional authoritarianism” on the fascist counterrevolution which he has launched. Whichever way the fascist dictatorship calls itself, it cannot hide its ugly malicious face. The fascist dictator has been able to abuse the 1935 constitution; and, it is now far easier for him to manipulate a constitution expressedly designed to allow the most wanton abuses against the people. But, let it be stated over and over that despotism gains no right to reign forever by simply waving a scrap of paper of its own making.

2. Proclamation No. 1103 declares that the “interim national assembly” provided for in Article XVII (Transitory Provisions) of the “new constitution” be not convened. This proclamation shows that the fascist dictator can manipulate at will any kind of constitution. While he claims that the “new constitution” has been “ratified,” he can whimsically decide to nullify any part of it which he thinks is liable to put his rule under question. By his twisted logic, the prior provision that the “interim national assembly” shall exist immediately upon the “ratification” of the “new constitution” (Section I, Article XVII). More precisely, he inverts a subsidiary provision to assail a prior provision. He is obviously afraid that in the “interim national assembly” there shall still be formidable groups and elements who shall stand up to expose and denounce his unjust rule though the “new constitution” clearly makes the “interim national assembly” nothing more than a rubber stamp for him.

It is starkly clear that the political upstarts and political has-beens in the 1971-1972 reactionary constitutional convention, who have

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obviously expected to share power and loot with the fascist dictator, do not count much in his despotic calculations. The fascist dictator himself has pretentiously pointed to the "interim national assembly" as the most objectionable part of the "new constitution" in an attempt to obscure the fact that what is most objectionable is the very essence of the "entire new constitution," which endorses a fascist dictatorship subservient to US imperialism.

The ambition of the fascist dictator is to remain in power indefinitely, at least seven years or even longer as indicated by the question raised before the "citizens' assemblies" regarding the suspension of the 1973 elections. He has the megalomaniac illusions of a Thieu, Pak, Suharto, Jiang and all the other despots for whom he has openly expressed admiration only lately after several years of masquerading as a "libertarian." The freezing of the "interim national assembly" is one more hedge of the fascist dictator against the lesser reactionaries of the moment.

Among the senators, congressmen, and constitutional convention delegates, who have hoped to be in the "interim national assembly," it should now be clear that the chicanery of Marcos can make comic victims of them only because he can flaunt the reactionary armed forces. The fascist counterrevolution is an armed undertaking by a few. It can be overthrown only through armed revolution by the masses.

3. Proclamation No. 1104 declares the continuation of martial law. This proclamation is superfluous to Proclamation No. 1102 and No. 1103 which in turn are superfluous to Proclamation No. 1081 but it is issued just the same by the fascist dictator obviously for the sake of emphasis. As early as January 7, 1973, the fascist dictator ordered the "restoration" of the full effects of martial law, after pretending to allow "free discussion and debate" in preparation for a "plebiscite." What Marcos seeks to emphasize is his determination to remain in power by sheer armed force. It is idle to ever hope that "normalcy" would return by submitting to his arbitrary act.

The "Citizens' Assemblies"—A Farce

The "citizens' assemblies" or "barangays" are a unilateral concoction of the fascist dictator, issuing decrees from above. These were "created" by Presidential Decree No. 86 dated December 31, 1972. The first public impression deliberately made about these by the Marcos

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press was that they were going to be an instrument for an “opinion survey,” not a “referendum” or “plebiscite” which the fascist dictator himself had explicitly announced would be either on February 19 or March 5, 1973. Questions from above were thrown to them through Presidential Decree No. 86-A dated January 5, 1973 (the first set of five questions) and then Presidential Decree No. 86-B dated January 7, 1973 (the second set of six questions).

The questions can be summed up in the following manner: Should not the “new constitution” be approved now, martial law continue, Congress be dissolved, the “interim national assembly” be not convened, and elections be postponed for seven years or more so that in effect the fascist dictator shall be the sole political entity who has a claim to being the first and final government authority for an indefinite period of time?

The governors, mayors, barrio captains and city ward leaders were under strict orders by the fascist dictatorship to go through the motions of holding meetings in a few places from January 10 to 15 and finally to submit on behalf of every barrio or the city district or ward within their jurisdiction a notarized “certificate of results,” falsely showing that an “assembly” had been held, attended by close to 100 percent of the people that are fifteen years and above and voting on every question in favor of the fascist dictatorship to the extent of 90 percent to 100 percent.

In most places in the country, there were actually no “citizens’ assemblies” held. In the few places where they were held, attendance was limited to a handful of persons as the masses knew that they would not be able to express their views, they would be interminably threatened and talked down to about the “new society” by the most reactionary political bosses and that their votes would not really be counted if these did not fit into the prefabricated “voting results.” The “citizens’ assemblies” were undeniably within the confines of a fascist fiat ordering the full enforcement of martial rule, and prohibiting the least shade of criticism against the fascist dictatorship.

The main issue that ran through all the questions thrown to the “citizens’ assemblies” is Marcos’ fascist usurpation of power in the service of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. Yet to discuss this anywhere was to be guilty of being “ad hominem” and “divisive” and, worse, of being “rumormonger,” subject to harsh punishment in line

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with the Marcos speech of January 7, 1973 and Presidential Decree No. 90 (which is specifically against "rumormongering").

Under the foregoing conditions, the "citizens' assemblies" were certainly in the iron vise of the fascist dictatorship. In addition, the "final tabulation" of the "certificate of results" was in the charge of Malacañang alone. On the basis of such a "tabulation" that was not subjected to public scrutiny or verification by reliable entities, Marcos hurriedly announced before the "Kapulungan ng mga Barangay" that 31,298 out of 35,000 estimated "citizens' assemblies" had been fully accounted for as early as midnight of January 16, 1973 and that they had voted to the extent of more than 95 percent in favor of the "new constitution" and all related wishes of the fascist dictatorship.

It is an incredible feat for the fascist dictatorship to have collected more than 30,000 "certificates of return" in the short span of six days (including the days that the "citizens' assemblies" were supposed to be still meeting) and in a country with an extremely poor road system, not to speak of the small isolated islands and wide areas where revolutionary warfare is going on. It is an even more incredible feat for the fascist dictatorship to have in so short a time tabulated and assessed these "certificates" which corresponded to widely varied questionnaires, ranging from eleven or twelve questions to twenty-nine questions as Marcos himself would acknowledge, and which supposedly also contained freely-worded opinions. The Marcos lie is too obvious.

Marcos claims that the country is in a "state of actual war" and that martial rule is necessary because the "normal processes" of the ruling system can no longer work. But in the same breath, he claims that "citizens' assemblies" of more than 15 million people have been peacefully held in all 35,000 barrios, city districts and wards of the country. All these inconsistencies lead to one consistent fact: that the fascist dictatorship will use lies, together with armed force, to perpetuate itself in power. After so many solid proofs of the chicanery and treachery of the fascist dictator, it is sheer foolishness for anyone to keep on hoping that "normalcy" would come through capitulation.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, leading the broad masses of the Philippines, is certain and unequivocal about its course of action against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Once more we call upon all those who have been ruthlessly victimized by the US-Marcos dictatorship to review our statement issued on October 1, 1972 for points of general

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and specific agreement and common action.² We entreat all political leaders who are truly concerned about the destiny of the nation and welfare of the people to join a national united front with the Party against the common enemy.

We consider our allies as most earnest in fighting for national freedom and democracy when they avail themselves of the following courses of action. One is extending direct, substantial and continuous support to the New People's Army or the revolutionary mass organizations. Another is forming and fielding in any province antifascist guerrilla units which are independent of but cooperative with the New People's Army. Still another is calling on friends and relatives in the reactionary armed forces to break away from the fascist dictatorship and join the revolutionary armed struggle. All these courses of action will lead to the breakup of the Marcos kingdom and further on to a democratic coalition government.

The broad masses of the Filipino people are more than ever eager to unite and overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship so that they will in the end enjoy national freedom and democracy. The emergence of full-fledged fascist dictatorship has served to hasten the armed revolution. Never has there been better conditions for the rapid advance of the Philippine revolution since the Japanese fascist occupation of the country. Since its reestablishment four years ago under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of the Philippines has assiduously prepared itself for this development.

January 10, 1973

Appendix

Editor's Note: Below is a verbatim copy of the mimeographed sheet handed by Marcos hatchetmen to barrio captains and "barangay leaders" as their guide for handling the six principal questions in the "citizens' assemblies."

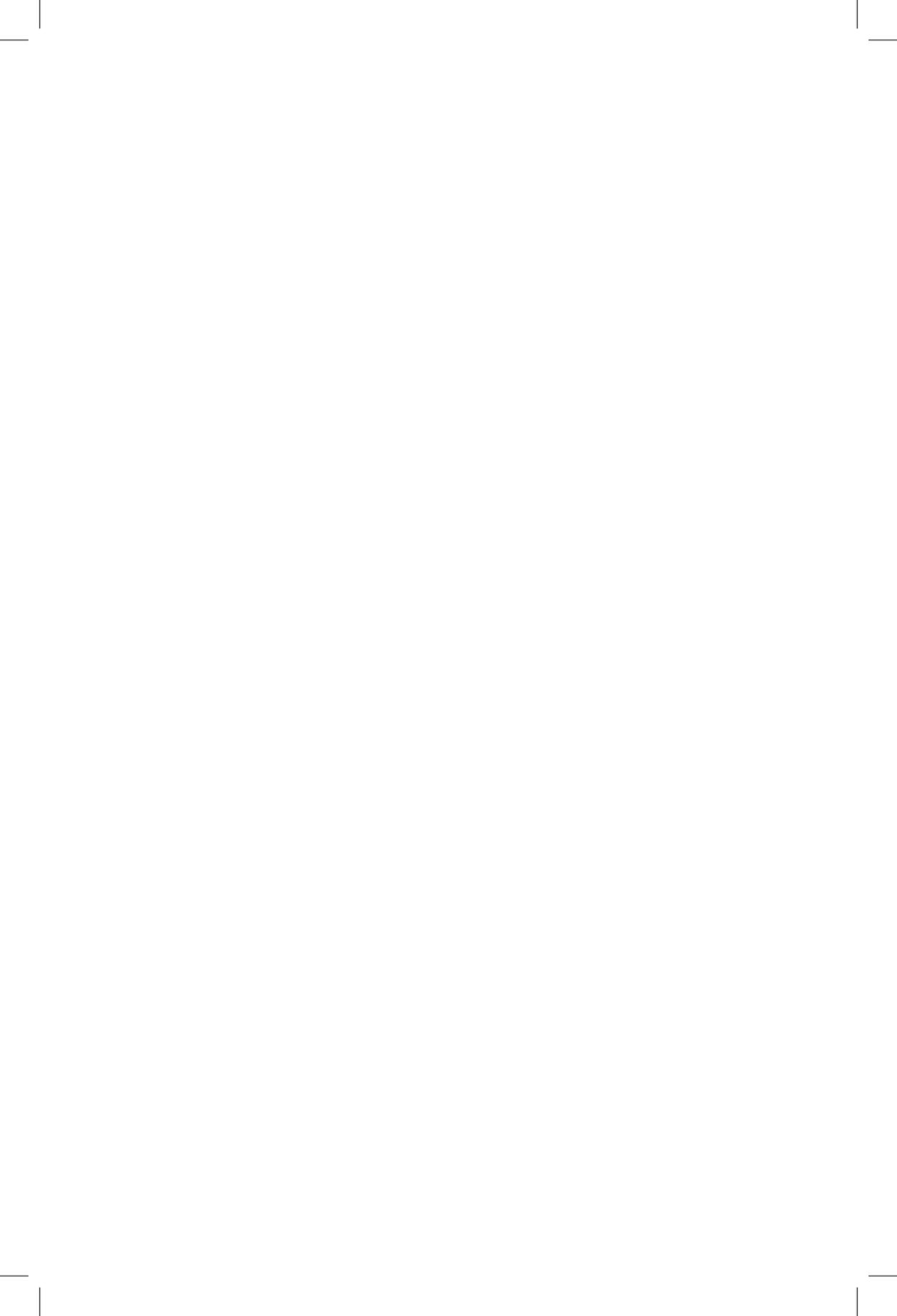
² See "Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship to Achieve National Freedom and Democracy," pages 5-43.-Editor

On the Latest Fascist Proclamations and the "Citizens' Assemblies"

For the Citizen's Assembly
QUESTIONNAIRE

- (1) **Question** - Do you approve of the Citizen's Assembly as the base of popular government to decide issues affecting our people?
Answer - Yes, in order to broaden the base of citizen's participation in Government.
- (2) **Question** - Do you approve of the New Constitution?
Answer - Yes, but we do not want the Ad Interim Assembly to be convoked. Or if it is to be convoked at all, it should not be done until after at least seven (7) years from the approval of the New Constitution by the Citizens' Assemblies.
- (3) **Question** - Do you want a plebiscite to be called to ratify the New Constitution?
Answer - No need. The vote of the Citizens' Assemblies should already be considered the plebiscite on the New Constitution. If the Citizen's Assemblies approve of the New Constitution, then the New Constitution should be deemed ratified.
- (4) **Question** - Do you want to hold elections in November 1973 as provided for under the 1935 Constitution?
Answer - No. We are sick and tired of too frequent elections. We are fed up with politics, of the many debates and so much expenses.
- (5) **Question** - If the election in 1973 will not be held, when do you want the next elections to be called?
Answer - Probably a period of at least seven (7) years moratorium on elections will be enough for stability to be established in the country, for reform to take root and normalcy to return.
- (6) **Question** - Do you want Martial Law to continue?
Answer - Yes. We want President Marcos to continue Martial Law. We want him to exercise his powers with more authority. We want him to be string and firm so that we can accomplish all his reform programs and establish normalcy in the country. If all other measures fail, we want along lines of the New Constitution without the Ad Interim Assembly.

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The 'New Society' Is in Peril—Marcos

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, January 22, 1973.

The fascist dictator Marcos himself in his speech on January 7, 1973, summing up 100 days of the US-Marcos dictatorship and martial rule, has acknowledged that his “new society” is in peril.

Indeed, the US-Marcos dictatorship has served only to hasten the revolutionary flow. The broad masses of the people have come to understand more than ever the necessity of armed revolution and have rallied more than ever to the cause of the national democratic revolution since the Marcos rightist coup on September 21, 1972.

Contrary to the flamboyant lies of the Marcos propagandists, the people clearly see the old evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continuing to afflict Philippine society in an ever more rapacious way. The criminal abuses and demagoguery of the fascist dictatorship have engendered powerful resistance.

The flames of revolutionary armed struggle are raging in the north, south and in between. Party cadres are spreading out and guerrilla units are springing up all over the countryside. The enemy has suffered unprecedentedly heavy losses in men and equipment in the hands of the New People's Army in Luzon, especially in Cagayan Valley, and also in the hands of the national minorities in Mindanao. Armed struggle is at their most intense in the provinces of Isabela, Quirino, Nueva Vizcaya, Cagayan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Quezon, Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Cotabato, Lanao, Zamboanga, Sulu and Basilan.

With more and more of its troops having to be deployed in the provinces, the fascist dictatorship is becoming panicky lest the armed city partisans launch sudden punitive operations in the Manila-Rizal region. Even without these special operations happening yet to a significant extent, the enemy is terribly afraid of resistance propaganda and the vocal antifascist denunciations by the people in the urban areas.

In the malevolent spirit of reprisal, the fascist dictator has announced once more that the full force of martial law is to be applied, ending a brief pretense about “free discussion and debate” on the Marcos constitution. He has become so terrified by the mere rustling of leaves in the winds and so haunted by his own shadow that he has

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issued Presidential Decree No. 90 raising “rumormongering” to the level of a major political crime.

At a time of unbridled white terror, “citizens’ assemblies” have been created mostly on paper by Presidential Decree No. 86 in order to give imaginary support to “tabulations of votes” prefabricated in Malacañang. These are calculated to “ratify” the “new constitution”; and endorse the continued reign of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, along with Marcos’ autocratic ambition to stay in power for seven years or more.

The 100-day record of the fascist dictatorship shows that its “new society” is the old society gone ever more tyrannical, corrupt, bankrupt and deceptive. It is relevant to review the “seven areas of priority” of the fascist dictatorship.

1. On “Peace and Order”

The fascist dictatorship, an offspring of the “Nixon Doctrine,” has been the biggest political crime in the country and has wrought havoc on the lives of the Filipino people. It has come into existence through such brutal measures as the terroristic bombings, kidnappings, mass arrests, mass detention, zoning, forced fake surrenders, mass evacuations, massacres, abusive checkpoints and torture and harassment of people who resist or who are most likely to resist it by word or by deed. These are by no means the manifestations of the “humane and forgiving” character of “martial law Philippine style.” These are the standard tricks of fascist dictatorship.

Martial rule has spawned the most scandalous crimes for the purpose of keeping the fascist dictator in power and for enlarging his personal wealth. For instance, the press monopoly gained by Marcos through the closure at gunpoint of the mass media not owned by him is an unmitigated form of robbery. The fascist military has in this manner expanded his capital assets in a wide range of businesses. Taking the cue from their own masters, officers and men of the reactionary armed forces have taken advantage of martial rule to commit the most wanton crimes, including blackmail and extortion, robbery, murder, torture, rape and bribe-taking in connection with military clearances.

Crimes will keep on arising with ever greater virulence in a semicolonial and semifeudal society like that of the Philippines. As a matter of fact, fascist dictatorship is the most imposing of these

crimes. The “peace and order” situation now is far worse than before. Multifarious crimes are being committed by the fascist officials in the reactionary government and the people are in so many ways constrained from complaining openly against them. The victims are always liable to be denounced as “rumormongers.”

Under the present conditions, the people have no alternative but to join the resistance movement. Thus, the revolutionary armed struggle has spread and intensified throughout the archipelago. In his attempt to monopolize power, the fascist dictator has aggravated violent contradictions even within the ranks of the reactionaries. His rivals for political power within the ruling system have barely started to move against him in the most efficacious manner, such as developing rebel groups within the reactionary armed forces, fielding their own guerrilla units and drawing away local governments from the fascist dictatorship.

It is not true that private armies and crime syndicates have been broken up and that the unregistered firearms of both Marcos' friends and enemies have been surrendered. The yearend claim of the Philippine Constabulary that it has collected 482,284 firearms (sometimes claimed to be more than 700,000) and 1,300,000 rounds of ammunition is evidently a careless lie when it is considered that every gun supposedly surrendered had only two to three bullets. Most of the firearms actually collected are registered ones of anti-Marcos corporations and individuals and stocks of commercial gun stores. However, even the homemade shotguns of the people in frontier areas have been confiscated, thus they have been deprived of the means to hunt and to ward off cattle rustlers and other bad elements. Anticipating the growth of armed resistance, the fascist dictatorship intends to use the arms collected to attack the people further.

2. On Land Reform

The “land reform program” of the fascist dictatorship is nothing more than a scheme to make fun of the tenant masses with the silly offer that they can own a piece of land if they pay for it at a price higher than its “current fair market value.” As dictated by Presidential Decree No. 27, this price is easily three times higher than the “current fair market value” of land. Poor and lower-middle peasants simply cannot save even one of fifteen yearly installments on the price. Even upper-middle peasants cannot be certain of keeping up with the yearly payments.

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It is the obsession of the big landlord Marcos to protect the landlord class and to suppress the landless tillers who rise up to acquire their share of land free through the agrarian revolution. That is why the reactionary armed forces are deployed and concentrated in areas where the New People's Army has taken roots among the peasant masses. The fascist dictatorship is extremely afraid of the Party's Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform which is now leading the way for the oppressed tillers to acquire their share of land rent.

Wherever the peasant masses have not yet stirred, the fascist dictatorship does not even pretend to be concerned one way or the other about land reform. There they are left to continue suffering in the hands of the landlords, the landgrabbers, the merchant-usurers, the fake cooperatives, the bureaucrat-controlled farmers' associations and the bandits. Where there is already the Party and the New People's Army and the peasant masses have begun to stir, the fascist dictatorship unleashes its armed might against them, protects the landlord class and then cooks up a scheme to offer land for sale or puts up fake cooperatives that are under big landlord or big bureaucrat control.

3. On Economic Development

What economic development means to the fascist puppet dictatorship is the unbridled exploitation of the Filipino people by US imperialism is assured of retaining and enlarging its \$2.0 billion to \$3.0 billion assets in the country. The Marcos constitution approves its continued enjoyment of "parity rights," privilege of non-expropriation, unlimited profit remittances, tax exemptions, priorities and other old and new special privileges. The Philippines will continue to be a dumping ground of manufactures, a source of cheap raw materials and a field of investment for US imperialism, together with Japanese capitalism.

The reactionary government will continue to beg for onerous foreign loans and to raise taxes only to build the "infrastructures" essentially for foreign investors, the big compradors and the big landlords. At the moment, the foreign debt of the Philippines has reached the level of \$2.4 billion. The internal public debt has surpassed the level of ₱8.0 billion. Under the policy of continuous devaluation or "floating rate," the peso has sunk to the level that one US dollar is equivalent to ₱7.40. On the eve of martial rule, one US dollar was equivalent to ₱6.80.

The economy has become utterly bankrupt. The imperialists remit superprofits without let-up and at an accelerated rate. Only the big compradors, big landlords and big bureaucrats are getting some share of the imperialist loot. Prices keep on rising at an unprecedented rate and causing untold suffering on the broad masses of the people. The income of the toiling masses is daily pressed down to lower and lower levels while the Marcos fascist gang becomes filthy rich in payment for its unmitigated subservience to foreign monopolies.

Unemployment remains unchecked. Those who are employed daily face the specter of mass layoffs and worsening wage conditions. Martial rule has deprived them of the most basic trade union rights. According to watered-down statistics of the Department of Labor, the fascist dictatorship has so far directly caused the disemployment of some 200,000 people in the government and outside. The fascist dictatorship prates about “manpower training centers” but there are no job opportunities. While he gets huge kickbacks from foreign contractors, he goes as far as to offer now the scheme of employing corvee labor and prison labor to push further his program of building “infrastructures” for his foreign and feudal masters.

4. On the Development of Moral Values

The fascist dictator shamelessly puts himself up as a model of virtue, a righteous crusader, high above his corrupt and bumbling ilk. In fact, he stands unparalleled as the most vicious and greedy of the reactionary politicians that has ever surfaced in the present puppet republic. He is the biggest representative of what he himself calls the “sick society.” Unbridled brutality, corruption and mendacity unsurpassed by previous puppet regimes are the hallmark of his regime.

Massacres, assassinations, kidnappings and terror bombings have been masterminded by Marcos himself in his mad ambition to put up the fascist dictatorship. Through graft and corruption on a colossal scale, this oligarch has amassed wealth that may now exceed the holdings of the traditional big comprador families. As for his mendacity, there is no need to elaborate on it as one has only to go over his proclamations, general orders, decrees, instructions, and acts. The fascist press daily churns out the most obvious lies that incense the people.

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The Marcos-owned press (the *Daily Express*, Kanlaon Broadcasting System, Radio Philippines Network, *Expressweek*, *Focus* and other operating media also under the names of Marcos dummies) constitutes in itself the expose of the most wanton kind of perversion. Its booming business to the tune of hundreds of millions of pesos, at the expense of those mass media closed by martial rule, is tantamount to large-scale robbery. This signifies that the fascist dictator is interested not only in protecting but also in expanding even more rapidly through martial rule the wide range of property holdings he has amassed in seven years of unbridled graft and corruption.

The repetitious call to “discipline” that the fascist regime makes is nothing but a hypocritical call to submission to the worst evils that have afflicted Philippine society. A government of threats and reprisals for the benefit of US imperialism and the exploiting classes is being run by the fascist dictator. This will in the end be overthrown by the people. The revolutionary movement shall cleanse the country of all the filth and disease spawned by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

5. On Government Reorganization

It is not really to purge the reactionary government of the “corrupt, incompetent and ignorant” that a “government reorganization” is being conducted by the fascist dictatorship. It is being conducted with the main purpose of removing all possible objectors to the Marcos dictatorship within the ranks of civilian officials and employees, saving funds for increasing the troops and equipment of the reactionary armed forces and increasing the scope of direct administration by the fascist military.

The fascist dictatorship is bent on effecting mass layoffs. So far, 140,000 government employees have been laid off with the stigma of being called “misfits” and certainly with no guarantee of being employed elsewhere. Within the executive branch, it is not only those in appointive positions who face the daily threat of dismissal but also those in elective positions. The fascist dictatorship has a plan to pursue the logic of detaining some local elective officials to replacing them and many more with military officers and others who are considered more loyal to the fascist dictator. It maintains as the first principle that

the fascist military, an antediluvian oaf, is the prime agent of “modernization” and “government efficiency.”

The abolition of Congress and nonconvocation of the “interim national assembly” are now held necessary by the fascist dictatorship ostensibly to make government “less expensive” and “less divided.” As a result of these, tens of thousands of employees in the legislative branch will be thrown out of jobs. With regard to the judicial branch, the fascist dictator seems satisfied that the “new constitution” allows him to control it completely, from the Supreme Court down, and so he seems to relent in thoroughly implementing his previous orders threatening to replace all civilian courts with military courts.

6. On Educational Reforms

The basic principle in the “educational reforms” of the fascist dictatorship is the serviceability of the cream of the youth to the interests of the US monopolies and the big comprador firms. Thus, the recommendations of the “Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education,” a body masterminded and financed by the World Bank and the Ford Foundation, are going to be implemented. The educational system will be increasingly tied down to projects requiring foreign loans from such US imperialist agencies as the World Bank and the International Development Association. Faculty and student training as well as the curricula and study materials shall be more thoroughly suited to the ideological and political dictates of US imperialism.

In schools all over the country, the ideas of national freedom and democracy are under strict censorship while the bankrupt ideas of puppet fascism and anticommunism are being stressed officially. The fascist dictatorship is doing everything it can to smash faculty unions and students associations that fight for their political as well as economic rights. Many of the political detainees are teachers, researchers and students; many others have to go underground to avoid incarceration. At the moment, the University of the Philippines and many schools all over the country are virtually concentration camps, sealed by military checkpoints and with enemy agents spying on teacher and student activities. Right on campuses are military offices where the fascist goons detain, interrogate and beat up teachers and students on mere suspicion of “rumormongering.”

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7. On Social Services

A bankrupt regime that puts the utmost value on the fascist military cannot be concerned with using limited resources for social services. It is in a vicious circle of its own making. As it assaults the people and compels them to wage resistance, the fascist dictatorship has to go on wasting its resources on troops, material and military operations.

During the July-August floods, only trickles of relief goods reached a few of the millions of victims. Most of the relief goods fell into the hands of officers and men of the reactionary armed forces for the use of their own families and for blackmarketing purposes. In Mindanao and the Cagayan Valley, in line with the proclamation of martial law, hundreds of thousands of people have been forced by the reactionary government to evacuate to the towns but they have not been provided with any kind of relief. They have had to sell their personal belongings, including their work animals, just to be able to eat and furthermore they have had to submit themselves to extortions by the fascist troops.

All over the country, unlicensed peddlers are being forced to give up their trade without any other alternative as a means of livelihood. In urban areas, the slum dwellers are also being forced out of their shanties and out of their means of livelihood nearby. Yet these urban poor are not adequately provided with resettlement areas, relief and alternative jobs. The fascist dictatorship is creating every condition for starving the people.

Those who are employed see that the GSIS and SSS are bereft of funds for their own benefit. The savings of the workingmen have gone mostly to corporations owned by Marcos and his cronies. There can be nothing much more to expect from ill-funded relief agencies, which are also the milking cows of the bureaucrat capitalists.

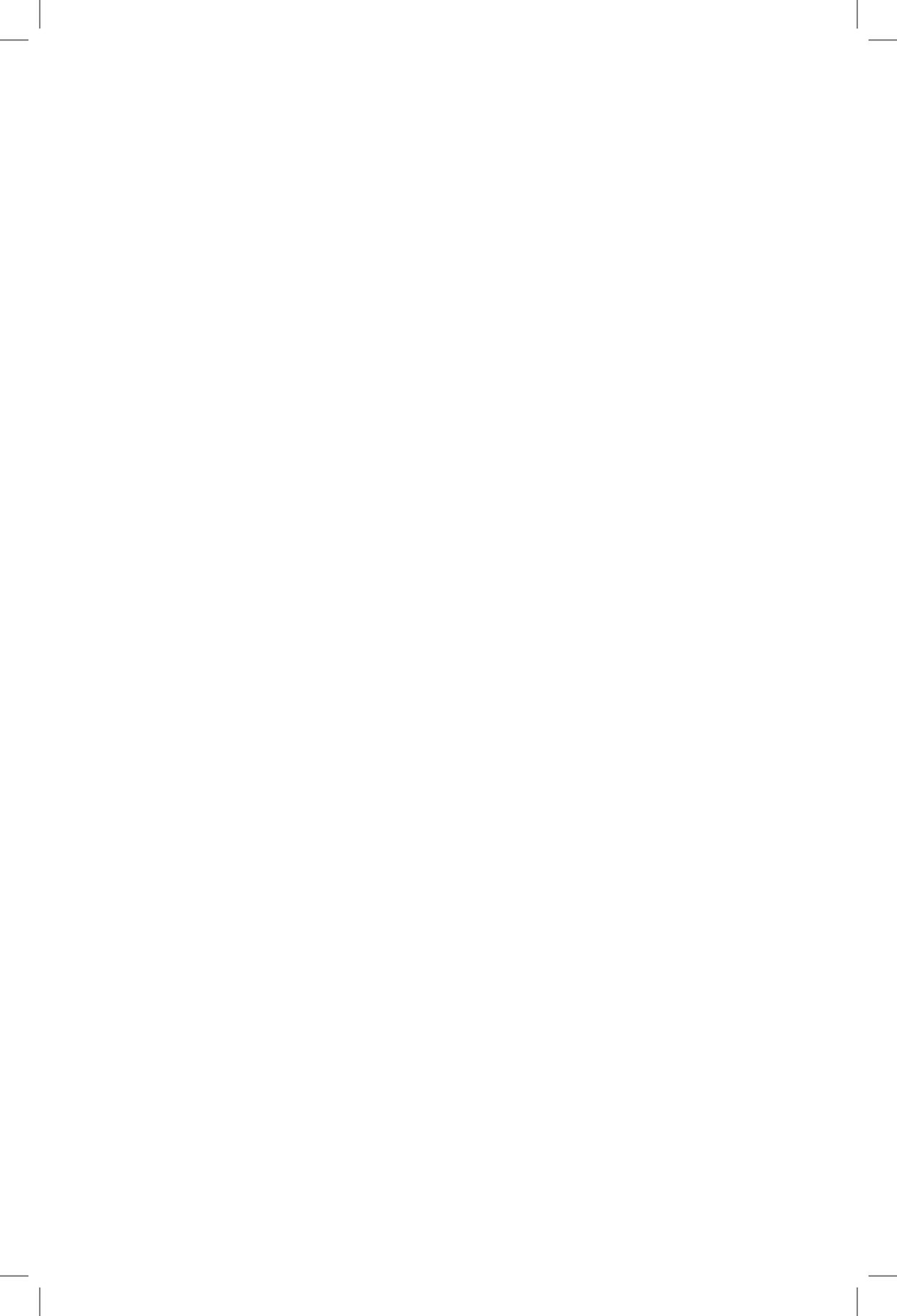
In the light of the preceding statement of facts, the fascist dictatorship's speech of January 7, 1973 is a pack of lies. The US-Marcos dictatorship is in peril precisely because of its evil anti-national and antidemocratic nature. Its downfall is a foregone conclusion.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the broad masses of the Filipino people are rallying to the great red banner of the people's democratic revolution with ever greater vigor and courage. The day is not far off that the US-Marcos dictatorship shall be cast away into the dustbin of history. The New People's Army under the leadership of the Party is daily marching forward in a protracted

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people's war that aims to rid the country of the scourge of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The US-Marcos dictatorship is nothing but a passing phase in the downward course of these evils.

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Statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the Agreement Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release No. 2, January 28, 1973.

We welcome the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam signed by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the United States and the Saigon puppet government on January 27, 1973 in Paris.

This agreement constitutes a great victory of the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation and national salvation against US aggression. It reflects the futility of US intervention and aggression in Vietnam as well as reaffirms the 1954 Geneva Agreement so callously sabotaged by US imperialism.

By virtue of their resolute revolutionary struggle, the Vietnamese people have effectively and victoriously asserted their right to self-determination. They have waged the most heroic battles and made the most astounding sacrifices in fighting for their noble cause of liberation the south, defending the north and reunifying their great Fatherland.

The inevitable result is that US imperialism is now obliged to cease its aggressive actions against south and north Vietnam immediately, withdraw its aggressor troops and dismantle its military bases within sixty days, and perform other acts necessary for paving the way to genuine peace in Vietnam and the whole of Indochina.

Moreover, US imperialism is now obliged to recognize the sacred aspiration of the Vietnamese people to reunify their great Fatherland. In this regard, it recognizes the temporary character of the demarcation line at the 17th parallel and the existence within south Vietnam of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces.

Henceforth, the people of south Vietnam as well as the entire people of Vietnam should be truly left alone by US imperialism to settle their own problems. The formation of the National Council for National

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Reconciliation and Concord is an appropriate initial step for the people of south Vietnam to settle their own problems.

However, there should be utmost vigilance regarding the negative attitude openly shown by the Saigon puppet government towards the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. This party to the agreement maintains a counterrevolutionary intransigence based on the scheme of US imperialism to continue supplying it with "unlimited economic aid" and "military equipment replacement."

So long as US imperialism maintains military bases and troops anywhere in Indochina and in neighboring countries, like the Philippines, Thailand and other Asian countries, it is necessary for the Vietnamese people to be always alert to its capacity and proclivity for making trouble and disrupting world peace.

In the light of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have entered a new stage in their just revolutionary struggle. In this regard, they are assured of the unceasing and unwavering revolutionary support of the anti-imperialist peoples of the world, including the American people.

The revolutionary armed struggle of the Vietnamese people stands as the most brilliant of its kind in recent history. It has profoundly weakened the most virulent scourge of the world, that is US imperialism, and has resoundingly demonstrated to the world that the people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country.

The Filipino people are inspired by the heroic example of their brother Vietnamese people. This brilliant inspiration is of acute significance to us in the face of the emergence in the Philippines of a fascist dictatorship that is shamelessly in the service of the world's common enemy, US imperialism.

Long live the Vietnamese revolution!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live the unbreakable unity of the Filipino people and the Vietnamese people!

★ ★ ★

Fourth Anniversary Statement of the New People's Army

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, March 29, 1973.

The New People's Army celebrates today with boundless joy its fourth anniversary since its establishment by the Communist Party of the Philippines under the powerful illumination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Through the last four years, this army under the absolute leadership of the Party has valiantly and victoriously fought for the national and democratic interests of the Filipino people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It has brilliantly proven itself to be the authentic, enduring and mighty sword of the people in a protracted people's war against foreign and feudal domination.

In desperate straits, US imperialism and the local diehard reactionaries headed by the puppet chieftain Marcos have shamelessly imposed barefaced fascist dictatorship on the broad masses of the people. This fascist puppet dictatorship has more than ever made the situation excellent for armed revolution, giving rise to a new and higher level of the long-drawn revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. The national united front has greatly broadened and has become ever more firmly anchored on the necessity of armed struggle. The reactionaries themselves are at violent loggerheads and even the most backward sections of the population are roused to the spectacle of the ruling clique tearing to shreds every semblance of bourgeois democratic process. The ruling system has hopelessly cracked up from top to bottom. No amount of cloaking it as a "new society" will conceal its bankrupt and decadent condition; it is unmitigatedly the old society becoming ever more oppressive and exploitative.

Events since Proclamation No. 1081, underscored by the ramming through of the Marcos-written constitution, have more than ever made impertinent clowns out of the revisionist renegades and their likes and have more than ever convinced the broad masses of the people that only armed revolution can defeat armed counterrevolution. It is beyond doubt that the New People's Army, an army tempered through persistent revolutionary struggle, is today the most reliable armed force in the service of the broad masses of the people. The fascist puppet

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dictator Marcos himself has begrudgingly admitted that his military task force and his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus have not sufficed to quell the New People's Army. But neither will martial rule and fascist dictatorship stop the raging tide of the revolution. Terror and more terror launched by the enemy can only serve to engender resistance and more resistance by the people.

The Increasing Strength and Victories of the New People's Army

Since March 29, 1969, the New People's Army has increased its regular fighting units 14-fold from a few guerrilla squads reorganized from the old people's army. There has been a sharp increase of full-time squads by 75 percent from last year to the present. Regular formations now range in size from company to squad and are fully equipped with modern automatic rifles like M-16s, M-14s, M-2s, BARs, M-79s and a few cal. 0.30 machineguns and rocket launchers. In eight provinces, most regular squads can easily be concentrated for platoon-size operations. In four of the eight provinces, all platoons can be easily concentrated for company-size operations. In two provinces, the New People's Army can launch even battalion-size operations, especially in coordination with local guerrilla units armed with single-shot rifles: shotguns, springfields, garands and carbines.

NPA areas of operation have increased from four provinces in 1969 to thirty-four provinces at present. Since last year, there has been a sharp increase in the areas of operation from 18 to 34 provinces. It is highly significant that 11 of the 16 provinces newly added to the NPA areas of operation are in Mindanao. In all provinces where the people's army can be said to operate, there is at least one full-time regular squad creating and linking together local guerrilla units and militia units. Whereas local guerrilla units are armed mostly with single-shot rifles, the more numerous militia units are armed mostly with homemade handguns, knives, spears, bows and arrows and other indigenous weapons. At present, the New People's Army is developing the explosives movement as a mass movement in the rural areas. In due time, the production and employment of land mines and grenades will become widespread and make the local guerrilla and militia units a more powerful support for regular units of the people's army.

The New People's Army has raised high the banner of armed resistance in the face of the Marcos rightist coup. According to a compilation

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of partial reports, 629 enemy troops and some 400 informers, local tyrants and bad elements have been wiped out since last year. Close to 80 percent of enemy troop casualties were wiped out after the declaration of martial law as the enemy armed forces tried to strike deep into guerrilla base areas. During the first half of 1972, the New People's Army had stressed political-military training and consolidation work among the barrio people, especially in northern Luzon and Central Luzon. At any rate, the number of enemy troops annihilated during the past year compares very well with the three preceding years, the entire duration of which was marked by the annihilation of some 800 enemy troops (exclusive of 900 informers, local tyrants and bad elements) or an annual average of 266 enemy troops. One more strikingly new development in NPA military operations against enemy troops is the capture of a considerable number of arms and ammunition.

The New People's Army in northern Luzon accounted for some 60 percent of enemy troops wiped out. From June to December 1972, the hilly and heavily wooded barrios of at least 12 towns of Isabela, five towns of Nueva Vizcaya, three towns of Quirino, three towns of Cagayan, along the Sierra Madre and the mountainous barrios of three towns of Ifugao and two towns of Bontoc on the Cordillera became the graveyard of enemy troops. The most shattering defeat suffered by the enemy was the nearly total extermination of the 5th Infantry Battalion in San Mariano, Isabel in November 1972 where about 200 enemy troops were killed and wounded by the truckloads in a series of skilfully executed ambushes and counterencirclements by NPA platoon and company-size units.

Also within November 1972, several enemy platoons were wiped out one by one in the town of San Guillermo, Echague and Tumauni in Isabela; and Diffun and Maddela in Quirino. Prior to these, in June and July of the same year, whole enemy platoons were wiped out in two separate ambushes in Barrio Bannawag and Barrio Bacolod of San Guillermo and Cauayan, Isabela, respectively. No less brilliant than the successful ambushes that resulted in the death of enemy troops, the capture of a relatively large amount of rifles and ammunition and the destruction of several enemy trucks, jeeps and communications equipment was the disarming of the 23-man PC-BSDU unit of Dipacamo, San Guillermo, Isabela on November 20, 1972 without a single shot being fired. A platoon of the people's army in disguise was able to enter the enemy camp in order to accomplish its objective.

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The enemy personnel were disarmed but were not harmed. The Red fighters explained to them the hateful character of the fascist dictatorship in the service of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

Two unprecedentedly large campaigns of “encirclement and suppression” have been launched by the enemy in the Cagayan Valley. The first campaign was launched by Task Force “Saranay” during the months of March to July involving some 3,000 troops. This “summer offensive” of the enemy forces could not even locate the main forces of the New People’s Army and small enemy units were repeatedly struck when they least expected a blow. The second campaign was launched jointly by Task Force “Saranay” and the newly formed Task Force “Palanan” (composed of the First Infantry or “Tabak” Division) under an overall Northeast Command starting July. At peak strength from September to December, the number of enemy troops involved in operations reached some 10,000. In September, the commander of Task Force “Saranay” boasted to foreign newsmen that he would clear the Cagayan Valley of the New People’s Army in sixty days. After those sixty days, he had lost several captains and lieutenants in the battlefield and he himself was on the way to being booted out of his command. The New People’s Army was able to defeat the enemy forces, despite their superior number and equipment, by striking at their weakest spots and going through their wide gaps.

The area for the annihilation and disarming of single enemy troops and squads by NPA regular squads and platoons as well as by local guerrilla units and militia units has been greatly widened not only in Northern Luzon, particularly Cagayan Valley and the mountain provinces, but also elsewhere in Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. Outside Northern Luzon, the Red fighters of Central Luzon and Southern Luzon, particularly the Bicol region, were responsible for wiping out the biggest number of enemy troops, informers, local tyrants and bad elements. NPA armed propaganda units and guerrilla squads are beginning to sprout in Eastern Visayas and Western Visayas and are moving in a manner commensurate to their strength. It is in Mindanao where these recently emerged units and squads are rapidly gathering strength from the ranks of settlers and national minorities and coordinating well with large armed groups that have had prior existence under non-Party leadership.

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In Central Luzon, the New People's Army wiped out during the last year some 188 enemy troops, local tyrants, informers and other bad elements. In addition, it killed three US security officers, thus placing at twenty-five the total number of US military personnel killed by the New People's Army during the last four years. This is a fair warning to the US imperialists who have not remained satisfied with giving enormous military supplies and military advice to their puppet troops. In Northern Luzon, there has been a US communications platoon in the field since last year. In Central Luzon, an entire US company has been deployed for "civic action" at Botolan, Zambales.

The striking capability of the New People's Army outside of Northern Luzon is well demonstrated by the annihilation of the Pampanga PC provincial commander, together with 38 enemy troops at Porac, Pampanga only this month and likewise the annihilation of the Camarines Sur assistant provincial commander, together with nine enemy troops last January. At the Porac encounter, the helicopter used by the enemy was destroyed, thus increasing to seven the number of enemy aircraft destroyed or seriously damaged by the people's army since 1970. At the Iriga encounter, an enemy jeep was destroyed.

In the attempt to prevent the growth of the New People's Army, the reactionary government continues to put up the "barrio self-defense units"—the Philippine equivalent of the "strategic hamlets" in south Vietnam. The New People's Army regards these as no better than the dispersal of enemy strength to which it has a flexible policy. It either encircles and forces them to surrender, smashes those that are recalcitrant, gives the signal to those who wish to join an NPA unit and who punish individual criminals or lets them continue as means for knowing the movements of the enemy. At any rate, the New People's Army in both Northern Luzon and Central Luzon has caused the dissolution of scores of BSDUs and effected the turnover of enemy weapons, often without firing a single shot.

The Political Work of the New People's Army

Under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, the New People's Army has carried out extensive political work and has, therefore, laid the ground work for the intensification of revolutionary armed struggle. It has correctly put stress on mass work in the countryside. The key points in mass work are carrying out the agrarian revolution

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and base building. The peasant masses have been aroused and mobilized to support the New People's Army in significantly large areas of the country. This army now never runs short of heroic men and women willing to bear arms. At the same time, people in large numbers are well-organized under local organs of political power and mass organizations.

The New People's Army is determinedly carrying out a comprehensive program of land reform. The minimum goal of this program is the reduction of land rent and interest rates. The maximum goal is the confiscation of landlord property. These goals are achieved step by step in the different regions where units of the New People's Army operate. The Party has given greater clarity to land reform work upon its formulation and issuance of the Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform. Thus, the agrarian revolution is now moving forward more firmly than before.

Several hundreds of barrios and several hundreds of thousands of people are now directly led by temporary as well as by stable local organs of political power established mainly by the New People's Army. In the guerrilla zones are the barrio organizing committees. In the guerrilla base areas are the barrio revolutionary committees. Both these instruments of people's government are supported by the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, cultural activists, children and others. With the militant support of the masses, the local organs of political power perform such wide-ranging functions as those involving organization, economy, defense, education and health. Again the Party has given greater clarity to the task of building the local organs of political power upon its formulation and issuance of the Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government.

On the basis of its militant political work, the New People's Army can move forward in the military field. The well consolidated guerrilla base areas are the reliable starting point for the expansion and intensification of the revolutionary armed struggle on a nationwide scale. Thus, the US-Marcos dictatorship is extremely afraid of these. Even while anticipating the emergence of guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in many areas, it resorts to the most abhorrent tactics of terror and deception. As a result, the ground for armed revolution throughout the country has become fertile.

The fascist dictatorship's policy of terror takes the most vicious forms. In extensive parts of the Cagayan Valley, Central Luzon, Bicol

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and Mindanao, it has repeatedly forced the inhabitants of mountainous or hilly areas running into several hundreds of thousands to leave their homes and unharvested crops for as long as two to five months in the vile effort to make "free-fire zones." Those who refuse to evacuate are subject to massacre and indiscriminate bombings. At the evacuation centers, however, no relief is provided to the evacuees who are instead subjected to various forms of blackmail and extortion by the fascist troops. Just to have their meals, evacuees are forced to sell their meagre personal possessions and even their work animals. Learning from the abuses of the fascist dictatorship, the people have become more resolute in disobeying and opposing its orders.

The enemy is acting so blindly and wildly that in areas where there are units of the New People's Army or even where there are none it has the style of hauling the personnel of the "barrio councils" and the common barrio people to military camps, accusing them summarily of supporting the New People's Army and then picturing them in the Marcos press as "surrenderdees." In rural areas as well as in urban areas, it is the wont of fascist troops to falsely accuse people of being "subversives" and then forcing them to pay cash and valuables under pain of indefinite detention at military stockades. Zoning and checkpoints always result in wholesale looting and extortion as well as humiliation, torture and rape by the assigned units of the reactionary armed forces.

No one in the countryside is being deceived by the "land transfer" hoax being played by the Marcos press monopoly. In certain limited areas, "land transfer certificates" are being distributed by agents of the reactionary government. But the peasants know very well that these are nothing but filthy scraps of paper which merely state that, if they want to own land, they must pay an exorbitant price for the landlord's land, which is a number of times higher than the going price of land and which they can never afford. These scraps of paper merely serve to underscore the fact that through the agrarian revolution the large masses of landless tillers can have their land free without paying a single centavo. The foul intent of enemy "civic action" is also obvious to the masses; it is nothing more than a "psy-war" and spy operations against them.

In urban areas, wholesale arrest and indefinite detention are the fate of those who utter even the least criticism of Marcos. The fascist authorities themselves have acknowledged the fact that before the end

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of 1972 they had already arrested and detained in military stockades close to 10,000 people. Arbitrary arrests, zoning and barging under various pretexts into homes, offices and even places of religious worship are daily occurrences. Among the people who have been arrested and detained without any formal charges at all are workers, political leaders, leaders of mass organizations, journalists, teachers, various professionals, religious leaders and so many others who are merely suspected of opposing the fascist dictatorship. The most basic of democratic rights are ruthlessly trampled upon. The attempt of the fascist dictatorship to trammel civil liberties is so gross that heavy penalties have been decreed even for private conversations critical of the tyranny; for non-registration of mimeographing machines; and for holding any meeting where the people can make peaceful petition concerning wages, prices and other matters touching on their daily lives.

All the intimidation and terror unleashed by the fascist dictatorship are calculated to serve the vilest interests and privileges of US imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Under the fraudulent Marcos constitution, US imperialism can preserve and expand all the interests and privileges it has gained under "parity rights" under the 1935 constitution. The big compradors and big landlords also maintain their class privilege of playing assistants to the imperialists and exploiting the people. Among the local reactionaries, however, it is the Marcos fascist puppet clique that is most benefitted by the "new society," which is the new reign of greed and terror.

Aside from now monopolizing graft and corruption in the reactionary government, the Marcos reactionary clique is wantonly using brute force and blackmail in taking over for its private gain industrial and commercial enterprises, landholdings and lines of business from other local reactionaries as well as from the national bourgeoisie. At the same time, the principal dogs in the clique are making huge deposits in foreign banks in anticipation of their own deposition within the country. It is after these vile masters that the lesser fascists are taking at every level of the present social order. For instance, there is now thriving blackmarket in licenses, clearances and curfew passes administered by lesser fascist officials.

The economic crisis of the ruling system is severe. The US and Japanese monopoly capitalists are passing on to the colonies and semicolonies, especially the Philippines, the crisis of the world capitalist system. These imperialist vultures keep on increasing

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their superprofits from their direct investment loans, low-price purchase of raw materials and high-price sale of their products. The big compradors and big landlords are making sure that while they share in the profits with their foreign masters it must be the toiling masses and workers who must be robbed of their sweat and blood. The people's income is always pressed down while the cost of living is always rising steeply. The fascist dictatorship keeps on loading the broad masses of the people with extremely high and proliferating taxes even only to maintain its civil bureaucratic operations and pay its foreign debts. Yet it is hell-bent on enlarging the troops and equipment of the reactionary armed forces in the false hope of preserving itself by sheer armed force against the people's will.

Subjected to worse political oppression and economic exploitation, the toiling masses of workers and peasants are rallying to the revolutionary calls of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. Though the people's army unlike the enemy does not have a ready pool of modern weapons to distribute, large masses of workers and peasants are insisting on becoming Red fighters even if they were to bear bolos, homemade hand grenades and other more easily available weapons. They point out correctly that the modern weapons can be seized from the enemy. The youth, including those of urban petty-bourgeois origin, are also among those eager to join the New People's Army. Thus, there is a rapid enlargement of the scale of people's war.

On the basis of the great fundamental alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the Party together with the New People's Army are steadfastly developing the national united front of all democratic classes, strata and groups. The proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie have a common cause. The common cause is to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and reestablish the democratic rights of the people. The various components of the national united front can look forward to the establishment of a coalition government characterized by national unity, democracy and peace.

A national antifascist unity is now rapidly growing where in previous times the people were merely divided into conservative political parties, religious sects and the like. The broad masses of the people are profoundly incensed by the shameless anti-national and antidemocratic policies and actions of the fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary resistance in Luzon is consciously coordinated with the revolutionary

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resistance in the outer islands, especially in Mindanao. It is only a matter of time that more leaders of various groups will take a more active part in the armed resistance.

The setting up of the US-Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines is a sign of weakness rather than a sign of strength. It has been caused by an unprecedentedly grave political and economic crisis of the ruling system. It is a crisis in the backwash of the political and economic crisis of imperialism, particularly US imperialism. In the long run, the present fascist dictatorship will not be able to get enough propping from US imperialism for its self-perpetuation. It is bound to fall. It is a hopeless, rash and isolated enterprise from the beginning. What it has merely succeeded to do is to provoke a chain of events beyond its control, a chain of events drastically changing the manner in which the reactionaries themselves fight out their political differences and thereby widening the road for the armed revolution of the masses to defeat the armed counterrevolution of the few privileged puppets of imperialism.

US imperialism has been weakened to the core by the Vietnam war. After the Paris agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, US imperialism is profoundly weaker now than in any previous stage of its history. The socialist countries led by the People's Republic of China are irrepressibly advancing in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and are increasingly in a better position to give support to the anti-imperialist struggle in other parts of the world. The people's revolutionary movements, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as demands for independence by various countries are continually cutting down the imperialist domain. In many areas, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are also pushing each other out. Among themselves, the imperialist countries are wrangling more and more as borne out by the current world capitalist trade and monetary crisis.

The Resolute Will of the New People's Army to Win

The New People's Army has a resolute will to win the struggle for people's democracy in the Philippines against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism now sharply concentrated on the phenomenon that is the US-Marcos dictatorship. The Communist Party of the Philippines, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought,

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is firmly providing this true army of the people the necessary leadership and will to fight and win. The New People's Army is duty-bound by the people's democratic interests to implement with militant fervor all the Party directives issued since the imposition of martial rule and the setting up of the fascist dictatorship.

More guerrilla zones and more guerrilla bases must be created throughout the archipelago. The New People's Army must advance wave upon wave from where it is already in existence but it must at the same time deploy single squads to far-flung areas where the people are eager to have the initial spark of armed struggle in their midst. It is extremely important that all regional Party committees have taken firm steps to intensify their efforts at building the army in their respective areas. As the scale of the revolutionary armed struggle is enlarged, the enemy shall concentrate on one or two strong points of the New People's Army always at the cost of losing wider areas elsewhere. The development of revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao is an urgent duty.

To develop the revolutionary armed struggle, the New People's Army must engage ever more vigorously in mass work, especially among the peasant masses. Only thus can it have the support necessary for isolating and destroying the enemy. Stress must be continuously put on agrarian revolution and base building as the necessary correlatives of armed struggle. The Party weighs the success in the political work of the army in terms of the quantity and quality of local organs of political work and mass organizations created in the localities. All efforts must be exerted to turn the backward barrios into advanced political, military, economic and cultural bastions of the people's democratic revolution.

The New People's Army must work well with and fight side by side with all those who are opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship. It must apply the Party's policy of the national united front, with the end in view of arousing and mobilizing the people in their millions. As a result of the Marcos rightist coup, the people in the urban and rural areas irrespective of their previous political and religious affiliations are eager to support and cooperate with the Party and the New People's Army in the general effort to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. Certain contradictions will persist among allies but these can be worked out or laid aside for the time being only for the sake of being able to deliver

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the deadliest blows against the common enemy. Allies are entitled to independence and initiative in this regard.

At the core of the New People's Army, the Party must be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally. Only in this manner can the leadership of the Party over the army be guaranteed. There must be a party group in every squad and a Party branch in every platoon, where there is yet no company. As soon as the company is established, the Party branch is based there. The Party within the New People's Army must also create Party branches in the localities on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. The creation of local Party branches will guarantee the resolute support of the masses for the New People's Army now and in the long future.

As the revolutionary armed struggle develops vigorously, political-military training must be carried out among the Red commanders and fighters alike and must also be extended to the local guerrilla and militia units. Basic political-military training must be made widespread, while advanced military training must be effected immediately among the Red commanders and political officers. By doing so, it will be easier to build larger regular formations in the future. There shall be well-instructed as well as well-experienced Red commanders and fighters capable of performing bigger tasks and winning bigger victories. In the day-to-day life of every army unit, democracy must be practised in tackling problems in the political, military or economic spheres. Criticism and self-criticism must be conducted whenever there are errors or shortcomings to be rectified. In this manner, the New People's Army will become a more solid weapon against the enemy.

When an army unit, be it a squad or even the entire regional operational command is under sustained or concentrated attack by an enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression," it must be able to preserve itself as well as make appropriate counterattacks against the weakest points of the enemy even while it is temporarily cut off from the Military Commission, which is in the meantime performing practically all functions of the National Operational Command (whose functionaries are assigned to different regions). Such a situation calls for a strategy and tactics that is thoroughly considered and decided on by the regional Party committee and the regional operational command. Self-reliance is also demanded in the material subsistence of army units. Arduous struggle and simple living should be the permanent style of all Red commanders and fighters.

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At all times, it is necessary to hate the enemy strategically but at the same time it is necessary to take him seriously tactically. It is wrong for anyone to either overestimate or underestimate the enemy. Whenever there is any setback, every revolutionary must maintain his confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolution; sum up, analyze and draw lessons from the negative experience; and see the positive aspects of the general situation. However, in achieving some victory, one must avoid the pitfalls of conceit and overconfidence. One must be modest and strive together with comrades for more victories.

Comrades who become martyrs of the revolution must be accorded all honors as heroes of the people. The least we can do is to hold memorial meetings whereby their virtues are cited for the inspiration of all. When one falls into the hands of the enemy, one must remain loyal to the revolutionary cause. Only then does one deserve continuing respect as a revolutionary. However, some who turn out to be unworthy of being Red fighters must also be given their due. Every revolutionary should be capable of understanding that there is nothing in this world where the law of contradiction does not operate. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, there are those who drop out from the ranks of revolutionaries or who even turn against the great cause of the people. But we can rest assured that the people will continue to struggle and the ranks of revolutionaries will continue to increase as we rectify errors and shortcomings and perform our tasks to the best of our ability.

The New People's Army maintains the correct view that only through a protracted people's war, applying the strategic principle of having the countryside encircle the cities before the nationwide seizure of the latter, can the people's democratic revolution be won. Even to depose the present fascist puppet dictatorship will take time and difficult struggle; the people's army cannot now singlehandedly do so overnight or by a single stroke. However, it is possible that because of the rapid growth of the revolutionary armed struggle US imperialism will take the initiative of changing puppets at some future date. At any rate, in the course of fighting the US-Marcos dictatorship, the New People's Army under the profound and far-seeing leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines shall have steadfastly multiplied its strength to meet any further eventuality.

All Red commanders and fighters must exert all efforts towards the eventual overthrow of the US-Marcos dictatorship. The utmost

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persistence, courage and militancy are demanded of them by the broad masses of the people who are under extreme oppression and exploitation by the US-Marcos clique. Though the enemy at first sight appears terrifying and makes a lot of trouble, he is in fact in a desperate and isolated position and is essentially rotten to the core. In any just revolutionary struggle against a tyranny as vicious as that of the US-Marcos dictatorship, there may be ups and downs but so long as the revolutionaries persist, maintain their courage and work indefatigably towards victory they will continue to advance and total victory shall be theirs in the end.

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live its great leader, the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

Mindanao Guerrilla Fighters Wipe Out Several Hundreds of Fascist Troops

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. V, No. 1, April 10, 1973.

In the wake of the setting up of the fascist dictatorship, armed resistance has expanded and intensified in Mindanao, especially among the national minorities. According to partial reports reaching *Ang Bayan*, several hundreds of fascist troops have been wiped out in the provinces of Lanao, Cotabato, Sulu, Zamboanga, Bukidnon and Davao between October 1972 and March 1973.

Within ten days following the declaration of martial law, Maguindanao guerrilla fighters with the strength of one company or two companies ignited the antifascist armed resistance in mainland Mindanao, particularly in Cotabato, by repeatedly using the tactic of besieging the enemy to strike at the reinforcements. In this manner, a platoon-size PC detachment at an isolated place would be annihilated or routed and subsequently a platoon-size or company-size reinforcement would also be ambushed and wiped out along the way.

On October 19 last year, concentrated units of the Tausug and Samal guerrilla fighters in company strength attacked and wiped out a platoon-size PC patrol in the Tapul area in Luuk, Sulu. This signaled the well-coordinated attacks against the enemy on land and by sea in the islands of Sulu and Basilan and the Zamboanga provinces. Since then, the enemy has been reeling from extreme inability to cope with the armed resistance in Mindanao.

On October 21, it was the turn of the Maranao guerrilla fighters to launch guerrilla fighters to launch a military operation against the enemy in Marawi City. They acted in battalion strength to take over Camp Amai Pakpak, which is the PC command headquarters of Lanao del Sur, and other strategic points like the Mindanao State University, the airport, bridges and roads. A hundred guerrilla fighters wiped out the platoon-size enemy outpost at Pantar Bridge and some 300 guerrilla fighters wiped out at least 200 enemy troops at Camp Amai Pakpak. A guerrilla detachment seized the radio station of the Mindanao State University and broadcast in the name of the Mindanao Revolutionary Council for Independence revolutionary statements calling on the

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national minorities and the poor settlers to unite and rise up in arms against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The attack on the PC headquarters was conducted in an exceedingly ingenious manner. The main force of guerrilla fighters were able to get into the enemy camp by pretending to have come to surrender their arms in compliance with fascist orders for disarming the people. At a given signal, the fascist troops were attacked from inside the camp while guerrilla fighters outside the camp made sure that none of the enemy would be able to flee unscathed.

After having sufficiently dealt with the enemy, the main force of the Maranao guerrilla fighters made an orderly withdrawal but at the same time left behind small detachments to cover its rear. A small guerrilla unit was left behind at the airport in order to strike at incoming enemy planes. This unit was subsequently able to harass airlifted enemy reinforcements and withdraw safely on October 22.

The seizure of Marawi City and annihilation of hundreds of enemy troops shook the fascist dictatorship to its base. This defeat of the reactionary armed forces occurred just after the fascist dictator Marcos appeared twice on television with some Mindanao political leaders and boasted that because of martial rule the people of Mindanao had been thoroughly subjugated. So embarrassed by a defeat so large that it cannot be blacked out from the Marcos press monopoly, the fascist dictatorship ordered the massacre of scores of civilians in Marawi City and adjoining towns and barrios.

The *Daily Express* at first reported that the reactionary armed forces were able to kill 13 “raiders”; then only a few days later it admitted that 70 “raiders” were actually killed. The massacre of civilians was perpetrated when the actual raiders had already completely withdrawn in correct guerrilla style. Angered by the brutality of the enemy, the heroic Maranao fighters decided to counteract the fascist units sent out after them. As a result, only three out of 220 enemy troops survived the guerrilla assaults in November in Lanao.

Between major assaults against the enemy, the Mindanao guerrilla fighters have continuously launched minor assaults which when taken together constitute major assaults. On November 5, one unit of Maguindanao guerrilla fighters wiped out a 15-man PC detachment at Camp Parang in Cotabato even as another unit wiped out a smaller number of enemy troops at Macarandag Bridge. During the first week of December, Tausug guerrilla fighters repeatedly wiped out whole

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enemy platoons in Sulu and Basilan. These incidents are of the type that frequently occur all over Mindanao.

The guerrilla fighters of Sulu have the distinction of bringing down two sabre jets (F-86F) and one transport plane (C-47) and seriously damaging one more fighter plane of undetermined make. This is the answer of the guerrilla fighters of Mindanao to such flagrant abuses of the enemy as forcing the people to evacuate their homes and unharvested fields in order to create "free-fire zones" for air bombardments. It is very likely that helicopters have also been destroyed by guerrilla fighters in Mindanao.

To cover up its extreme inability to cope with the Mindanao situation, the fascist dictatorship has in a false gesture of benevolence after malevolence offered to grant "amnesty" to guerrilla fighters in Mindanao and to allow free movement and trade between Sulu and other Mindanao islands on one side and Sabah on the other. The guerrilla fighters have correctly responded to such enemy stratagem, which is calculated to disarm and defeat them. Since the last week of February this year, they have launched even more vigorous armed resistance.

On March 5 alone, the towns of Managoy, Datu Pisug, Bagong Bayan and Ampat-wang in Cotabato were taken over by Maguindanao guerrilla fighters. In the process, fifty enemy troops and five officers were confirmed dead. General Romeo Espino, chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces, has indicated through the Marcos press monopoly that the guerrilla fighters have taken over more than ten towns of Cotabato.

As usual after every major offensive by the guerrilla fighters of Mindanao, the fascist dictatorship resorts to some terror tactics and then boast of having put the situation "under control." The fascist dictatorship has already deployed more than one-third of the reactionary armed forces to Mindanao and placed them at the disposal of the Central Mindanao Command and the Southwest Command. Not satisfied with these, the fascist dictator Marcos is frenziedly trying to organize local terror units whom he fondly calls the "kamagong." He is also dispatching tens of thousands of military trainees to Mindanao at no salary and without guarantee for pension in case of maiming or death for the unjust cause of the fascist dictatorship.

No matter how much military force is employed by the fascist dictatorship, the people of Mindanao are determined to wage armed

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resistance and win victory. Both the national minorities and the poor settlers are now moved to resist the enemy not because of religious beliefs but because of their determination to protect their lands from the big landgrabbers which include the US imperialists, the big comprador-landlords and the big bureaucrats. The Communist Party of the Philippines is steadfastly counteracting the intrigues of the enemy and uniting the national minorities and poor settlers under the principles of self-determination and democracy.

The fascist dictatorship has presented itself as the common enemy of the national minorities and the settler masses. It has madly tried to create “peace and order” for the US and Japanese monopoly capitalists, the big comprador-landlords and the big bureaucrat capitalists to seize lands for their plantations, logging, ranches, mines and other enterprises. In the Sulu area, the enemy is doing everything foolish to assure the US oil companies of possible sources of oil.

The people in the frontiers of Mindanao are holding on to their arms and using them to repulse the enemy. They do so not because of communal conflicts of a religious nature nor because their arms are tokens of “manliness” as the fascist dictator Marcos would say. In any frontier area, the gun is necessary for repulsing the landgrabbers and bandits and for getting wild boar or deer from the forests.

By all indications, the various guerrilla units in Mindanao are waging an excellent form of people’s war as they alternate in launching attacks against the enemy and as they make the entire Central Mindanao Command and Southwest Command go mad within the circle made by the flames of armed resistance.

The armed resistance of Mindanao is an exceedingly important support and a necessary correlative of the armed resistance in other parts of the country. The reactionary armed forces are compelled to split their strength between far south and far north, thus making way for the people in-between, especially in the Visayas, to undertake revolutionary armed struggle. The attempt of the enemy to concentrate his forces in two directions, on both Northern Luzon and Mindanao, and his repeated setbacks in both battlefronts continue to sap his strength and morale.



Marcos Press Monopoly Set Up by Martial Rule

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Terrified by the revolutionary mass movement and the repeated upsurges of the national democratic cultural revolution, the US-Marcos clique on September 22 seized control of the mass media in a vile attempt to wield these as instruments to deceive and intimidate the people. In so doing, it managed to achieve one of the most pernicious ambitions of the avaricious bureaucrat capitalist Marcos, that of putting up his own business monopoly in mass media.

It will be recalled that, having secretly signed the papers declaring martial law as early as September 17 (by his own admission on November 28 before the Philippine Historians Association), the fascist dictator Marcos ordered the padlocking of all newspaper offices, radio and television stations and telecommunications facilities except those he owns or controls. On the night of September 22, fascist troops overran not only the buildings housing these facilities but also the National Press Club and the homes of publishers, editors and other media men who had in the slightest manner criticized the fascist dictator Marcos. A week after, only a few names of press people arrested were announced to the public by the Marcos media. Up to this date thousands of people, including those from the press, remain in military prisons.

On the outrageous premise that mass media had “consciously or unconsciously taken part in the conspiracy to overthrow the Government,” the fascist dictator Marcos clamped down on them, and has issued a series of arbitrary orders, including Proclamation No. 1081, General Order No. 2, Letter of Instruction No. 1 and lately, Presidential Decree No. 36, all maliciously assailing the freedom of the press and harming the economic interests of thousands of workers in major metropolitan newspapers, television and radio stations.

Presidential Decree No. 36 is ostensibly a document intended mainly to cancel “franchises, permits and authorizations granted for the operation of radio, television and telecommunications facilities that have remained unused by their holders after a reasonable length of time, that they have violated the terms under which they were issued.”

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This decree further legalizes what had already been accomplished by means of brute force five weeks before. The essence of Presidential Decree No. 36, however, lies in its creation of a mass media council designed to assure for the US-Marcos dictatorship continuing control of all mass media. This mass media council will decide upon applications for permission to operate any newspaper, magazine, periodical or publication of any kind, radio, television or telecommunications facility, station or network. The decree stipulates that this council should be "headed by the Secretary of Public Information as chairman, with the Secretary of National Defense as co-chairman, and one representative from the mass media to be appointed by the President as member, and with a secretariat to be headed by the chairman of the Radio Control Board...."

On November 25, it was announced that appointments to the Mass Media Council had been completed. However, the fascist dictator Marcos took more than three weeks after the promulgation of Presidential Decree No. 36 to designate a representative from the mass media. It is significant that, aside from the fact that all appointees without exception are loyal running dogs of the US-Marcos dictatorship, majority are either officially connected with the reactionary armed forces or have functions connected with it, such as defense secretary Enrile, home defense undersecretary Crisol who is the director of the Council, and their various underlings. Moreover, the Council is represented in the provinces by the PC provincial commanders and PC civil relations officers.

Having suppressed media owners by incarcerating them, robbing them of their facilities and taking steps to make sure that they are permanently silenced, the US-Marcos dictatorship is now applying the carrot-and-stick method on disemployed media men. On the one hand, it attempts to terrorize them by indefinitely detaining those it had seized right after the declaration of martial law, by continuing to arrest a wide range of critics, and by blacklisting others from possible reemployment. On the other hand, the fascist dictatorship is rewarding willing hacks with employment and substantial salaries and trying to entice some of those who were thrown out of work because of martial law by expanding its own newspapers, magazines, radio and television networks and setting up a national and foreign news agency. Needless to say, the few who take such offers because they have to earn a living are subjected to the strictest censorship.

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The number of media workers thrown out of their jobs by the fascist dictatorship runs into several tens of thousands, possibly 50,000. These include ordinary reporters, printing workers, technicians, agents, talents and a host of others. They have been left to their own devices. Yet they cannot take other jobs without being able to expunge their names from the fascist blacklist. The Marcos press monopoly boasts of “rationalizing” the mass media business and refuses to absorb the great mass of media workers arbitrarily removed from their jobs.

What has gained the fascist dictator Marcos enemies even among the reactionaries is the glaring fact that he has utilized his absolute power to corner the advertising market (estimated by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* at ₱250 million for the first year alone) and to turn the mass media into a business monopoly of his own. Such greed can be described in very clear terms by going into the history of the *Daily Express*, Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and Radio Philippines Network (RPN), media which the fascist dictator Marcos owns through dummies.

Compared with other Manila papers which were sold at 25 to 30 centavos per copy before they were forced out of the streets by martial law, the *Daily Express* started, for every 40-page copy, at a price of 10 centavos in Greater Manila and 15 centavos in the provinces. The printing cost per copy was 29 centavos, and at 10 centavos a copy, only five centavos went to the newspaper and the other five centavos to the newsdealer and newsboy. And though it was getting a few centavos more per copy in the provinces, the *Daily Express* was losing an estimated ₱38,000 a day by the time it reached its alleged pre-martial law circulation of 163,000. These losses would have reached ₱10 million for the year 1972 alone had the fascist dictator Marcos not declared martial law. It is obvious then that the setting up of the *Daily Express* had from the very start been part of the nefarious scheme to declare martial law and set up a fascist dictatorship.

Martial law has delivered as per script bonanza after bonanza for the fascist dictator. The *Daily Express* has increased the paper's advertising rate by 350 percent, from ₱17 to ₱58 per column inch. Moreover, internal revenue commissioner Misael Vera had been conscripted to act as “advertising manager” of both the *Daily Express* and KBS. The “penalty” for not advertising in the Marcos media, Vera always

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manages to imply to business firms, is a very real “tax evasion case” if not a string of cases.

Seventy-five percent of the pages of the *Daily Express* is devoted to commercial advertising. Of course, twenty-five percent gives the rag the appearance of a newspaper and dishes out the most vicious fascist propaganda. The *Daily Express* issues three daily editions, i.e., the morning and afternoon edition (*Evening Express*) and the Pilipino edition (*Pilipino Express*). The total number of these reached up to more than 1,500,000 before the setting up of other Marcos dummy newspapers. Now, the total number of copies appears to have steadied at close to 1,000,000 copies. Price per copy has been raised from ten centavos to fifteen centavos despite the sharp reduction of pages devoted to non-advertising materials.

Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and Radio Philippines Network (RPN) were set up as multimillion peso concerns in an exceedingly shameless manner. According to the same sources who supplied the figures above, two of the five persons who “organized” them four years ago did not even have tax account numbers. While their total paid-up capitalization was only ₱500,000 in 1971, they were able to secure for RPN and KBS loans totalling \$17.5 million (at least ₱120 million at current rates) from the Philippine National Bank. These loans, backed up by Marubeni-Ida in London, payable in 10 years and with a grace period of four years, were presented to the board of directors of the PNB on July 9, 1971, approved July 11, and confirmed July 18. By July 21 of the same year, or in a matter of 12 days, all letters of credit had been opened. These transpired despite the fact that the two stations were incurring an average yearly loss of ₱1.25 million.

Today, with all competition wiped out, and Robert Stewart’s Republic Broadcasting Corporation, the Soriano’s Interisland Broadcasting Corporation and Radio Mindanao Network under tight government control and supervision, the fascist dictator has upped the advertising rates of the KBS tenfold as planned. Whereas before a 30-second commercial in his KBS TV station cost a mere ₱500 to ₱1,000, today the advertisers have no choice but to pay the outrageous price of ₱5,000, or even as much as ₱10,000 in the “name” of prime-time shows.

Not satisfied with the million he can now milk from advertisers, the fascist dictator is turning Radio Philippines Network into a “public corporation,” the better to manipulate the hard-earned savings of people they can hoodwink into buying shares.

Its appetite thus whetted by the certainty of enormous profits, the fascist dictatorship has gone on to publish other newspapers and magazines to monopolize the advertising market while multiplying the outlets for its lies and making it appear that the situation has been “normalized” and the press has been allowed to operate under multifarious initiatives. Thus, aside from the *Daily Express*, *Evening Express-Pilipino Express*, *Government Report* and the *Liwawayway-Bannawag-Hiligaynon*, the fascist dictator now has at his command the *Times Journal*, *Focus Philippines* and *Bulletin Today*. In addition to *Focus Philippines*, the fascist dictator has put out *Expressweek* in a crass effort to fill the vacuum in the magazine field.

By decree, the fascist dictator Marcos has ordered that any medium allowed to resume operations would have to do so under a new management and with a new name. The idea is to keep his favorite brand, the *Express*, on top of the heap. His business accomplices, in the meantime, have lost no time in buying out or leasing mass media facilities from their former owners, at prices arbitrarily fixed, for use in publishing new propaganda organs of the fascist dictatorship (e.g., *Times Journal* is now using the facilities of the *Manila Chronicle*).

The fascist dictatorship has taken over the National Press Club of the Philippines, in the last four years an effective channel of protest against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, by confiscating its building and transforming this into an arm of its bloated propaganda machine. Under conditions that only hacks of the fascist dictatorship are allowed to continue membership in the press club, Primitivo Mijares, who is editor of *Daily Express*, has been installed as president of the press club.

The fascist dictator Marcos is so avaricious and so abusive in suppressing the freedom of the press that even the reactionary Press Foundation of Asia (PFA) has been compelled to launch a worldwide campaign informing readers that he is truly an antidemocratic dictator in the footsteps of Thieu, Pak, Jiang and the like. Previously, the PFA has declared a 60-day moratorium on criticisms against the fascist dictatorship in the hope of letting Marcos comply with an agreement to put up a mass media council, allow longstanding mass media to resume operations and release detained mass media owners, publishers and journalists. After those sixty days set by the moratorium, Marcos continued to the disgust of his fellow reactionaries to suppress

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press freedom, maintain his press monopoly and detain mass media owners, publishers and journalists.

Not satisfied with his monopoly of huge printing presses and TV-radio stations, Marcos has gone as far as to issue Presidential Decree No. 90 banning what it calls “rumormongering,” including the circulation of mimeographed sheets critical of his regime. He also has gone as far as to issue Presidential Decree No. 140 requiring the registration of copying machines like mimeographing, scanning and xerox machines. These are his desperate reactions to the continuous flow of mimeographed newspapers, bulletins and leaflets from the underground countering the lies of the mass media which he now monopolizes.

The Marcos press monopoly is blatant daily proof of the unjustness of the fascist dictatorship. It is something that has been set up by the armed forces—by outright robbery. On this ground, the mass media now controlled by Marcos and his clique shall someday be confiscated by the people, with no prejudice to small shareholders. In the meantime, these serve as the measure for the latest falsehoods being spread to cloak the rottenness and bankruptcy of the US-Marcos regime. The broad masses of the people are firmly determined to spread revolutionary propaganda among themselves even as the fascist dictatorship is doing everything it can not only to monopolize the large-scale media but also to suppress the mimeographing machine. The truth can never be obscured by lies. It emerges more sharply the more repressive and abusive are the sources of falsehood.

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Unite to Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship

Manifesto of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front

April 24, 1973

The Present Situation

A full-blown fascist dictatorship has emerged for the first time in the Philippines upon the instigation of US imperialism. The least expression of popular demand for national freedom and democracy is now subject to the most brutal repression by the tyrannical regime.

Since Proclamation No. 1081 (formally declaring martial law), events have clearly proven that the US-Marcos dictatorship is determined to keep itself in power by naked armed force only to perpetuate and aggravate the rule of the evil triad of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The long-term scheme of this new tyranny, masquerading as a “new society,” is all written in the Marcos constitution. It is to maintain and promote the extraordinary privileges of US imperialism and its puppets in the Philippines.

There can be no end to the ever intensifying oppression and exploitation of the people, unless the people themselves unite to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship. It is now clear that the Filipino people have no recourse but to wage the most resolute revolutionary struggle. Marcos’ high-handed proclamation and enforcement of his “new constitution” have closed every avenue for those who had hoped to end the fascist rule through parliamentary or legal means. Only the armed revolution of the broad masses of the people can defeat and eliminate the armed counterrevolution of the Marcos oligarchy.

A Rightist Coup d’Etat

The US-Marcos dictatorship has come about through a rightist coup d’etat. The fascist dictator Marcos has taken advantage of his

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established reactionary position in order to eliminate whatever checks and limits there are to his powers, privileges and tenure within the ruling political system. He has manipulated the reactionary armed forces in order to suppress the basic democratic rights of the people, especially the freedom of the press, assembly and association, and do away with every possible opposition to his arbitrary rule. His ambition is to monopolize power and wealth and remain indefinitely at the helm of the comprador-landlord oligarchy.

Marcos is currently the keyman of the clique of big compradors and landlords that is most servile to US imperialism. In the face of the rising tide of the revolutionary mass movement demanding national freedom and democracy, US imperialism has found in Marcos' autocratic ambition an instrument for maintaining and promoting its interests in the country. Thus, it has installed him as fascist dictator in a blatant conspiracy between imperialist master and puppet.

In the wake of the fake ratification of the Marcos constitution through the "citizens' assemblies," Marcos now stands as the absolute ruler without a definite line of succession by electoral process. He has proclaimed the dissolution of Congress, the suspension of the "interim national assembly," the suspension of elections for the next seven years and the continuation of martial rule. There has never been a worse example of political tyranny since the Japanese fascist occupation of the Philippines which saw the wholesale dissolution of previously elected governing bodies by brute force.

The broad masses of the people recognize fully that Marcos' "constitutional authoritarianism" is a cloak for fascist dictatorship. This is a horrible crime against the sovereign people, a vicious attack against democracy. However, the suppression of the basic democratic rights of the people has utterly isolated the US-Marcos dictatorship. What is most obvious to the people is a bankrupt government of terror and intimidation, resorting to massacres, assassinations, mass arrests, mass detention, torture, blackmail, extortion, "sonas" (midnight-to-dawn arrests and searches), and forced mass evacuations for making "free fire zones."

The toiling masses of workers and peasants, the student youth, low-income intellectuals, professionals and businessmen are more than ever pressed down by the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class under conditions of fascist dictatorship. Any demand for relief or upliftment is subject to condemnation by the fascist clique as "subversion"

and “rumormongering” and is considered a major crime. The fascist dictatorship keeps harping on “discipline” but its actual purpose is to instil fear among the people and demand submission to tyranny.

Under these intolerable conditions, the broad masses of the people are steadily rising up to resist the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Revolutionary armed struggle is now raging throughout the archipelago. The New People’s Army and the national minorities of Mindanao together with the poor settlers have intensified their armed resistance. Many political groups have started to form their own guerrilla units or extend substantial support to the New People’s Army.

The Dictatorship’s Economic Scheme

The economic scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship involves essentially the preservation of the semicolonial and semifeudal economy. Such an economy serves as a source of cheap raw materials and cheap labor, a dumping ground of imported finished products and an investment field for the surplus capital of US imperialists and other capitalist countries, especially Japan. What is being passed off as a development program by the fascist dictatorship essentially provides extraordinary privileges and incentives to the imperialists and induces inflationary spending for “infrastructures” financed by onerous foreign loans under an ever increasing tax burden. The peso continues to be debauched under the policy of “floating rate” dictated by US imperialism.

Through the Marcos constitution and a series of fascist fiats, the US imperialists not only retain their “parity rights” but in fact enjoy more privileges. To enable them to continue controlling strategic sectors of the economy they can simply pretend to offer equity to Filipinos and manipulate “service contracts,” “management contracts,” credit and the like. Their assets of \$2.0 billion to \$3.0 billion continue to dominate the Philippine economy while they are allowed to exact superprofits from the blood and sweat of the toiling masses. The US imperialists are guaranteed the privilege of unlimited capital and profit remittances. Turning the country into an open field for economic plunder by foreign investors, the fascist dictatorship is also encouraging the Japanese capitalists to enlarge their local operations.

Only the big comprador and landlord classes chiefly the clique headed by Marcos, stand to gain from collaboration with the imperialists.

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As the head of the National Economic and Development Authority, the fascist dictator exercises complete control over the national patrimony and social wealth of the country. He now monopolizes the bounty of bureaucrat capitalism—the graft and corruption in the reactionary government.

The build-up of troops and equipment in the reactionary armed forces is necessarily a main component of the “development program” of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Military expenditures are rising steeply in line with fascist counterrevolution.

All the fanfare about the Marcos “land reform program is meant to cover up the scheme to incur more public debt, foreign and local, to improve the transport and communications facilities of the imperialists and their local puppets and also to raise the value of the landlords’ estates. Presidential Decree No. 27 is worse than the “land reform” measure of any previous puppet regime in the Philippines. It compels the landless tiller to pay an exorbitant price for a piece of land that he wants to own. It dictates a formula artificially raising the value of landlord holdings to a level much higher than the “current fair market value.”

In the face of their worsening internal crisis, US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system are accelerating their extraction of superprofits from colonies and semicolonies like the Philippines. Thus, US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capitalism are increasing their direct investments and extending more onerous loans to the Philippines. Also, they are depressing the prices of most traditional Philippine exports and increasing the prices of manufactured imports. They have not hesitated to dictate on the reactionary government the continuous devaluation of the peso and the increase of taxes.

As a consequence, the cost of living is rising steeply and consistently. The income of the broad masses of the people is being depleted at an unprecedented rate. Those who are employed are subjected to worsening wage conditions. Theirs is a plight made more desperate by the suppression of their fundamental rights to freely organize and to strike. On the other hand, those who are unemployed and underemployed are rapidly increasing in number. Foreign monopoly capitalism is riding on feudal and semifeudal conditions. These conditions continue to restrict economic growth and enlarge the vast array of unemployed. These conditions are persistent as the fascist

dictatorship deliberately retains and aggravates them in the service of US imperialism.

The US-Marcos dictatorship offers no real solution to the economic ills of the country. On the contrary, it daily aggravates these economic ills. The toiling masses as well as all middle-income groups have no recourse but to participate in a revolutionary movement for better living conditions and economic emancipation.

Unabated Militarization

Under the US-Marcos dictatorship, militarization continues unabated and is proceeding at an accelerated rate. This is in line with the “Nixon doctrine” demanding that puppet reactionary governments carry in the main the burden of launching ferocious armed counter-revolution against the broad masses of the people in defense of US imperialist and local reactionary interests. While it is assured of an “umbrella” by US military bases, the Philippine reactionary government is dictated upon to build up its troops at its own expense and to pay for weapons and technical aid from US imperialism.

Marcos has consistently taken advantage of the “Nixon doctrine” in order to set up his own fascist dictatorial rule. His regime has shamelessly increased the military budget and announced a policy of setting up a “military-industrial complex.” It has collaborated fully with the Joint US Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG) in manipulating the reactionary armed forces, and with the Office of Public Safety of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in manipulating the Philippine Constabulary and the local police forces. Within the ranks of the Marcos fascist gang are planted CIA agents who make sure that US military policy is implemented.

Under the pretext of engaging in “civic action” and introducing “military efficiency,” the reactionary armed forces have taken over more and more civilian functions. At the same time, the fascist dictator proffers secret military ranks to local officials. It is now clear that he is employing his military henchmen to rule the civilian bureaucracy. Taking over strategic functions in the reactionary government, the fascist military has involved itself in the worst forms of graft and corruption and has openly engaged in blackmail and extortion.

The military also has assumed control over certain businesses. The evil purpose is the aggrandizement of the private interests of Marcos

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the No. 1 bureaucrat capitalist. The military is being used for blackmail and extortion, either to enlarge the shareholdings of Marcos and his dummies in certain corporations or to grab shares of stocks and lands in instances where Marcos and his clique do not have any investment.

Living in constant fear of the people, the fascist dictator is frantically increasing troops and equipment and stepping up military operations. The main purpose is to repress the people, especially the toiling masses. The reactionary armed forces remain basically parasitic. More and more tax collections are diverted to military spending. While top military officers sit back to lap up what spoils they can get, it is the fresh conscripts who are made to risk their lives in the battlefield. Thus military trainees, including those of the ROTC and PMT, are being set up as cannon fodder against the just struggle of the Filipino masses to overthrow the dictatorship.

Fascist Education and Culture

The US-Marcos dictatorship is doing everything to spread an imperialist and fascist type of education and culture. It is requiring all schools at every level to ram down the throats of students the anti-national and antidemocratic Marcos constitution and the multifarious edicts of the fascist dictator. A massive propaganda campaign about the “new society,” “discipline,” and “fairness and justice” has been launched to brainwash the people into submission.

Schools, mass media, mass organizations, churches and various other institutions are under strict order to follow the dictates of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Every channel of communications is under censorship. And the Marcos press monopoly, while amassing profits at the expense of mass media closed down by armed force, fabricates the most obnoxious black propaganda against the anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

The scheme to reorganize and further orient the education system towards serving US imperialist policy is underway. This is done through the Department of Education and the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) which aim to convert schools into training grounds for skilled technical workers to assure US business monopoly firms of an abundant supply of cheap skilled Filipino labor.

Progressive and patriotic teachers and students have been forced out of the schools, oftentimes detained and humiliated. The curricula

have been perverted. Both public and private schools are being subverted by imperialist interests through loans from the World Bank and the International Development Association, and through “advisors” from the US foundations.

Fearful of the students, teachers and employees on campus, the US-Marcos dictatorship has converted many schools into virtual concentration camps. Checkpoints and spies are a common sight in schools throughout the country. And in schools noted for student activism, searches, arrests and other forms of harassment are everyday occurrences.

Servile Foreign Policy

Foreign policy cannot but reflect domestic policy. The main policy of the fascist dictatorship is to serve US imperialism. In this regard, the Marcos fascist regime has tightened its relations with such other US imperialist puppet dictatorships as those of Nguyen Van Thieu, Suharto, Lon Nol, Pak Jung Hi, and Chiang Kai-shek.

On every world issue, the Philippine reactionary government continues to cling to the coattails of its imperialist master. It belongs to such reactionary regional associations as the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and Southeast Asian Ministers Economic Council (SEAMAC) which are all devoted to promoting subservience to the superpowers.

In line with the “Nixon doctrine,” the fascist dictatorship has also eagerly endorsed Japanese militarism as the regional leader among US puppet states in Asia. The “Asian Forum” project of the US-Marcos dictatorship is calculated to help counteract the impending doom of US imperialism in Asia, especially Southeast Asia.

Because of the powerful pressure of the people, the world anti-imperialist movement and the general crisis of capitalism, the US-Marcos dictatorship has talked about broadening the country’s diplomatic and trade relations to include socialist countries. Until today, however, it uses every flimsy excuse to delay the establishment of such relations.

The fascist dictatorship is following US imperialism to its doom. The world crisis of imperialism, especially that of its main pillar, US imperialism, is taking its heavy toll on the Philippines.

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Program of Revolutionary Action

A three-fold task now faces the Filipino people: unite to oppose and overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship; liberate themselves from US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; and establish a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

The main form of struggle in carrying out this task is armed struggle. This struggle, founded on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is already being waged in the countryside. The people are advancing from victory to victory even as the dictatorship is unleashing its armed forces to “wipe out” the people’s armed detachments and is desperately using every conceivable method of suppression.

The broad masses must unite to ensure the total success of the people’s armed struggle, together with all other forms of resistance. All revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship must unite under a broad united front in order to overthrow this hated fascist regime.

Only a broad national united front of all democratic sectors of Philippine society can provide an impregnable shield for the people’s revolutionary armed struggle. Such a united front can deal deadly blows against the dictatorship and hasten its downfall.

Only a broad national united front can lay the foundations of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation that will supplant the evil regime of the fascist puppet clique. Such a united front can set up a new political and social institutions that shall be the sinews of a truly just and democratic society.

It is the aim of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front to develop and form this broad national united front. We are putting forth the following ten-point programme for revolutionary action as basis for unity of all forces opposed to the fascist dictatorship.

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation;

2. Expose and oppose US imperialism as the mastermind behind the setting up of a the fascist dictatorship, struggle for the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangements with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country;

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3. Fight for the reestablishment of all the democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process;

4. Gather all possible political and material support for the underground and the armed resistance against the US-Marcos dictatorship;

5. Support a genuine land reform program that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and semifeudal exploitation and raise agricultural production through cooperation;

6. Work for the improvement of the people's livelihood, guarantee the right to work and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital;

7. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and combat imperialist, feudal and fascist culture;

8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces in their struggle for self-determination and democracy;

9. Punish after public trial the ringleaders of the Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth; and

10. Unite with all peoples fighting imperialism and seek their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

In the name of all the Filipino martyrs who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of national freedom and democracy, we appeal to all our beloved compatriots to rally to the flag of the resistance against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Support the revolutionary armed struggle for national freedom and democracy. Wage unremitting propaganda in order to arouse everyone. Organize guerrilla units and support the underground. Contribute funds, military materiel, food and medicine.

Patriotic workers: Continue to wage political and economic struggle with ever greater vigor. Deprived of your basic political rights, including your right to strike, you are at the mercy of the fascist dictatorship and your exploitative employers. Your livelihood will sink deeper and deeper under the heavy weight of US imperialism and its puppets. Those of you who are ready to join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside should do so.

Patriotic peasants: Smash the scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship to deceive you with its bogus land reform program. Your emancipation from landlord tyranny depends on your own revolutionary struggle. Support the revolutionary armed struggle and let your best

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sons and daughters carry arms so that you will be emancipated and you will get your just share of land without having to pay a single centavo to the despotic and big landlords.

Patriotic teachers, students, journalists, professionals, businessmen and all those belonging to the middle social strata: Defy the enemy and raise your voices against it. If everyone of you speak up in his own place against the enemy, you will bring the truth to the entire country faster than the its vile propaganda. Whatever material support or special services you can give, give it without hesitation to those who bear arms. Certainly, many of you can also bear arms or perform definite tasks in the underground.

Patriotic political leaders and religious leaders: Arouse your constituencies and congregations to resolutely oppose the fascist dictatorship. In this way, you can participate in the just and noble struggle of the entire people.

Patriotic national minorities: Unite with all other Filipinos in overthrowing the US-Marcos dictatorship which has viciously deprived you of your ancestral lands and sent troops to quell your resistance. Fight with ever greater vigor.

Patriotic soldiers in the reactionary armed forces: Do not allow yourselves to become the tools of a power-mad dictator. Turn your guns against the people's oppressors. Join the revolutionary forces in the fold of the National Democratic Front.

Patriotic Filipinos abroad: Form your own anti-imperialist and antifascist groups and link up with the fraternal peoples in whose midst you are. Seek their aid and support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy.

Beloved compatriots: Let us all unite and fight as one man against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Being just, the revolution will certainly triumph. Being unjust, the fascist counterrevolution will certainly fail. Let us shape our future with our own hands, with our own revolutionary efforts. Let us raise and resolutely carry forward the great red banner of the national democratic revolution.

Unite to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

Appeal for International Support for the Philippine Revolution

To the freedom-loving people's of the world:

We come to you in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism to appeal for your political and material support for smashing the most oppressive and hated puppet regime ever to blight the history of our unhappy land, and for establishing a truly free and just society redeemed from foreign and feudal domination.

With US imperialism abetting and propping him, Ferdinand E. Marcos proclaimed martial law and set up a fascist dictatorship in the Philippines on September 21, 1972.

The fascist dictator Marcos has suppressed the people's democratic rights and intensified his reign of terror. Thousands of peasants and workers, leaders and members of democratic youth and other organizations, progressive teachers, writers and journalists, ranking political oppositionists and progressive nuns and priests have been arrested. Newspaper and magazine offices and radio and television stations except those owned or controlled by the fascist dictator have been shut down.

Many of those roused from the sleep in the dead of night and carted off to the military detention camps are still imprisoned without formal charges.

By his numerous dictatorial proclamations and decrees issued since the imposition of martial law, the fascist puppet Marcos has served notice that he intends to rule with an iron hand for life, with the support of his master, US imperialism.

Since the turn of the century, the affairs of the country have been under the direction of the US imperialists, although in the last 27 years, they have been nominally in the hands of subservient Filipino bureaucrats.

In 1898, US imperialist forces snatched certain victory from the hands of the valiant Filipino revolutionaries and, conspiring with the outgoing Spanish colonizers and the local big landlords and compradors (big export-import capitalists) set about to make the Philippines a part of the imperialist domain.

Determined to free their land from foreign rule, Filipino patriots waged armed struggle against the new colonizers. In the ensuing war, the forces of US imperialism committed countless atrocities typified

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by the Samar massacre which was marked by a brutality comparable to that of the My Lai massacre in Vietnam.

The US troops killed not less than 250,000 Filipinos of the then total population of seven million in the course of the war and in the ensuing “pacification” campaign. One American general even estimated the total Filipino death casualty at 600,000 in the main island of Luzon alone.³

US imperialism subsequently consolidated its hold on the country. It thus secured a foothold in Asia for its expansionist aims in this part of the world.

Lying south of China’s Taiwan province, east of Vietnam and north of Indonesia, the Philippine archipelago was the first country in Asia colonized by US imperialism. Taking advantage of the rich raw material resources and cheap labor in the country, US monopoly capitalists proceeded to plunder the nation’s wealth. The Philippines became an outlet for US surplus capital and a dumping ground for US manufactures in Asia.

The US imperialists interlocked their interests with those of big landlords and compradors, fostering a colonial economy and preserving a feudal system of agricultural production.

The fusion of imperialist and feudal interests assured the United States of continued dominance over the affairs of the country even after it had granted nominal independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946. These interests are protected to this day by a puppet army and a network of US military bases.

The Philippines is independent only in name. US imperialism continues to hold sway, in conspiracy with the local comprador-landlord oligarchy. This oligarchy has monopolized the key positions in the Philippine reactionary government and has bred bureaucrat capitalism.

A succession of puppet regimes allowed the US imperialists to dominate strategic areas of the economy and exact superprofits from their \$2.0 billion to \$3.0 billion assets in the Philippines. These holdings represent at least 60% of total US private investments in Southeast Asia. The areas of investment are dominated by US monopoly capitalist direct investments by utilizing to the maximum domestic (Philippine) credits to finance their operations. They not only have recovered their

³ Both figures have been revised upward to 1.5 million Filipino men, women and children based on more extensive documentation and research in the latter part of the 1990s.-Editor

original investments and built up their assets but they have repatriated an annual average of \$4.76 in profits for every dollar put in, according to official records of the Central Bank of the Philippines.

Through their conspiracy, US imperialism and its local puppets have intensified the oppression and exploitation of the masses of the people. They commit fascist violence on those who dare to protest and resist.

Since he assumed the presidency almost eight years ago, Marcos has suppressed the basic democratic rights of the people, especially those who oppose his rule. He has committed one massacre after another, thereby instituting a reign of terror unparalleled since "independence." The most brutal of these are the Lapiang Malaya massacre of 1967; the Corregidor massacre of 1968; the Tarlac massacres of 1966, 1969 and 1970; the May Day massacre of 1971; the first and second Plaza Miranda massacres of 1971; and the massacres of Muslim national minorities in Mindanao of 1971 and 1972.

It is against this backdrop that the Filipino people have been re-awakening to the historic cause of their bondage. Under conditions of extreme economic exploitation of the people, the reign of terror has only served to fan the flames of revolutionary struggle in both city and countryside. The people are increasingly demanding change.

The New People's Army and the armed contingents of the Mindanao national minorities have put up resolute armed resistance to the fascist troops of Marcos in the countryside. They have succeeded in annihilating a big number of these troops.

The people are bound further to expand and intensify armed resistance in the countryside. Meanwhile, the people in towns and cities have continued to agitate for the revolutionary overthrow of the US-Marcos clique. By proclaiming martial law and setting up a fascist dictatorship, the Marcos puppet clique has declared civil war against the Filipino people. It has served notice that it relies on the ruthless measures of armed counterrevolution in order to protect and enlarge imperialist and feudal interests and suppress the revolutionary movement of the broad masses of the people.

By decree, the fascist dictator Marcos has assured the continued plunder of the country by his US imperialist masters by guaranteeing the unlimited entry of their capital and repatriation of both capital and superprofits. True to his role as puppet of US imperialism, Marcos has even rescinded decisions of the Philippine Supreme Court which tended to diminish US economic domination in the country.

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He has abrogated the old constitution and has proclaimed the “ratification” of a sham constitution under which he can rule for life through which US imperialism can enjoy more extensive privileges.

What is most palpable to the people today is a bankrupt government of intimidation, resorting to massacres, assassinations, mass detention, extortion, blackmail, zoning (midnight-to-dawn searches and arrests), and mass evacuation for making “free fire” zones.

Any demand from the people for relief and upliftment is subject to interpretation as “subversion” or “rumormongering” and is considered a major crime. The fascist regime preaches “discipline” but its actual purpose is to instil fear among the people and demand submission to tyranny.

With the present of huge US military bases in the country, and the increasing participation of American servicemen in so-called counterinsurgency campaigns of the dictatorship, the Philippines is well on its way to becoming another Vietnam.

Under these intolerable conditions, the Filipino people have no recourse but to confront fascist counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary armed struggle. The spark has been lit and the flames of people’s war are spreading throughout the country.

The revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces participating in this struggle are rallying to carry out the three-fold task of uniting to oppose the US-Marcos dictatorship and establish a truly democratic system of representation.

It is the aim of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front to develop and form a broad national united front among all patriotic and democratic forces. In this connection, the commission has put forth the following ten-point program for revolutionary action as basis of unity:

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation;

2. Expose and oppose US imperialism as the mastermind behind the setting up of the fascist dictatorship, demand the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangements with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country;

Unite to Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship

3. Fight for the reestablishment of all the democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process;

4. Gather all possible political and material support for the armed resistance and the underground against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

5. Support a genuine land reform program that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and semifeudal exploitation and agricultural production through cooperation;

6. Improve the people's livelihood, guarantee the right to work and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital;

7. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and combat imperialist, feudal and fascist culture;

8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces in their struggle for self-determination and democracy;

9. Punish after public trial the ringleaders of the US-Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth; and

10. Unite with all peoples fighting imperialism and seek their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

Only by pursuing this program can the Filipino people bring about national salvation from centuries-old bondage.

In the name of the broad masses of the Filipino people, including all the Filipino martyrs who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of national freedom and democracy, we appeal to all the peoples of the world for internationalist solidarity with our cause. Condemn the US-Marcos dictatorship. Make common cause with us by extending us all possible political, material and moral support.

To the American people, we issue a special appeal: Resolutely oppose the leaders of US imperialism for supporting and abetting the fascist regime. Stop them from converting the country into another Vietnam.

In turn, we reaffirm our revolutionary solidarity with all peoples against imperialism and all reaction. We pledge our lives to the struggle in the dawning of a new day of freedom and democracy for all.

Yours in revolutionary struggle,

The Preparatory Commission

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A Diplomatic Victory of the People's Republic of China: A Victory of the Philippine Revolutionary Struggle

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The recent visit of Mrs. Imelda Marcos and her entourage to China, the cordial reception extended to them by their Chinese hosts (including Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai and Comrade Jiang Ching) and the initial trade agreement made at a government-to-government level in the course of that visit comprise a significant step towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Philippines.

We are now on the eve of the establishment of diplomatic relations between socialist and Third World leader China and nonsocialist Philippines. In the wake of Mrs. Marcos' visit to China, the national security and foreign policy councils of the reactionary government under the direction of the fascist dictator Marcos have agreed that "it is in the highest national interest to enter into full diplomatic relations with China" and have authorized an economic mission to discuss with the Chinese government "higher matters" on top of further trade agreements.

The trend towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Chinese government and the Philippine reactionary government is irresistible. Those opposed to it can only try to delay it but can no longer stop it. For so long a time, despite the continuous flow of Filipino visitors from various walks of life to China, the US-Marcos clique has tried to forestall the day when such relations are established. But international and domestic conditions have so drastically changed that the present fascist dictatorship, notwithstanding its persistent anticommunist and pro-imperialist character, is compelled to move towards a change of Philippine policy towards China and accept basically the same defeat that US imperialism has priorly accepted upon Nixon's visit to China.

Because of present historical circumstances, characterized by a crisis of capitalism unprecedented in its severeness and turmoil since

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World War II and taking a more bitter form in colonies and semicolonies than in the imperialist countries, whoever is at the helm of the Philippine reactionary government is pressed upon to resort to measures that he may himself call desperate, one of which is to seek diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. No special credit goes to Marcos and his wife for being compelled against their wishes to seek the improvement of Sino-Philippine relations. As a matter of fact, they and their kind in the Philippines are accountable for delaying the establishment of diplomatic relations with China.

The benefits and advantages of having friendly relations with a neighboring socialist country of China's importance and dimensions have too long been obvious. It has long been a demand of the Filipino people that the Philippines break away from the stultifying control and influence of US imperialism and broaden her foreign relations by way of asserting and helping realize national sovereignty and independence.

A Diplomatic Victory of the People's Republic of China

Every step towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Philippines is a victory of the former's steadfast proletarian foreign policy. Every step constitutes a further defeat of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism which the Philippines has tailed after for twenty-five years; a counteraction to the schemes of the superpowers in using the Philippines as a base for anti-China and counterrevolutionary activities; and a strengthening of the ties of the Chinese and Filipino peoples, with certain favorable effects on the Philippine revolutionary struggle, especially at a time that the ruling system is wracked by a deep-going crisis generated locally and from abroad. The diplomatic victory of the People's Republic of China is clear. This is also a victory of the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

Let us take a comprehensive view of China's foreign policy. It includes three interrelated aspects, none of which can be omitted. These are:

- 1) developing relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with socialist countries on the principle of proletarian internationalism;
- 2) supporting and assisting the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed people and nations; and

- 3) striving for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence of (a) mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, (b) mutual nonaggression, (c) noninterference in each other's internal affairs, (d) equality and mutual benefit, and (e) peaceful coexistence.

The developing relations between China and the Philippines fall under China's policy of peaceful coexistence, particularly the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This policy is only one of the three aspects of China's foreign policy and occupies a secondary position in relation to the fundamental principle of proletarian internationalism. It simply covers the relations of a socialist country with countries having a different social system. It is correctly within the purview of a socialist foreign policy insofar as it promotes and enhances the principle of proletarian internationalism, takes advantage of inter-imperialist contradictions and combats the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

China has consistently adhered to the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and has in this regard been foremost in opposing the Soviet revisionist fallacy of making "peaceful coexistence" the general line for all relations, not only between socialist and nonsocialist countries but also between the imperialist powers and the countries, nations and the people that they oppress; and even between the reactionary states and revolutionary forces within the same countries. From Krushchov's time to Brezhnev's time, the Soviet Union has given the highest priority to collaborating with the United States in drumming up nuclear terror and "peace at any cost" but at the same time competing with her in arms expansion and war preparations for the sake of furthering imperialist designs against countries, nations and the people.

The elevation of what should be merely a specific policy for relations of socialist and nonsocialist countries to a general line for all relations of socialist countries as well as communist parties and the elaboration of this same policy into "peaceful transition" (the notion of hoping that the ruling classes would step down from power on their own accord without violent revolution) and "peaceful competition" (the notion of burying capitalism by beating it in economic competition and by sheer example) are a reflection of the restoration of capitalism in the form of bureaucrat monopoly capitalism, as well as a reflection of the growth of revisionism into a full-blown social-imperialism in the Soviet Union.

The correct orientation in carrying out the policy of peaceful coexistence is to make use of every rift and conflict among the imperialist

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powers and their followers to the advantage of the world proletarian revolution; to prevent them from uniting against socialist countries or revolutionary movements; to widen the ground for the consolidation and progress of the socialist countries; to promote and support the anti-imperialist struggle in various countries; to broaden the international united front against imperialism; to have long-term reliable allies as well as short-term unreliable allies; and to make possible the isolation and defeat of one imperialist power after another.

Though all the imperialist powers are by nature anticommunist, it is also in their nature to have contradictions among themselves. They go as far as waging wars against each other, as in World War I and World War II. They keep on quarrelling and pushing each other in a ceaseless struggle for a redivision of the world, especially at a time that the economic territory available for redivision has contracted, what with the emergence of several socialist countries and national liberation movements. Aside from developing unity and cooperation with other socialist countries and giving support and assistance to revolutionary movements abroad, a socialist country must make use of contradictions between the imperialist powers, between imperialist and lesser capitalist countries and between the imperialists and all sorts of dependent countries.

We gain a sharp understanding of the policy of peaceful coexistence by going back to the time when there was only one socialist country. The great Lenin set down this policy essentially to prevent the isolation of the Soviet Union in an international environment of reactionary governments and to prevent the imperialist powers from ganging up on and strangling the first socialist country in her cradle. At a crucial point, the Soviet Union signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty both to stay the hand of the German imperialists and to induce them to keep up their quarrel with other imperialist powers. At another crucial point, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union signed with Hitlerite Germany a pact of nonaggression in order to defeat the maneuver of other imperialist powers urging Hitler to attack her.

China since her liberation in 1949 has been realistic about US imperialism. To have diplomatic and trade relations with the United States would be to remove right away the props under the remnants of the Jiang reactionary forces. Thus, in making declarations on her policy of peaceful coexistence, she has always indicated and repeatedly expressed the possibility and desirability of having friendly relations with

the United States on the principled condition that the latter recognizes and respects her national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. But the problem has always been blatantly on the part of this imperialist power in hoping to reconquer China someday; in continuing to support the Jiang clique; in maintaining US military bases in Taiwan and the US Seventh Fleet in the Taiwan Straits; in campaigning for an embargo against China; in repeatedly violating Chinese land, air and water space; and worst in launching the two biggest wars of aggression since World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, in China's vicinity and with undoubted anti-China intent.

Consistently realistic, China has firmly stood up to what may be termed as the old anti-China policy of US imperialism and has done everything and her best to defeat it. She has strengthened herself as a socialist country, developed unity and cooperation with other socialist countries and has demonstrated in the Korean War and the Vietnam War her readiness to make the greatest national sacrifice in the face of the most serious rattling of nuclear weapons by US imperialism. Being true to her principle that people and not weapons are the most decisive factor, she has always sought to counter encircle US imperialism not only with the people of the socialist countries but also with the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of capitalist countries, including the United States. Along this general line, she has developed relations with all countries willing to deal with her on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. At one distinct level, China has made use of the slightest contradiction between US imperialism and other countries though nonsocialist and reactionary. At another distinct level, she has been able to reach out to the people of the world.

The overwhelming vote in favor of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations in 1971 and the Nixon visit to China on behalf of his government in 1972 have come to mark the defeat of the old extremely hostile anti-China policy of US imperialism and the victory of China's consistent struggle to uphold proletarian internationalism and carry out peaceful coexistence with countries of diverse social systems. In discarding its old anti-China policy, US imperialism is clearly under the compulsion of the defeats it has accumulated since the end of World War II up to the Vietnam War, the worsening crisis of world capitalism as a result of such defeats, the intensification of the struggle for world hegemony with Soviet social-imperialism and the irresistible trend of history reflected within the United Nations.

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The voting on the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations gives conclusive proof that it is not China but it is US imperialism and lapdogs like the Philippine reactionary government that are isolated in obdurately keeping to the old anti-China policy (even if under the guise of a "two China," "one China, one Taiwan" policy or any such other). The restoration of China's rights within the United Nations does not only uphold China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and pave the way for the return of Taiwan. But it also reflects the irresistible trend of history. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution.

The significance of Nixon's visit to China is best reflected by the Shanghai communique whereby the United States concedes to the principle that there is only one China and that the liberation of Taiwan is an internal affair of China and Chinese people. This is a death-dealing blow on the Jiang clique. And the significance does not stop there. This involves the advancement of the struggle against the two superpowers. What is obviously China's victory is also a victory of all socialist countries, the national liberation struggles, the Indochinese people and all other countries friendly to her. It is a victory of the people of the world, including the Filipino people.

By reentering the United Nations, China has gained a platform for promoting the broad historical trend against the big power politics of the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. She has taken every step to unite with and lead the Third World and the small and medium-sized countries in defending and fighting for their national and sovereign rights against one or two superpowers and in opposing every scheme of the two superpowers to further their ambitions for world hegemony and arms supremacy which endanger world peace and stunt the progress of mankind. There can be no other single direction for China's foreign policy but the advancement of what is today's main trend which is revolution.

Further Defeat of the Old Anti-China Policy of US Imperialism

Though she has declared a policy of moving towards the "normalization of relations" with China and has actually taken some steps towards diplomatic relations, like the exchanges of liaison offices and the lifting of her policy of embargo, the United States is still trying to maintain an ambiguous position vis-a-vis China and is apparently

biding her time. She continues in double-faced fashion to speak of honoring her "treaties" with the Jiang clique. Definitely, there are still vestiges of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism which need to be done away with.

The developing relations between China and the Philippines assume special significance in this regard. Were the latter to enter into full diplomatic relations with the former ahead of the United States, such an act would certainly hasten the obliteration of every vestige of the old anti-China policy. The very fact that the Philippines is now taking the steps in seeking diplomatic relations with China "soon" helps to make completely untenable whatever hindrance there is to the establishment of full diplomatic relations between China and the United States and the withdrawal of US support from the Jiang clique.

The Philippines is one puppet state of US imperialism that has since the establishment of the People's Republic of China been most vociferous in supporting the pretensions of the Jiang clique in China's Taiwan province. This country is something to reckon with not simply because she is China's neighbor but mainly because she carries the US military and naval bases that give support to the US Seventh Fleet and the US-Jiang fortifications in Taiwan. Should Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations be established, the isolation of the Jiang clique would be such that this clique would certainly come under irresistible pressure to sue for peaceful negotiations and settlement with the legitimate authorities of China.

Should the United States finally establish diplomatic relations with China ahead of the Philippines, it becomes a matter of course that Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations would follow. But the subject of Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations is most interesting insofar as the possibility sticks out that such relations would come ahead of Sino-US diplomatic relations. The possibility rests on either one or both of two things. First, the political and economic crisis of the Philippines is such that the Philippines is compelled to deal with China with or without approval from the United States. Second, the United States herself is interested in Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations arising ahead so that she would be able to refer to these in bringing home to the Jiang clique the message that it had better recognize the fact that its "treaties" with her are in effect withering. Conditions would then easily arise whereby the United States is spared the trouble of appearing as the one unilaterally casting away its "treaties" with the Jiang clique.

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Even now, it should be starkly clear to the Jiang clique that it can no longer depend on the United States. US imperialism is now in the process of withdrawing or reducing its forces from what it considers ineffectual and indefensible positions in the Asian mainland. With special reference to Taiwan, she is also in the process of complying with the Shanghai communique, though at a somewhat slow pace. It has become the prevalent view of the US ruling class and US policymakers that the United States would once more adopt the tactics of letting others do the fighting and making profits on war production and loans first and then joining the fight later to pick up the spoils, tactics that did her well in connection with World War I and World War II, instead of sticking to the tactics of the period after World War II of being the main pillar of capitalism and chief policeman of the world and carrying the main burden of undertaking aggressive acts that have only served to weaken her. The United States cannot facilely rush into a war of aggression against China over Taiwan province, after her experience in the Korean War and in the Vietnam War and in view of her present internal and external crises.

It is entirely correct for China to press and induce the United States to withdraw her support from the Jiang clique. The liberation of Taiwan is not something that serves only the interests of one country. We do recognize the larger significance of the liberation of Taiwan to the people of the world and the world revolution. Especially in the Philippines, we should be among the first to recognize that this constitutes one clear reduction of the power of US imperialism in Asia, the loss of one important link in the chain of US military bases in Asia. The military threat of US imperialism to the center of the world revolution would be greatly reduced. The persistence in south Korea of US aggressor troops, under the guise of UN troops, would weaken and completely lose ground. US coverage of the China Sea and the western rim of the Pacific would also weaken. These are only some of the obvious gains made in connection with the liberation of Taiwan.

There are two important aspects related to the developing Sino-Philippine relations. One aspect is that the Philippines is falling into line with the logic of the Nixon visit to China and the Shanghai communique. It is the calculation of the United States that friendly relations between China and the Southeast Asian countries will help to deter the aggressive and expansionist schemes of the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, in the East while the United

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States and Western Europe must pay attention to the dangers posed by the same superpower in the West. The other aspect is that the crisis of capitalism has so adversely affected the Philippines that she assumes some degree of initiative, distinct from US initiative, in seeking diplomatic and trade relations with China. In this regard, a breach has arisen in the traditional control and influence of US imperialism over the Philippines. The crisis of capitalism brings about the friction and conflict not only between two superpowers and among capitalist countries but also between a superpower like US imperialism and dependent country like the Philippines, notwithstanding the policies blatantly servile to US imperialism that have so far characterized the Marcos fascist regime.

The economic ills of the country have become so grave that the fascist dictator is overtly frantic. His bluff and bluster about the "peace and progress" brought about by his "new society" is all gone. The more he dishes out false economic figures the more contemptuous he becomes among the people. Because these are belied completely by the galloping inflation, ever increasing tax burden, rampant unemployment, constant devaluation of the currency, food and fuel shortages, rising budgetary deficits, rising trade deficits, rising foreign debts and rising profit remittances by the foreign monopoly capitalists. As a result, the political tyranny becomes a more insufferable fact among the broad masses of the people. The life of the fascist regime is daily at stake. Not only we who are engaged in a protracted people's war but also anti-Marcos reactionaries are working for the overthrow of this regime.

The fascist dictator has just about exhausted all his claims about "prosperity" being brought about by his policies servile to US imperialism. So he takes on a new tack, like seeking a new source of fuel and other necessary imports and a new market for export products, in order to show that he is doing something about the critical economic situation brought about by the crisis of capitalism. Whether he likes it or not, he is moving into a situation wherein the traditional control and influence of US imperialism over the Philippines is increasingly breached. In considering Sino-Philippine trade today, everyone can appreciate that crude oil can be availed of much more cheaply from China than from anywhere else; that this can help reduce the inflationary costs of industrial and agricultural production and distribution; that she is no small market for wood products, copper concentrates, coconut products and even sugar; that she is an efficient supplier

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of cheap and good-quality consumer and producer items; and that shipping costs between her and the Philippines are much less than between the latter and the United States or other capitalist countries.

The advantages and benefits of having friendly relations with China are bound to become increasingly a significant consideration in the international relations of the Philippines. The establishment of Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations will definitely be the final death-blow on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a military alliance originally designed by US imperialism to “contain” China. After all, it has long become outmoded, with China developing and maintaining bilateral relations with Pakistan and France, especially in the period of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism. In other words, it has long been put to naught by China’s policy and practice of peaceful coexistence.

Even the more recent Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC), previously calculated by US imperialism to prop up Japan as its fogleman in Asia, seems to have vanished into thin air. The establishment of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations has obviously put it to rest. A small capitalist country extremely dependent on imported fuel and vital raw materials and on foreign markets, Japan cannot play the role of “regional leader” under the Nixon doctrine of “making Asians fight Asians” offend China and all revolutionary forces in Asia and yet hope to be well accommodated in the constricted economic territory of US imperialism.

As far as we can see now, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) cannot but remain for sometime a formal organization fond of holding economic and political conferences but having no military or anti-China significance. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Malaysia has already started to veer this regional organization away from becoming a complete instrument of imperialism. The establishment of Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations will help this trend. As countries producing certain primary products, the ASEAN members are even likely in the future to take in certain ways the path shown by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). They can put strong demands on their imperialist patrons also by making use of their relations with China. In that way, the ASEAN countries can free themselves even only by degrees from the dictates of US imperialism that the ASEAN functions as a tool for “regional free trade” under the control of US multinational corporations.

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As the turmoil and crisis of capitalism worsens, China will be able to employ more effectively the policy of peaceful coexistence as a weapon to defend herself against one or two superpowers and support the countries that want independence, nations that want liberation and the people who want revolution. China is already well on the way of defeating the new anti-China, anticommunist and antipeople schemes of US imperialism on the basis of her resounding victory over the old anti-China policy of the same superpower.

A Counteraction to the Schemes of the Two Superpowers

Though it has started to withdraw or reduce its forces from untenable positions in the Asian mainland, US imperialism retains its aggressive nature and likewise its aggressive intents on China and in this connection lays great stock in holding on to the Philippines as a base for backing up whatever it hopes to peaceably retain or gain in the Asian mainland in the meantime that it cannot succeed with any outright war of aggression similar to what it has launched first in Korea and then in Indochina. US imperialism is like a tiger moving back into its old lair in the Philippines. There is its absolute weakening in the whole of Asia but there is also its relative strengthening in the Philippines. It is obvious that in the meantime the big scheme of US imperialism is to use China as a buffer against Soviet social-imperialism and to play off one against the other.

On its part, Soviet social-imperialism has long recognized the general weakening of US imperialism in Asia. It wishes to extend to Southeast Asia what it has done in the Middle East; in the South Asian subcontinent, particularly in India; and in the Indian Ocean. It has the overweening arrogance of wanting to replace US imperialism as the dominant superpower everywhere. Thus, it is now doing everything to penetrate Southeast Asia. In this connection, it covets the Philippines both as a good prey for exploitation and plunder and as one more link in the chain of bases that it wants to set up against China. Definitely, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have their respective schemes against China. But they as imperialist powers cannot help but contradict each other because their ambitions for world hegemony clash.

By developing relations with the Philippines, China counteracts not only the schemes of one superpower but also those of the other

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superpower and improves her ability to make use of the contradictions between the two superpowers. She takes advantage of a breach in the traditional control and influence of US imperialism over a semicolonial dependent, combats the maneuver of Soviet social-imperialism to step into the breach and presents herself as one country willing to help another country assert national sovereignty and independence against the two superpowers. For China to desist from developing relations with the Philippines would be to stand by in default of her internationalist duty against the two superpowers, allow them to manipulate the Philippines against her and throw away all the patent advantages and benefits that may be mutually gained by two neighboring countries.

The pernicious dominance of US imperialism over the Philippines is clear. US imperialism has been riding roughshod over the Filipino people for more than seventy years. And the naked eye can see the large business establishments of US corporations; US commodities in the remotest barrio; and the large US military installations. When total figures as well as strategic positions of US investments and the superprofits being raked in by the US imperialists are cited, these do not fail to incur the well-knowing hatred of the people for US imperialism. But not too many people yet know, for lack of direct experience and perception of the workings of Soviet social-imperialism, what is in store for a semicolonial and semifeudal country when this superpower succeeds in penetrating it and what evil it can do against the Philippine revolution and the world revolution.

Of course, the Communist Party of the Philippines has consistently given the Lava revisionist renegades the necessary drubbing for being agents of Soviet social-imperialism and for being counterrevolutionary factotums of the fascist puppet regime. It has also explained the workings of Soviet social-imperialism against communism, China, the revolution and the people in other countries. But there are those who tend to minimize the dangerous role of this superpower simply because it has not yet made a large-scale penetration of the Philippine economy and politics. They tend to fixate on Japan as a larger danger on a short-run and long-term basis simply because at the moment this erstwhile invader of the Philippines runs next only to US imperialism in investments and business operations in the country.

It is best to be forewarned about Soviet social-imperialism and to do everything to combat its penetration of the Philippines. This superpower ranks next only to US imperialism in economic and military

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power and is the chief rival of US imperialism in exploiting and plundering countries and in undertaking counterrevolutionary activities against the people. Give it a little quarter and it starts to seize more and do damage without letup. It is a much larger danger than what investments it can immediately make in the Philippines. It poses a serious danger to China, the center of the world proletarian revolution. It engages in counterrevolutionary activities under the cover of pious words; it is socialism in words and imperialist in deeds and therefore in being devious it poses a special danger to our revolutionary movement. Given a longer leash in this country, this superpower will not only be one more imperialist power on the back of the Filipino people but will possibly turn out to be the principal foreign power exploiting and oppressing the people.

Anytime that Soviet social-imperialism dares to launch a full-scale war of aggression against China, it is liable to be rated as the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world and of the Filipino people. An attack against the center of the world revolution is an attack against all the people and revolutionary movements of the world. It is no idle talk to consider the serious danger posed by Soviet social-imperialism to China. Whereas US imperialism has already substantially reduced its forces in China's vicinity, it is Soviet social-imperialism that is blatantly threatening and putting pressure on China by continuing to deploy more than one million troops along the Sino-Soviet border and in the People's Republic of Mongolia and claiming Chinese territory far in excess of what the old Tsars claimed.

So long as imperialism exists, the danger of war exists. As the crisis of capitalism worsens, the contention of the rival imperialist powers becomes more acute. In this regard, we must be alert to the sharpening competition of the two superpowers for world hegemony and arms supremacy. Because the system of capitalism has sunk into a crisis unprecedented since the last world war, it is relevant to recall the fact that each of the last two world wars was preceded by a crisis that is the worst in comparison to all previous crises. We are now witness to an economic crisis proportionately approaching in viciousness the great depression in the thirties. We are witness to the turmoil and disarray of the entire capitalist world, the conspicuous disagreements of the two superpowers, Western Europe and Japan and the protective measures of capitalist countries against each other. We are witness to the sharpening class struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly

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capitalists in every capitalist country. We must be alert to fascism and social-fascism because these breed war.

History never repeats itself exactly. That is because new historical forces keep on arising and old ones keep on falling. The last world war has weakened the entire capitalist system and has brought about several socialist countries and a continuous wave of national liberation struggles. There is now an entirely new and higher level of struggle in the world proletarian revolution. War has only served to yield revolution and revolutionary forces have grown to the point that they may be able to stop war. At any rate, if war still breaks out, we can be certain that it cannot but lead further to revolution in the Third World as well as in the capitalist countries. This point must terrify the imperialists. Look at how the revolutionary forces have forced US imperialism to retreat from Vietnam and the whole of Indochina. The revolutionary forces include not only those in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos but also those in other countries, including the United States, who have opposed US aggression without letup.

It is China's national and internationalist duty to prepare against war so as to at least prevent it or, should it still occur, so as to be able to defend herself victoriously. The best single preparation that she has so far made against the danger of war is the tempering of the Chinese people and her consolidation as a socialist bulwark through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, under Chairman Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is insane for any other superpower to trifle with the strength of the Chinese people who alone comprise one quarter of humanity. China's preparations against war ranges from the revolutionization of the superstructure to the expansion of production and improvement of her military defense. She is well prepared against large-scale invasion, preceded or followed by a nuclear attack. She is so prepared against war that she is ready to resist even the joint attacks of the United States from the south and southeast, Japan from the northeast, the Soviet Union from the north and India from the west.

China certainly has basis for guarding against the aforementioned countries. Japan invaded her in the 1930s; the United States bombed inside China during the Korean War (before Chinese volunteers entered the war); Indian troops crossed the border in 1959 and again in 1962; and Soviet troops attacked at two points along the Sino-Soviet border in 1969. China goes by the saying, to prepare for the worst and

hope for the best. In hoping for the best, she seeks to prevent war in two ways: by making it obvious to all possible attackers that it is senseless to attack her because of her capability to resist effectively; and by frustrating the anti-China maneuvers and intrigues of the possible attackers, especially the two superpowers, in the field of diplomacy.

It is entirely correct for a socialist country to carry out the policy of peaceful coexistence so as to prevent war or aggression against her and to keep the way wide open for revolution in various countries, without the heavy toll of a world war. By making use of contradictions between the two superpowers, she can prevent the two superpowers from uniting against the center of the world revolution. Also in this way, even the single superpower most likely to attack her at a given time may be deterred from attacking her. If a socialist country can have diplomatic relations with the imperialist powers, the more there is reason for her to deal with countries that are dependent on them in one way or another because there are certainly contradictions that need to be allowed full play.

Take the case of the recently established Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. Now that there are mutual interests involved, interests that are especially vital for Japan at a time that the United States is restricting accommodations for her, is Japan now as willing an anti-China instrument of any superpower as before? US imperialism is no longer as cocky as before about being able to dictate on Japan to act as its fugleman in Asia. Neither is Soviet social-imperialism now as cocky as before about being able to entice Japan into an anti-China alignment by serving up her natural resources, especially oil, in Siberia. As Japan is encouraged to be independent of the superpowers, her contradictions with each one will become more outstanding.

In counteracting the two superpowers, China is neither playing the role of a superpower nor selling away any principle. She upholds her own proletarian revolution and promotes the world proletarian revolution. In her foreign relations, she upholds and carries out a foreign policy which is based on proletarian internationalism and which includes the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.

China does not seek world hegemony and arms supremacy like the two superpowers. On the other hand, she promotes the broad historical trend of countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and the people wanting revolution. She opposes the bullying, aggression, interference, control and subversion practised by the

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two superpowers in international relations. She takes no part in any of the superpowers' hocus-pocus about partial and limited controls on nuclear weapons, which hocus-pocus is in fact calculated to promote nuclear monopoly and blackmail. Instead, she advocates complete and immediate nuclear disarmament that is decided by all countries, not only by the big powers so-called, and never ceases to urge the superpowers to withdraw nuclear weapons from their foreign bases and to pledge like she has done that they be not the first to use nuclear weapons against any country.

China's foreign trade is based on equal exchange and mutual benefit and does not demand that solely or mainly raw materials are supplied to her by other countries. Of course, as a socialist country, she does not make any direct investments under any guise in any country. She does not unilaterally impose loans on other countries nor demand onerous terms on loans that she extends. In fact, she extends loans that carry an extremely low interest or no interest at all and moreover payments for these are postponed without additional burden to the debtor upon the latter's inability to pay. She is no merchant of death, selling arms and ammunition for the sheer purpose of making a big profit. She would rather give these free to anti-imperialist forces than seek profits from just any customer. She does not ask for extraterritorial rights, military bases or special privileges for her personnel in exchange for her aid.

The People's Republic of China has never been carried away by the fear of nuclear weapons in the hands of the superpowers but has always stressed that the people fighting a just cause are the decisive factor. She has never begged for peace terms dictated by any foreign country at the expense of her sovereignty and independence nor at the expense of her friends. She has amply demonstrated her readiness to negotiate even with her sworn enemies, as in the talks at Panmunjom and Warsaw and with Soviet representatives on border questions and recently with Nixon, but always in the spirit of tit-for-tat struggle and never to put her principles on the auction block. Only at times when the cards are stacked against her and the people of the world, such as in the fake nuclear disarmament talks, does she refuse also in the spirit of tit-for-tat struggle to go to the negotiation table.

Though she is still a developing socialist country, she does not grovel for foreign loans nor serve up her economy and natural resources to any imperialist power or any foreign country. It is her firm

policy not to allow foreign entities of any sort to make direct investments within her effective area of governance under any cover, be it "joint management," "service contract," "production-sharing" or any other fancy name. She would rather acquire foreign equipment on a cash-and-carry basis than be bound by loan agreements with sneaky terms. She is open to learning from other countries and gives emphasis to learning from the people of these countries, with the clear purpose of making this serve her needs. She is self-reliant and full of initiative and she always improves on what she learns in accordance with her conditions.

Strengthening the Ties of the Chinese and Filipino Peoples

There are three types of people in the country who are disturbed in one way or another about the developing relations between China and the Philippines. There are those who wish to live in the past and who fail to recognize that even the United States has already pronounced her policy to move towards the normalization of relations with China; there are the local revisionist renegades who accuse the Communist Party of the Philippines of being inconsistent in opposing Soviet relations with the Philippines and yet endorsing China's relations with the Philippines; and there are well-meaning people who fear that China's friendly relations now with the Philippines would serve to help the fascist puppet dictatorship and adversely affect the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

The first type of people are only a few and they are bound to be swept along by the course of US foreign policy. The second type of people are also a few and they can be told bluntly within the hearing of everyone that it is wrong to put on par a socialist country like China with a social-imperialist country like the Soviet Union which would constitute (were Soviet-Philippine relations to develop) not only one more exploiter of the Filipino people but also a grave threat to the center of the world revolution and the entire world revolution, including the Philippine revolution. The third type of people are not very few and yet are not very many and they are as well-meaning as they are interested in the overthrow of the fascist puppet dictatorship. They require our patient attention and explanation.

We have already pointed out that historical forces are at work compelling the fascist puppet dictatorship to go the way of accepting

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the bankruptcy of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism. Also, we have pointed out that China's developing relations with the Philippines serve to advance the struggle against the two superpowers. By these measures alone, we can see that Sino-Philippine relations have a favorable influence on the Philippine revolution. But we need finally to state that Sino-Philippine relations serve to strengthen the ties between the Chinese and Filipino peoples and in effect serve even against the wishes of the fascist tyrants to cast a favorable light on the Philippine revolution.

The fact that the development of Sino-Philippine relations constitutes a breakthrough, enabling the Chinese and Filipino peoples to have closer and stronger ties, overrules and more than offsets any fear about such relations tending to support the fascist dictatorship and discourage the Philippine revolutionary struggle. The whole range of Sino-Philippine relations, which includes trade relations, cultural exchanges, people-to-people contacts and many others, has the net result of letting the Chinese people know more about the misfortune of a people living in a semicolonial and semifeudal country and letting the Filipino people know more about the Chinese revolution and China's socialist achievements.

Would it not be a fine thing if through China's relations with the Philippines the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will shine ever more brightly and the concrete achievements of a country liberated from a semicolonial and semifeudal past will become known more than ever throughout the archipelago? Before, in the period of Philippine hostility towards China, US imperialism propaganda swamped the country with all kinds of lies about China and the Chinese people. Upon the establishment of Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations, the Chinese embassy would be able to disseminate to everyone interested educational and cultural materials ranging from Chairman Mao's writings and works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to information materials regarding China's socialist revolution and socialist construction as well as the world anti-imperialist struggle against the two superpowers. Of course, the Philippine embassy would also be able to disseminate its own kind of educational and cultural materials to everyone interested. But then a people still under imperialist and big comprador-landlord rule will have much more to learn from a people who have freed themselves from such rule and who are now in a developing socialist society in the stage of initial prosperity.

Even at this stage in the development of Sino-Philippine relations, we can observe the marked difference between the anticommunist propaganda of today with that of the fifties and early sixties. A lot of water has passed under the bridge. China on her part has done a lot that can no longer be denied or distorted by imperialist propaganda and now prompts US imperialism and its Philippine dependent to develop relations with her. We can also observe the marked difference between the anticommunist propaganda immediately attending the Marcos rightist coup and that of the present when the Philippine reactionary government must show in earnest that it is interested in Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations. Even as the Filipino people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the fascist dictatorial regime, the fascist press monopoly is already preempted to a considerable extent from going all the way in attacking China and Chairman Mao and is compelled to put the stress on the distortion and misrepresentation of facts in Philippine society. After all, we are fighting today a civil war against the fascist puppet dictatorship.

In gaining the most profound knowledge about something, there is no substitute for repeated direct investigation as well as direct experience of it as the basis for conclusions and judgements. The exchange of visitors representing various sections of Philippine and Chinese society will play a great role even as we assume that the Philippine reactionary government must issue the passport for the Filipino visitor to China. If we take a look at the past flow of Filipino visitors to China, the Philippine reactionary government has not been able to restrict their number to those who have nothing to say but lies about China. It is even the fact that those who have held anti-China views before going to China change such views after their visit to China. So long as the people-to-people contacts and educational and cultural relations develop, the truth about China will shine more brilliantly than ever before and will cast a favorable glow on the local anti-imperialist struggle and every attempt to do away with a semicolonial and semifeudal present.

Let us consider the fear that the developing Sino-Philippine relations, with particular reference to the representations being made by Marcos and his wife, serve to legitimize an illegitimate regime like the fascist dictatorial regime. In this regard, it should be most relevant to ask immediately who should represent the Philippine reactionary government now in dealing with China. More than two years have passed

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since the Marcos rightist coup but we do not yet see other reactionaries deposing Marcos and we are still in the early part of the strategic defensive in our people's war. It remains our firm view that the fascist dictatorial regime is an illegitimate regime because it is an anti-national and antidemocratic regime and moreover it has been established by a counterrevolutionary coup under the instigation of US imperialism. But we simply have to recognize the fact that Marcos remains the chieftain of the reactionary government and that there is no way for China to develop country-to-country relations with the Philippines except by dealing with his government. What he has done specifically in his coup is to abuse his executive power in order to establish a fascist regime and go beyond his legal term of office. There is no parallelism with the case of Cambodia that can be cited to support the view that the Chinese government should not deal with Marcos.

Let us learn from the great Lenin who pointed out: "There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage that they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot."⁴ This quotation sheds light not only on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty signed by the Soviet Union with the German imperialists in Lenin's time but also on China's developing relations with the Philippines.

Trade with China is something very urgent for the Philippines today, what with the inflated prices of fuel brought in by the US oil monopolies and the slump in the world capitalist market for traditional Philippine exports. Philippine export earnings and heavy foreign borrowings can no longer cope up with the inflationary prices of all imported commodities, the unrestricted and accelerated remittance of superprofits by the US and other foreign monopolies and the increasingly large payments that have to be made on foreign loans. The economic crisis for the Philippines extends into the production and distribution of all local commodities, including food. This crisis is shaking the fascist puppet regime. Thus, this regime is frantic about looking for new markets for Philippine exports and new sources of imported commodities as well as of financial and technical assistance.

⁴ Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*.

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Let us consider the fear that China's trade relations with the Philippines give material aid and comfort to the fascist dictatorial regime. In this regard, we once more set aside emotion and delve into policy. Definitely, trading with China will be of help to the Philippines in some degree, especially at this time of crisis. Also, to some degree, the fascist dictatorial regime, including some big comprador-landlords, may be helped. But then the situation is not one-sided. After all, trade is not a one-sided affair; no side gets anything without paying for it. There are even more important considerations than the balance sheet of trade. The development of trade relations should be able to hasten the establishment of diplomatic relations and strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in the Philippines. As Sino-Philippine trade grows and develops, the breach in the traditional control and influence of US imperialism over the Philippines widens. The ability of US imperialism to use foreign trade as a lever for extracting privileges from the country will become reduced. Within the Philippines, the big comprador-landlord circles will be far from being unanimous in going along with any policy against China. A considerable number of them have already started to recognize the advantages of trading with China. The broad masses of the people have also started to get hold of Chinese commodities which are low-priced but of high quality. These commodities dispel the lies about China, the Chinese revolution and the Chinese socialist society and stimulate the consciousness of the people not only about their neighbor but also about themselves.

Sino-Philippine trade cannot but develop on the basis of equal exchange and mutual benefit. Also, it cannot but develop step by step. The traditional pattern of Philippine foreign trade is still ranged against the development of Sino-Philippine trade. And the fascist dictatorial regime cannot change this overnight. So, at the most for the time being, Sino-Philippine trade can cover only certain percentages of certain commodities. But such would suffice for China to step into the breach that has arisen in Philippine foreign trade. So long as the Philippines remains mainly dependent on her traditional foreign trade, the Philippine ruling system and the present fascist dictatorial regime remain in the grip of the crisis of capitalism. But should the Marcos fascist regime or any succeeding regime progressively develop and use Sino-Philippine trade relations as well as diplomatic relations as a weapon against US imperialism, then the Communist Party of the Philippines would not begrudge such a development and would be in

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keeping with its revolutionary leadership to support such a development. Even if we assume that under the Marcos fascist regime trade with China is restricted to being merely supplementary to trade with the imperialist and capitalist countries, the basis shall have been set for the further development of Sino-Philippine trade, and its benefits and advantages for the Philippine side shall have proven to be such that they become an important consideration in Philippine policy.

Let us consider the fear that China needs diplomatic relations with the Philippines so badly that she would succumb to a condition set by the fascist dictatorship that she withdraws support from the Philippine revolutionary struggle. This is an extremely unreasonable fear. China has never bargained away principles with any superpower and has always courageously fought for her principles. Why should she now choose to succumb to the petty-minded propositions of a mere dependent of US imperialism? The basis of Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations cannot but be the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This cannot be wrenched out from the full context of China's proletarian foreign policy. We have already sufficiently described how the Philippines stands in the world's order of things. It is extremely obvious too that China is as patient as she is confident about the development of Sino-Philippine relations because of the crisis and turmoil of the capitalist system and the pressure of positive historical forces on the Philippines.

We have already said much about the favorable effects of Sino-Philippine relations on the Philippine revolutionary struggle. But we need to point out and stress that Sino-Philippine relations are one thing and the Philippine revolution is another thing. There is a line of distinction between the two. Revolution cannot be exported to the Philippines via Sino-Philippine relations. Neither can Sino-Philippine relations be a substitute for the Philippine revolution. Though Sino-Philippine relations can shed some favorable influence, the Philippine revolution must be the creation of the millions upon millions of the Filipino people and must be carried out according to Philippine conditions. Chairman Mao wrote in 1946 in connection with the international agreements being worked out by the Soviet Union and her World War II allies: "Such compromise (between socialist and nonsocialist countries) does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromise at home. The

people in these countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions.”

As matters still stand in the country, despite the part that it is now playing in developing Sino-Philippine relations, the fascist puppet regime remains the target of the revolutionary armed struggle that we are waging. The only way by which the Marcos fascist regime may be able to save itself from being the principal target of our people's war is to develop Sino-Philippine relations to the point of making them a full weapon against US imperialism and so as to draw the necessary popular support for a firm anti-imperialist stand to shed off to some acceptable extent its anti-national and antidemocratic character.

It is shameless for the Lava revisionist renegades to imagine at the moment that the fascist puppet dictatorship is a revolutionary force. It is even more shameless that they have openly surrendered to it and praised it volubly for “achieving the reforms dictated by US imperialism. “ The broad masses hate them and damn them. But we also thank these revisionist scoundrels for finally creeping out of their holes and showing their ugly faces in public. It is much better that they have exposed themselves as cheap petty agents of the fascist puppet dictatorship rather than continue working surreptitiously as such.

The Communist Party of the Philippines under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the one and only political party that the broad masses of the people can rely on most in leading the revolutionary struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. The New People's Army under the absolute leadership of our Marxist-Leninist Party is now in every major region in the country courageously waging armed struggle and winning victories. It is indefatigably applying Chairman Mao's strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside over a long period of time so as to establish revolutionary bases from which to advance wave upon wave until it is time to seize the cities and achieve nationwide victory. A broad national united front is not only welding together such basic forces of the revolution as the proletariat, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie and striving to win over every section of the national bourgeoisie but also making use of contradictions in the ranks of the reactionary forces, including the most reactionary ones, so as to thoroughly win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one. Even in the face of a brutal fascist regime, the Philippine revolution continues to advance steadily. That is because of

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the correct ideological and political line of the Party, the revolutionary awakening and mobilization of the broad masses of the people, the support of the world anti-imperialist struggle and the worsening crisis of world capitalism and the local ruling system.

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Third Red Company of the New People's Army in Cagayan Valley Carries Out Brilliant Armed Struggle in Aurora Subprovince

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The Third Red Company of the New People's Army in Cagayan Valley is carrying out a brilliant revolutionary armed struggle in Aurora subprovince of Quezon. This unit of the people's army has been able to increase its size and strength by adopting and applying a flexible guerrilla strategy and tactics, taking full advantage of strong mass support and favorable terrain, being self-reliant without a single centavo of financial support from outside its zone and carrying out a policy of annihilation in order to obtain arms and ammunition from the enemy.

In three-and-a-half months of fierce fighting, from the last week of May to the first week of September this year, the Third Red Company was able to wipe out at least 274 enemy troops, with 152 confirmed dead, and seize a considerable number of firearms of various types, with sufficient ammunition, from the fallen enemy. Aside from increasing its rifle strength, this unit of the people's army was able to eliminate 24 local tyrants and enemy spies, shoot down one enemy helicopter and one reconnaissance plane, destroy two jeeps and five trucks of the six-by-six type carrying enemy troops and partially damage one more helicopter and a sabre jet.

Because of its victories, the Third Red Company is now an oversized company. It is now sixty rifles stronger than what it was last May. The present strength of the company is a far cry from its origin as a mere platoon stressing on propaganda and organizational work among the local masses and armed only with homemade shotguns and Springfield rifles of World War II vintage. Now, the oversized company has Garand, BAR, M-16, M-14 and M-79 rifles.

Within the last week of May, the Third Red Company killed a total of 32 enemy troops and seriously wounded 17 others. The first platoon ambushed and killed seven enemy troops in Barrio Tabas of Casiguran on May 23. Two jeeps carrying the troops were destroyed. Rifles

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and ammunition, food supplies and other materials were captured. The second platoon harassed and wiped out 42 enemy troops at Barrio Ditomonggo of Dilasag on May 27. Of those wiped out, 25 were confirmed dead.

Within June, the Third Red Company inflicted heavier losses on the enemy by killing 44 of his troops and wounding a bigger but undetermined number of his troops. The first platoon entered the poblacion of Casiguran, killed a full enemy squad and wounded an undetermined number of other enemy troops. The third platoon launched an ambush against the enemy at Barrio Bolo of Dinalongan. Twenty-seven enemy troops were killed and an undetermined number of others were wounded. Again weapons and ammunition of various types were seized by the people's fighters.

Immediately after its victory in this ambush, the third platoon entered the poblacion of Dinalongan and finished off a full enemy squad here and wounded an undetermined number of fleeing enemy troops. For several days, not a single enemy troop was around to offer any opposition. When there were enemy troops again, the third platoon killed five troops of an enemy unit patrolling the periphery of the poblacion.

It was during the month of June that higher military authorities of the enemy in Manila and the Northeast Command (Noreascom) took full notice of their defeats in the three towns of Casiguran, Dilasag and Dinalongan and described the situation of their troops there as critical. They proceeded to replace the civilian mayors of these towns with military officers, each with the rank of major; poured in more troops into the area; and started to take a series of increasingly harsh measures against the people.

Within July, the Third Red company took a relative rest and took stock of the situation, especially the enemy's reaction. However, the company still managed to kill 12 enemy troops and wound eight others. The first platoon twice harassed the enemy detachment at the poblacion of Casiguran, killed four enemy troops on the spot and wounded 15 others so seriously that eight of them subsequently died. The second platoon harassed the enemy detachment at the poblacion of Dilasag and seriously wounded one enemy troop.

Within August, the Third Red Company unleashed a powerful offensive causing the confirmed death of 56 enemy troops and the wounding of not less than 47 others. The first platoon ambushed an enemy company at Barrio Manggitahan of Dilasag, killed twelve enemy troops

and wounded about thirty others. The second platoon also ambushed five enemy trucks and killed seven enemy troops at Barrio Igang of Dilasag. As the enemy troops jumped out and fled helter-skelter, with some leaving their rifles and ammunition the people's fighters advanced to complete their attack, seize the rifles and ammunition, and destroy the five trucks completely. In two subsequent encounters at Barrio Pudso of Dilasag, the second platoon killed a total of four enemy troops and wounded seven others.

The first platoon penetrated the poblacion of Casiguran and killed four enemy troops. At Barrio Igang of Dilasag, the second platoon ambushed two truckloads of enemy troops, killed thirty enemy troops and wounded ten others and confiscated several rifles, pistols and ammunition. In the course of the battle, a public school teacher who had taken a ride with the enemy troops joined the New People's Army on the spot.

Within the first week of September, the first platoon twice harassed the enemy detachment at the poblacion of Dilasag. So did the second platoon once. These harassments resulted in the death of nine enemy troops and the wounding of several others.

Before the enemy was able to take full notice of the existence of the New People's Army in Aurora subprovince, the Third Red Company had already devoted several months of painstaking mass work in the area. The terrain is so favorable for guerrilla warfare that the fast-moving guerrilla units can repeatedly attack the enemy detachments at the poblacion which is on a thin strip of sea coast and is squeezed in between the vast well-forested mountains and the sea.

From the last week of May to the first week of September, the Third Red Company maintained initiative and the enemy was often forced to a passive position. The enemy was afraid to penetrate the mountains; but neither was he safe in the poblacion. Within the radius it chose for its military operations, the Third Red Company could carry on both a strategic offensive and tactical offensives. This militant unit of the New People's Army proved that we can maintain local superiority over the enemy while we are still inferior nationwide and are still on the strategic defensive.

The Third Red Company of the New People's Army in Cagayan Valley has won outstanding victories worthy of emulation. But it should not become complacent; it should remain modest and militant. As a guerrilla force, it should continue the policy of fighting a battle only

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when sure of winning and seizing arms and ammunition from the enemy. It should constantly pay attention to the correct relationship of main and secondary units, directions and tasks; and of the correct relationship of concentration, shifting and dispersion.

Now, that the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is giving its cruel attention to Aurora subprovince, there is all the reason for alertness and putting into full play correct assessments, policies and actions in accordance with fast-changing concrete conditions. Units of the tasks forces under the Noreascom and Special Forces as well as military trainees under the Tabak Division, the 55th PC Ranger Company, the Third Cosac and airborne as well as waterborne enemy units are already being deployed against the Third Red Company.

The people in the barrios are being forced to leave their homes and farms. The enemy air force has resorted to bombing the barrios and enemy ground troops have taken to killing, looting and burning. The enemy is drumming up the propaganda that deadly germs and chemicals are going to be poured into the rivers and creeks. A tight system of population control, involving evacuation, reconcentration, residence certificates, PC-police clearances, permits, checkpoints, curfew from 7:00 p.m. and the like, is being ruthlessly undertaken by the enemy. The people are being forced to evacuate to the poblacions and strategic hamlets along the sea coast. Yet in these thin coastal strips, where the fascist dictator's mother and in-laws have been landgrabbing, there is no way for the greater number of evacuees to earn a livelihood.

The New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines must firmly oppose and counteract the enemy's policy of forced evacuation. It is better to die fighting than to be abused without letup by the fascists and starve to death in the poblacions and strategic hamlets. To evacuate to the mountains on the side of the people's army gives everyone a chance to fight, live on root crops and take advantage of his own homestead from time to time. But in the poblacions and strategic hamlets, one loses all his belongings and starves to death in the face of the abusive and corrupt fascists and in the face of rampant inflation.

The Third Red Company of the New People's Army is a well-tempered fighting unit. It has gone through countless difficulties and has overcome these to become what it is today. It is ready to face more difficulties and overcome them in order to win greater victories. It

Armed Struggle in Aurora Subprovince

fears neither death nor sacrifice. That is because it is fighting for the national and democratic interests of the broad masses of the people, whereas the enemy is fighting for the interests of the few, chiefly the US-Marcos clique, and is isolated from the people. Behind the facade of military strength, the enemy is rotten to the core and is daily weakening because of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the local ruling system, a crisis unprecedented in severeness and turmoil since the end of World War II.

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Specific Characteristics of our People's War⁵

December 1, 1974

From the great treasury of Marxism-Leninism, we draw basic principles and historical lessons to shed light on the people's war that we are waging. But these are of general value; they are a general guide to our action. To rest content with them, without integrating them without concrete practice, is to turn them into lifeless dogma. To dispense with them is to engage in blind action.

Both dogmatism and empiricism are anathema to Communists. As in all matters, we must integrate theory and practice in the conduct of people's war. The universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought must be applied to the concrete conditions of the Philippine Revolution. We adhere firmly to the great Lenin's teaching that the soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Only by understanding the specific characteristics of our own people's war can we understand the laws that govern it and thus can we adopt and implement the correct strategy and tactics for carrying it forward to victory.

The basic principles and historical lessons already found in the universal theory of the revolutionary proletariat have been paid for in blood by various peoples triumphant in their respective revolutions. But as far as carrying out and winning our own people's war is concerned, there is nothing more important than those principles and lessons that we learn on the basis of Philippine conditions and our own revolutionary experience. In this regard, we put the highest premium on those principles and lessons paid for in blood by our own people.

Integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with Philippine practice is a two-way process. We do not merely take advantage of the victories achieved abroad so that we may succeed in our own revolution. But

⁵ This essay was distributed in mimeographed form to CPP leading cadres and members. It was subsequently published in July 1975 and again in 1979 under the title *Specific Characteristics of our People's War* in the Philippines. Also in 1979, it was published under the original title as a companion piece to the third edition of *Philippine Society and Revolution*.

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we also hope to add our own victory to those of others and make some worthwhile contribution to the advancement of Marxism-Leninism and the world proletarian revolution so that in the end mankind will be freed from the scourge of imperialism and enter the era of communism. At this stage of the Philippine Revolution, we wage a people's war, a revolutionary war, because it is the only method possible to end the armed oppression of the people by the reactionary state that is the instrument of the big comprador-landlord class.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the specific characteristics of our people's war, we must consider such specific conditions as that our people's war is in line with the national democratic revolution of a new type; that we need to wage a protracted war in the countryside; that we are fighting in a mountainous archipelago; that the enemy is big and strong while we are still small and weak; that a fascist dictatorship has arisen amidst a political and economic crisis of the ruling system; that the country is dominated by one imperialist power and thus there is a unified armed reaction, except in southwestern Mindanao; and that US imperialism is on the decline in Asia and throughout the world and world revolution is advancing amidst the general crisis of the world capitalist system unprecedented since the end of World War II.

In discussing the specific characteristics of our people's war, we are bound to point out certain advantages and disadvantages or strengths and weaknesses. At the same time, we indicate immediately by what general process we can maximize our advantages and strengths and overcome the disadvantages and weaknesses.

1. National Democratic Revolution of a New Type

Our country is semicolonial and semifeudal. It is under the indirect rule of US imperialism whose most reliable agents and puppets are the big comprador-landlords and big bureaucrats. The cities are ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the countryside is ruled by the landlord class.

The overwhelming majority of our 41 million people, more than ninety percent of them, are severely exploited and oppressed by the big compradors and big landlords who together with their closest and best paid political and technical subalterns compose a tiny minority that is no more than two percent of the population. The most oppressed

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and exploited are the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle or national bourgeoisie also suffer from the semicolonial and semifeudal situation, with the former stratum suffering more than the latter.

It is obvious why we interchangeably speak of people's war and revolutionary war. We are fighting for the revolutionary interests of the broad masses of the people. We are fighting specifically for their national democratic interests. Ours is a national democratic revolution aimed at completing our struggle for national independence and giving substance to the democratic aspirations of our people. We have no course but to fight for national emancipation and social liberation against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

In a sense, our national democratic revolution is a continuation of the Philippine Revolution that started in 1896. But this revolution has assumed new characteristics. It is of a new type. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois-capitalist revolution. It is part of the proletarian-socialist revolution which has emerged since the first global inter-imperialist war and the victory of the great socialist October Revolution. Though we are still fighting for a national democratic revolution, this constitutes a preparation for carrying out a socialist revolution in our country.

We are therefore engaged in a continuous Philippine Revolution, with two distinct stages: the national democratic and socialist stages. In both stages, the class leadership is held by the proletariat which is historically the most progressive, as a political and economic factor, and which evokes the most advanced ideology. Through its vanguard detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the proletariat sees to it that the national democratic revolution is carried out and completed; that the socialist revolution immediately ensues upon the victory of the national democratic revolution; and that for a whole historical epoch socialism creates the foundation for communism.

At the present stage of the Philippine Revolution, the Party wields two weapons against the enemy. These are armed struggle and the national united front. These are interrelated like the spear and the shield. One serves the other. The national democratic front ensures the widest possible popular support for armed struggle; it splits the enemy ranks and isolates the worst single enemy at a time. Armed struggle is specifically the weapon for carrying out the central task of

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the revolution, which is the destruction and overthrow of enemy rule and the seizure of political power.

To paraphrase Chairman Mao, without an army like the New People's Army, the people have nothing. To have a few seats in a reactionary parliament and to have no people's army in our country is to play a fool's game. Anytime that the enemy chooses to change the rules of the game, say the constitution, it would be able to do so at the people's expense.

Between armed struggle and parliamentary struggle, the former is principal and the latter is secondary. Every genuine revolutionary knows that the chief component of the reactionary state is the reactionary army. The Filipino people are helpless without their own army. They cannot take a single step towards smashing the entire military-bureaucratic machinery of the enemy without a people's army.

In carrying out a people's war, the Party builds the people's army as its main form of organization. It is not only an organization where the Party membership is most concentrated. It is also an organization for uniting the proletarian revolutionaries and the peasant masses both within the army and in the localities. In this way, the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry so necessary in a national united front takes the most effective concrete form.

The basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry is the foundation of the national united front. The stronger this alliance is in the course of people's war, the stronger is the desire of the urban petty bourgeoisie to join the national united front and take active part in revolutionary work. Likewise the national bourgeoisie is encouraged to bring its support to such basic forces of the revolution as the proletariat, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. At this stage of the revolution, the leadership of the Party and the proletariat is best proven by its ability to build a people's army and realize the basic alliance of the toiling masses.

2. Protracted War in the Countryside

Eighty-five percent of the national population is in the countryside. Of this rural population, the poor peasants together with the farm workers comprise about 75 percent; the middle peasants, about 15 percent; the rich peasants, about five percent. The landlords may be only one or two percent. About three or four percent is taken up

by nonagricultural wage-earners, artisans, small peddlers, merchants, students, teachers and other professionals. There are drastic deviations from these percentages only in particular places where there are mines, logging, modern plantations and some industries. Fishermen along the seacoasts are mainly peasants.

On the basis of these facts, the peasant population and the countryside have a special significance to us in waging people's war. The main social problem, the single problem affecting the greatest number of people, lies in the countryside. It is the land problem. Feudalism and semifeudalism oppress and exploit the poor peasants, the farm workers and the lower-middle peasants. Without focusing attention on this problem and providing it with a solution, we cannot draw into the ranks of the revolution the most formidable force that can overwhelm the enemy.

Agrarian revolution is the solution. The peasant masses are aroused and mobilized to overthrow landlord authority and carry out land reform step by step. Depending on the concrete circumstances, particularly the strength achieved by the revolutionary forces, rent reduction and elimination of usury or outright confiscation of landlord property may be effected. In frontier areas, the poor indigenous people and the poor settlers are to be assured of ownership of their fair-sized lands. The Party maintains that the main content of the national democratic revolution is the satisfaction of the peasant cry for land.

Only by carrying out agrarian revolution can the revolutionary leadership activate the peasant masses as the main force of the revolution and realize the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry. From the ranks of the downtrodden peasantry can then be drawn the greatest number of armed contingents. As it now stands, the New People's Army is composed mainly of peasant recruits. The growth of our people's army depends on the support of the peasant masses.

In general terms, we state that the most reliable ally of the proletariat is the peasantry. In more specific terms, let us relate the revolutionary proletariat with the various strata of the peasantry. Our policy as proletarian revolutionaries is to rely mainly on the poor peasants together with the farm workers, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants. In the course of the national democratic revolution, we make it a point not to hurt unduly the interests of the rich peasants even as we are alert to their reactionary tendencies.

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In opposing and overthrowing the landlords, we hold as chief targets the landlords who have vast holdings, who have acquired these by sheer grabbing, who hold political power and who are despotic. We give special consideration, as the masses and circumstances may permit, to the enlightened gentry who endorse and follow our policies and who support our revolutionary war.

Our country is grossly undeveloped due to imperialist domination and retains a relatively wide countryside where feudalism and semifeudalism reign. This backward countryside of our small country is not as large as that of China but it is certainly large in comparison to our own cities. This is the basic setting for our people's war. The bulk of our national population is here.

The weakest link of enemy rule lies in the countryside. The worst of oppression and exploitation is carried out among the peasant masses by the reactionaries. And yet the countryside is so vast that enemy armed forces cannot but be spread out thinly or cannot but abandon vast areas when concentrated at certain points. The countryside is therefore the fertile ground for the emergence and growth of Red political power—the people's army, organs of democratic political power, mass organizations and the Party. Our people's army can have no wider and better area for maneuver and for our type of warfare.

Our experience in more than five years shows that we have created a total of 20 guerrilla fronts in seven regions outside of Manila-Rizal. These fronts continue to thrive in the countryside even in the face of the unprecedentedly harsh fascist countermeasures. When the enemy advances in strong force against our small and weak forces, it is made to exhaust itself by punching the air and it merely allows its prey to hit weaker enemy units elsewhere or expand on new ground. The massive and prolonged enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" has failed to destroy our small and weak forces in Cagayan Valley.

In our country, it is possible to wage a protracted people's war because we have a relatively wide backward countryside where the bulk of the population is. There are many parts which are relatively far from the enemy's center and main lines of communications and where the people live basically on their diversified agricultural produce. This situation is completely different from that obtaining in a capitalist country.

In capitalist countries, a civil war is preceded by a long period of parliamentary struggle. To fight there a civil war without the disintegration of at least a great part of the standing army of the bourgeoisie

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and without the proletariat ready for a general uprising capable of winning decisively within a short period of time is to court disaster for the revolutionary forces. The civil war is mainly conditioned by the fact that the majority of the people are in the cities and is initiated and decided in the major cities where the highly unified economy and the highly developed system of communications are centered. Nationwide victory or defeat in a civil war is faster settled in capitalist countries than in semicolonial and semifeudal countries.

In the Philippines, it is as necessary as it is possible to wage a protracted people's war. It is only through a long period of time that we can develop our forces step by step by defeating the enemy forces piece by piece. We are in no position to put our small and weak forces in strategically decisive engagements with militarily superior enemy forces. In the first place, we have just started from scratch. Neither could we have postponed the start of our people's war. The more time we have for developing our armed strength from practically nothing the better for us in the future. It is our firm policy to fight only those battles that we are capable of winning. Otherwise, we circle round in the face of an enemy force that we cannot defeat and look for the opportunity to strike at an enemy force that we can defeat.

In carrying out a protracted people's war, we apply the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. We steadfastly develop guerrilla bases and zones at various strategic points in the country. In a subsequent stage, these areas shall be linked by regular mobile forces which shall be in a position to defend larger and more stable revolutionary bases in the countryside. From such stable revolutionary bases, we shall ultimately be able to seize the cities and advance to nationwide victory.

While it is our principal task to wage a protracted war in the countryside, it is our secondary task to develop the revolutionary underground and the broad anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement in the cities. We should combine the revolutionary struggles in the cities and countryside in the towns and barrios in Red areas, white areas and pink areas.

We should excel in combining legal, illegal and semilegal activities through a widespread and stable underground. A revolutionary underground developing beneath democratic and legal or semilegal activities should promote the well-rounded growth of the revolutionary forces, serve to link otherwise isolated parts of the Party and the people's

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army at every level and prepare the ground for popular uprisings in the future and for the advance of the people's army.

3. Fighting in a Small Mountainous Archipelago

The Philippines is a small mountainous archipelago. It is made up of some 7,100 islands and islets with a total land area of 299,404 square kilometers or 115,600 square miles. The eleven largest islands which are tabulated below compose ninety-four percent of the total land area and also contain 94 percent of the total population of the country. Every one of these and many other islands have a mountainous terrain with fertile soil.

The importance of an island is not determined solely by its size. Population, forest area and mountainous terrain are more important considerations for our people's war, especially at the initial stage.

There are three outstanding characteristics of the Philippines in being an archipelago. First, our countryside is shredded into so many islands. Second, our two biggest islands, Luzon and Mindanao are separated by such a cluster of islands as the Visayas. Third, our small country is separated by seas from other countries. From such characteristics arise problems that are very peculiar to our people's war.

On the one hand, it is true that our countryside is wide in relation to the cities. On the other hand, it is also true that we have to fight within narrow fronts because the entire country is small and its countryside is shredded. The war between us and the enemy easily assumes the characteristics of being intensive, ruthless and exceedingly fluid. While we have the widest possible space for the development of regular mobile forces in Luzon and Mindanao, these two islands are separated by hundreds of kilometers and by far smaller islands where the space immediately appears to be suitable only for guerrilla forces throughout the course of people's war. The optimum conditions for the emergence of regular mobile forces in the major Visayan islands will be provided by the prior development of regular mobile forces in Luzon and Mindanao.

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Island	Land Area (km ²)	Population (1970)
1) Luzon	104,688	18,001,270
2) Mindanao	94,630	7,538,315
3) Samar	13,080	1,019,358
4) Negros	12,705	2,218,972
5) Palawan	11,785	236,635
6) Panay	11,515	2,114,544
7) Mindoro	9,735	472,396
8) Leyte	7,214	1,362,051
9) Cebu	4,422	1,634,182
10) Bohol	3,865	683,297
11) Masbate	3,269	492,908

Waging a people's war in an archipelagic country like ours is definitely an exceedingly difficult and complex problem for us. At this stage that we are still trying to develop guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale, the central leadership has had to shift from one organizational arrangement to another so as to give ample attention to the regional Party and army organizations. This is only one manifestation of the problem. Armed propaganda teams and initial guerrilla units scattered in far-flung areas are susceptible to being crushed by the enemy. This is another manifestation of the problem.

There is no doubt that fighting in an archipelagic country like ours is initially a big disadvantage for us. Since the central leadership has to position itself in some remote area in Luzon, there is no alternative now and even for a long time to come but to adopt and carry out the policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. We must distribute and develop throughout the country cadres who are of sufficiently high quality to find their own bearing and maintain initiative not only within periods as short as one or two months, periods of regular reporting, but also within periods as long as two or more years, in case the enemy chooses to concentrate on an island or a particular fighting front and blockade it.

The development of the central revolutionary base somewhere in Luzon will decisively favor and be favored by the development of many smaller bases in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. Thus, we have paid attention to the deployment of cadres for nationwide guerrilla warfare. In a small country like the Philippines or more precisely in an island like Luzon, it would have been foolhardy for the central leadership to ensconce itself in one limited area, concentrate all the limited Party

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personnel and all efforts there and consequently invite the enemy to concentrate its own forces there. It would have been foolhardy to underestimate the enemy's ability to rapidly move and concentrate its forces in an island where communications are most developed.

The central leadership started the armed struggle where it best could by linking with the Red fighters in the second district of Tarlac in early 1969. Soon, Party cadres were dispatched to the mountainous and hilly area of Isabela. Subsequently, what amounted to the main forces of the New People's Army vigorously grew here from early 1971 to the eve of the fascist martial rule. A few cadres trained here were dispatched for rural work in other regions. The First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the succeeding mass protest actions and mass organizing in Manila-Rizal and other urban centers in the country yielded the greatest number of cadres for the national expansion of the Party and the people's army in the rural areas. These cadres started raw but were enthusiastic, developed new Party cadres from the ranks of the local mass activists and Red fighters, and were tempered in the course of fierce revolutionary struggle.

We have already created seven regional Party and army organizations outside of Manila-Rizal. After strengthening them, especially those of northwest, northeast and Central Luzon, we can more confidently look forward to and take the step towards building the central revolutionary base in a favorable terrain that is better populated and more extensive than the areas east of the Cagayan River. It should be in an area far more difficult for the enemy to blockade. Necessarily, the central leadership would be able to maintain more immediate relations with the regional Party organizations in Luzon than with those in the Visayas and Mindanao. The latter could still be administered through a special organ of the Central Committee.

In the long run, the fact that our country is archipelagic will turn out to be a great advantage for us and a great disadvantage for the enemy. The enemy shall be forced to divide its attention and forces not only to the countryside but also to so many islands. Our great advantage will show when we shall have succeeded in developing guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale and when at least we shall have been on the threshold of waging regular mobile warfare in Luzon or in both Luzon and Mindanao.

We take the policy of "a few major islands first, then the other islands later." This is now well understood in the Visayas. In every island or

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in the specific part of an island that we choose to concentrate on, we must develop self-reliance; maintain our guerrilla units within a radius that is limited at a given time to avoid dissipation of our efforts but wide enough for maneuver; and advance wave upon wave, always expanding on the basis of consolidation. Our bitter experience has shown that overextending our guerrilla squads in the false hope of covering a wider area or attending to so many strategic points all at the same time results in shallow political work and is fatal for our squads. Among several guerrilla squads, it is necessary to have some center of gravity or rallying point either for temporary retreat or for a concentrated operation against the enemy. At the same time, we should never lose sight of the necessity of fluidity, which often requires the shiftiness of such a center.

Each regional Party organization should see to it that at the present stage it develops only one, two or three armed fronts. The regional executive committee of the Party should be based in the main front. More guerrilla bases and zones should arise only upon the consolidation of the few that could be sufficiently handled at one time. At present, it is not necessary to have an armed force in every province within a region. More often it is advisable for us to locate our armed force at an interprovincial border area for maximum effect because in the first place we do not have enough armed strength for every province.

The principle of self-reliance needs to be emphasized among all revolutionary forces nationwide. This is because our small country is cut off by seas from neighboring countries, particularly those friendly to our revolutionary cause. The Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples are more fortunate than us in one sense because they share land borders with China, which serves as their powerful rear. Self-reliance can never be overemphasized among us. The basic needs of our people's war have to be provided for by the people's army and the broad masses of the people themselves. Our basic source of armaments is the battlefields. Our level of military technique and our ability in tactics and strategy will have to rise by our adhering strictly to the Marxist principle of advancing in stages and doing well at one stage to prepare for the next stage. The protractedness of our people's war is underscored by the archipelagic character of the country.

The mountainous character of the country countervails its archipelagic character from the very start. A mountainous terrain with some population and with thick vegetation is an excellent condition for our

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people's war. If on one hand the archipelagic character of the country has a narrowing effect on our fighting fronts, its mountainous character has both a broadening and deepening effect. Mountains are usually the natural boundaries of provinces. Thus, we could maintain influence on several provinces even if we operated from only one mountainous border area. Also, the enemy cannot easily approach us because of the rough terrain and we have more opportunity than anywhere else to conduct political work among the people. Before it starts to climb a hill, we can receive the relayed reports from the masses in the towns and in the barrios, we can actually see its coming from vantage points and we can size up its operation and its possible time span by the sight of its troops, trucks and planes. We can therefore prepare for its coming.

The Sierra Madre sews up almost the entire length of Luzon on the eastern side of the Cagayan Valley to the Bicol region through Central Luzon. It links as many as nine provinces. At certain points, it links two or three provinces at the same time. The Cordillera and Ilocos mountains cover the middle and western parts of Northern Luzon. These link as many as 11 provinces. At certain points, they link as many as four provinces at the same time. The mountain provinces and their fringes have the distinction of being the area where the heaviest concentration of Japanese troops in the Philippines in World War II, reaching up to 150,000, was wiped out by the guerrilla forces. The Tarlac-Zambales mountains link up five provinces. The armed struggle there has to be well-coordinated with the armed struggle in the wide plains below, with special attention given to the fact that US military bases and major AFP military camps are in the vicinity. There are many other smaller mountains in Luzon; they can also provide a favorable terrain for guerrilla forces.

Mindanao is an even more mountainous and more forested island than Luzon. At the center of Mindanao are the mountainous provinces of Bukidnon and Cotabato. These are as well-populated as the mountain provinces of Northern Luzon. These are linked up with almost all of the Mindanao provinces. Outside of Luzon and Mindanao, the mountains of Panay link four provinces and those of Samar, Leyte and Mindoro link two provinces at the same time.

A mountainous terrain, where more people inhabit the foothills, clearings, plateaus, and riversides or creeksides, is more favorable for the people's army. The usual inhabitants of the mountainous areas are national minorities and poor settlers. These are very receptive to

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revolutionary propaganda. Their common enemy is the reactionary government which treats their lands as "public lands" and either directly grabs these from them or allows big landlords, big bureaucrats or big capitalists to grab these from them. At the very outset, we should energetically arouse and mobilize them to defend their lands and meager possessions against the landgrabbers and the enemy forces. In launching military operations against us, the enemy always resorts to forced evacuation of these mountain inhabitants so as to prevent them from supporting us and so as to prepare the way for taking away their lands. We must thoroughly oppose every forced evacuation.

The fact that we have given the highest priority to creating guerrilla bases and zones in mountainous areas has helped us in a big way to preserve our guerrilla forces in the face of so many small and big campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched against us. Without the use of the Sierra Madre, our small forces in Cagayan Valley with only three companies as main force could not have preserved themselves against 7,000 enemy troops.

Without the use of the mountainous areas of Sorsogon, our small initial forces there could not have expanded to their peak of one platoon-size main force and eight squads and could have been more easily reduced upon the coming of 1,000 enemy troops. However, it must also be pointed out that it is erroneous to rely exclusively on mountainous terrain. Our point is to use the combination of the less-populated mountainous terrain and the better-populated plains, relying mainly on the former for military purposes at this early stage of our people's war.

From the mountainous and hilly areas, we can expand towards the more-populated plains. Even when we shall have gone far in building bases on the plains, our mountainous and hilly bases will retain their strategic importance as guarantors of the victorious advance of people's war. The central revolutionary base can best stand on the well-inhabited mountainous terrain that is of the greatest breadth in Luzon. Everywhere, bases on the plains, seacoasts, lakes and rivers can get indispensable support from bases in the mountainous and hilly areas.

Amidst the 20 guerrilla bases and zones already in existence and on the basis of the experience gained in creating them, the central leadership can proceed to establish the central revolutionary base somewhere in the well-inhabited mountainous area of Northern Luzon. The guerrilla bases and zones of northeast Luzon, northwest Luzon

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and Central Luzon can stand as the future terminals of regular mobile forces that are to arise at the central revolutionary base.

After doing well in building two or three guerrilla bases in every region outside Manila-Rizal, we can go on to create more guerrilla bases and zones of every type. Every regional organization of the Party and the people's army is to establish its own central base and raise in the long run regional mobile forces. On the eve of the nationwide seizure of power, Manila-Rizal shall be caught in a pincer between regular mobile forces from the north and from the two regions of Southern Luzon.

Mindanao is subdivisible into three or four regions, and a central revolutionary base can also be set up to coordinate these regions. The long-term task of our Mindanao forces is to draw enemy forces away from Luzon and destroy them. We can cooperate very well with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army in this regard. Our forces in the Visayas can take advantage of our gains in Luzon and Mindanao and contribute their own share in the task of forcing the enemy to split his forces and of destroying them.

Because our country is archipelagic, it is a matter of necessity for us to develop guerrilla bases and zones along the seacoast. Communications is one clear immediate reason. We should be able to develop as many routes as possible between Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao by conducting political work among the fishermen and seamen. Within the Visayas, boating is as common as trucking in the Luzon or Mindanao mainlands. If we take lessons from southwestern Mindanao, especially from Sulu archipelago, we can further develop sea warfare, a form of guerrilla warfare making use of small *bancas* (boats) and big as well as small islands. This would constitute a good support for our guerrilla warfare on land.

4. From Small and Weak to Big and Strong

We must recognize the balance of forces between us and the enemy. This is the first requirement in waging either an entire war or a campaign or a single battle. As matters now stand, we are small and weak while the enemy is big and strong. There is no doubt that it is extremely superior to us militarily in such specific terms as number of troops, formations, equipment, technique, training, foreign assistance and supplies in general. It will take a protracted period of time for us

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to change this balance of forces in our favor. Thus, protractedness is a basic characteristic of our people's war.

The enemy armed forces have four major services; namely, constabulary, army, air force and navy with a total force of at least 100,000 troops at present. Under the fascist dictatorship, enemy troop strength has been increased by at least 40,000 both by an actual increase in regular forces and by the prolongation of military service by 20-year old trainees from six months to one-year-and-a-half. Enemy strength is also beefed up by the "civilian home defense force" (another name for the "barrio self-defense unit"). The fascist dictator has announced that by the middle part of 1975 the total strength of the reactionary armed forces will go up to 250,000 after the integration of the local police forces under the Philippine Constabulary.

The strength of our full-fledged guerrilla forces is a far cry from the regular military strength of the enemy. The typical center of gravity of our guerrilla forces is merely platoon size. Around it gravitate armed propaganda squads and full-fledged guerrilla squads. So far, it is in northeast Luzon where we have reached the company level of formation with some sufficient strength and performed company-size operations. Now, even here the level of armed activity is reduced to that of platoons and squads. However, the reduction of strength here as a result of relentless enemy campaigns is more than compensated for by the growth of the New People's Army on a nationwide scale. Of course, if we were to include part-time guerrilla and militia units, we would be able to cite a higher figure for our military strength but then these as a body of armed men are small and weak in comparison to the enemy's own irregulars, the "civilian home defense forces," which are far better armed.

We cannot properly evaluate our accomplishment in the military field without giving due consideration to certain objective conditions. The subjective forces of the revolution, especially the Party and the people's army, started from scratch. The Party was rebuilt from scratch on December 26, 1968; moreover, it had to face the attacks not only of the barefaced enemy but also the vicious Lava revisionist remnants of the old merger Party. The New People's Army was also built from scratch on March 29, 1969; moreover, it had to face not only the reactionary armed forces but also the Lava revisionists and the Taruc-Sumulong gang.

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Not a single rifle was carried over to the full-time guerrillas of the New People's Army from either the anti-Japanese resistance of the Hukbalahap in World War II or from the civil war that followed it. The Lava revisionist renegades had thrown away every gun gained from the previous armed struggle as a result of Jose and Jesus Lava's "Left" opportunist errors and then Jesus Lava's Right opportunist errors. The New People's Army had to start with a few rifles and handguns seized mainly from the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique to arm nine undersized squads of about seven fighters each.

Since it was founded, the New People's Army has had to wage a people's war under conditions where there is neither a global war among the imperialist powers nor an open war among the reactionaries. From the outset, the people's army has had to contend with a highly unified armed forces. It deserves the highest commendation for having preserved itself and still having made some expansion and consolidation in the face of strong enemy military task forces, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and presently the martial rule of a fascist dictatorship. Even now when the bulk of the enemy strength is concentrated in southwestern Mindanao against the Bangsa Moro Army, the enemy still manages to maintain in each region a task force and in each province constabulary and integrated police forces that are hundreds of times bigger in armed strength against ours.

It remains a gross disadvantage and weakness for the New People's Army to have so few rifles and small concentrable forces to face an enemy that launches campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" by deploying so many units no smaller than a half-company for outpost work and oversized platoons, rallying to a full regular company or even a full battalion, for seeking encounters with us within an area of encirclement. Under such circumstances, it is quite difficult for us to maintain the initiative and carry out the policy of annihilation in battles. The opportunity to wipe out an enemy squad or platoon does not often present itself. The enemy even goes so far as to force the evacuation of the entire population by perpetrating massacres, looting, bombardment and arson. Deprived of mass support within a given area, our small guerrilla forces have had to shift elsewhere in the main.

At the moment, the only way to amplify our armed strength and fighting effectiveness is to give full play to the popular support that we enjoy. The bolos, spears, crossbows, traps and other indigenous weapons which the masses can easily avail themselves of, have to

be combined with homemade explosives and the few rifles in our hands. By seriously implementing the policy of luring the enemy and advancing in waves on favorable terrain both strategically and tactically, we can most effectively put to use the combination of rifles and indigenous weapons and we can at certain times use only the latter, if these are the only ones available. There are even occasions when by some stratagem we can disarm "home defense" forces, local police forces and small enemy units without firing a single shot. By taking the initiative fully into our hands, we can repeatedly induce the enemy to bring itself to our well-laid ambush or send its superior strength somewhere so that we can attack its weak force elsewhere. On each occasion we make sure of seizing the enemy's military equipment.

Especially because of our smallness and weakness, we have to avoid and counteract opposite dangers. One is trying to cover an area that is actually wider than we can sufficiently cover. This usually involves overdispersing our guerrilla squads. The other is concentrating on so small an area that at one whiff of the enemy we do not know where to shift. Guerrilla forces in relation to regular mobile forces operate according to the principle of dispersal. But since all that we have are small guerrilla forces, with absolutely no regular mobile forces yet to serve as main force on any occasion, then we have to have some relative concentration and some relative dispersal according to the scale of our present guerrilla warfare. We have to have main guerrilla units as well as secondary guerrilla units, guerrilla bases as well as guerrilla zones.

Depending on the circumstances, we have to deploy our limited forces in accordance with definite tasks, in a correct direction and within a definite radius. Our action takes the form of either concentration, shifting or dispersion. We concentrate to attack the enemy, mainly in the form of ambushes and raids on small enemy units that we can wipe out. We disperse to conduct propaganda and organizational work or to "disappear" before the enemy. We shift to circle or retreat to gain time and seek favorable circumstances for attack. Our guerrilla warfare is characterized by flexibility or timely shifting from one mode of action to another and by fluidity or frequent shifting of ground. We must grasp and give full play to this characteristic to maintain the initiative against the enemy.

Our experience has shown that our superiority over the enemy lies in our fighting a just war, a war for the people's democratic interests.

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We could not have lasted for so long with so small and weak an armed force were it not for the correct ideological and political line that the Communist Party of the Philippines has carried since its reestablishment. The enemy is bogged down in an ever-deepening political and economic crisis and does not cease to perpetrate self-defeating abuses that rouse the people to rebel. Under the absolute leadership of the Party, the New People's Army is confident of winning victory because wherever it is and goes, it proves to be politically superior to the enemy due to its flexible strategy and tactics based on concrete conditions that it comprehends. The Party is still organizationally small and weak like the New People's Army, but it is bound to grow into a big and strong force so long as it perseveres in its correct ideological and political line.

As matters now stand, on a nationwide scale or even on the scale of every region, the New People's Army has no alternative but to be on the strategic defensive in opposition to the strategic offensive of an overweening enemy. But the content of our strategic defensive is the series of tactical offensives that we are capable of undertaking and winning. By winning battles of quick decision, we are bound to accumulate the strength to win bigger battles and campaigns to be able to move up to a higher stage of the war. To graduate from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare as the main form of our warfare, we have to exert a great deal of effort over a long period of time. We are still very much at the rudimentary and early substage of the strategic defensive.

We may state that in the long process of growing from small and weak to big and strong, our people's army will have to undergo certain stages and substages. Having in mind a probable course of development whereby our forces are inferior now and will consequently become equal and finally superior to the enemy, we can tentatively define three strategic stages that our people's army will have to undergo.

It is now undergoing the first stage, the strategic defensive. Consequently, it shall undergo the second stage, the strategic stalemate, when our strength shall be more or less on an equal footing with the enemy's and our tug-of-war with the enemy over strategic towns, cities and larger areas shall become conspicuous. Finally, it shall undergo the third stage, the strategic offensive, when the enemy shall have been profoundly weakened and completely isolated and shall have

been forced to go on the strategic defensive, a complete reversal of its position at the stage of our strategic defensive.

The future of the New People's Army is bright, though it has to go through a long and tortuous road. On the other hand, the future of the reactionary armed forces is dark. A mercenary and parasitic military in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism has no future, except failure and doom. The most powerful weapon is in the hands of the people's army. That is the people's support. We cannot wage a revolutionary war without it.

The New People's Army fights for the people's democratic interests with self-abnegating and highly conscious iron discipline and with wise and well-informed courage. Our Red commanders and fighters fight without fear of sacrifice and death because they are fighting in the broad interest of the people and not in the narrow interest of the imperialists or any individual or clique among the reactionaries. At the level of strategy, our Red commanders and fighters hate and are contemptuous of the enemy. But at the tactical level, they take serious and meticulous consideration of it so as to defeat every plot and maneuver that it is capable of.

5. A Fascist Puppet Dictatorship amidst Crisis

The setting-up of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is the clearest manifestation that the ruling political system is wracked by a crisis that it can no longer deal with in the old way. The fascist puppet dictatorship is a counterrevolutionary measure of weakness and desperation rather than of strength. A whole series of terrorist acts, capped by the second Plaza Miranda massacre, was unleashed by the Marcos ruling clique to pave the way for it. These events and the subsequent imposition of a fascist martial rule and of a conspicuously autocratic rule have incurred the profoundest hatred of the people and have intensified their desire for revolutionary change and for national freedom and democracy.

The mastermind behind the fascist dictatorship is US imperialism. The fascist dictatorship has been set up to make sure that under a "new constitution" the privileges and interests of US imperialism under the 1935 Constitution, the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement are not only preserved but even enlarged in the face of the growing anti-imperialist struggle of the broad masses of the people

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and furthermore to harden the Philippines as a base of US imperialism in the western rim of the Pacific and in Asia and in the face of the failed US war of aggression in Indochina. As a reward, Marcos is allowed to remain in power indefinitely for as long as he can be useful to US imperialism and, of course, for as long as his ambition does not go beyond being the general representative of and even becoming the wealthiest by far of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class.

The fascist dictator Marcos keeps on prating about his unjust regime being a “new society.” But in fact its monstrous abuses have only served to stress that it is but the worsening of the old semicolonial and semifeudal society. We are witness today to unbridled puppetry, brutality, corruption and bankruptcy. Among the local reactionaries, the fascist chieftain, his family and his closest subalterns in the military and civil bureaucracy are the most outstanding beneficiaries of the puppet, brutal, corrupt and bankrupt “new society.”

In essence, the fascist dictatorship is the open terrorist rule of a reactionary clique with big comprador and big landlord interests. The longer it continues in power the more fertile the ground becomes for our people’s war. By negative example, Marcos has stood as the best teacher of the people on the state and revolution. In this sense, he is our best propagandist. He has superbly exposed every evil in this semicolonial and semifeudal society by his own lies and misdeeds. His usurpation of all governmental powers; elimination of all legal political parties; monopolization of the press; and the brutal repression of all democratic liberties by such methods as massacre, assassination, zoning, forced mass evacuation, bombardment and arson, blackmail, extortion, illegal arrest, illegal detention and torture have proven beyond doubt the necessity and justness of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution.

All the fascist acts of the US-Marcos clique carried out with brute armed force are calculated to “stabilize” the rule of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes over the broad masses of the people. But the essential effect of such acts has been to widen and deepen the armed resistance. The New People’s Army under the leadership of the Party has waged more battles than ever before against the enemy and has established more guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones than ever before. Party and non-Party activists, who in the period before Proclamation No. 1081 had waged mass struggles against the same

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US-Marcos clique, have in considerable numbers joined the revolutionary armed struggle in the field or have formed a strong revolutionary underground at various strategic points in the country.

The Bangsa Moro Army which is far better armed than the New People's Army has so far waged the biggest battles against the enemy and have inflicted severe losses on him in troops and equipment. The revolutionary armed struggle of the national minorities for self-determination and against national oppression in southwestern Mindanao has helped in a big way the New People's Army in various parts of the country by drawing a great part of the enemy's land, sea and air forces. In return, we are doing our best to wage a people's war in our own areas so as to force the enemy to move helter-skelter. At the moment, we are witness to an enemy with the big dilemma of attending to the far south and the far north.

There are no significant armed forces opposing the fascist dictatorial regime, except the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army. In Luzon, the Visayas and the greater part of Mindanao, there is no significant armed resistance except that waged by the New People's Army. We might say that in these areas we are faced with a unified fascist reaction. There is no open war among the reactionaries here. There has been a lot of talk about the "Filipino Freedom Fighters," an outfit supposedly run by an anti-Marcos group with some US support, but so far even after two years of fascist martial rule it appears to be a mere token force given to issuing occasional manifestos threatening some strange mixture of coup d'etat and guerrilla warfare. True to their original and essential character, the Lava revisionist renegades have openly surrendered to the US-Marcos clique and are blatantly collaborating on hunting down revolutionaries and swindling the masses. There is no way but to treat these revisionist fascist diehards as traitors and spies.

Because there is no open war among the reactionaries, the New People's Army is faced with a unified fascist reaction. This means to say that the enemy can launch stronger offensives against us than otherwise in any particular area which it chooses to concentrate on. This is certainly a disadvantage for us. In this regard, we have no alternative but to study and apply the correct strategy and tactics of dealing with enemy campaigns. However, experience has shown that no matter how far the armed resistance in southwestern Mindanao is,

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it has induced the enemy to drastically reduce its forces in Cagayan Valley since March 1973.

There is a long-term advantage in the New People's Army being the only armed force regarded by the people as their own in at least 90 percent of Philippine territory. It becomes easier and simpler for the middle forces to choose which side they must support. The choice becomes easier and simpler, indeed, the worse that the enemy becomes. The confidence and trust of the broad masses of the people in the New People's Army is so great and resounding despite its present smallness and weakness, because it is all that they have against the fascist tyranny.

The economic crisis which has been the basis of the crisis of the entire reactionary political system even previous to the Marcos rightist coup has become far worse under the fascist dictatorship. This economic crisis makes every one of the people throughout the country suffer no matter how it may appear that one is not directly the victim of the political and military abuses of the fascist dictatorship. Linking the fascist puppet dictatorship with the people's economic suffering is the single method which has made our propaganda for armed revolution most effective. Since long before the fascist martial rule, the broad masses of the people have comprehended the responsibility of the US-Marcos clique for the economic crisis.

A runaway inflation; rampant unemployment; accelerated increase of the tax burden; continuous devaluation of the currency; food, fuel and fertilizer shortages; unlimited entry of foreign capital and unlimited remittances of profits; enormous foreign trade deficits covered up by technical smuggling and false statistical figures; excessive foreign and domestic borrowings; ever increasing military expenditures; and inflationary deficit spending on "infrastructures" which fatten the imperialist banks and foreign contractors, serve the colonial trade pattern and the plunder of the country's natural resources and are opportunities for enormous graft and corruption and land speculation with the loot monopolized by the fascist dictator. All these conspicuous ills characterize the fascist dictatorial regime. The deterioration of the economy is so rapid that Party cadres must keep close watch on fast-changing economic data.

The broad masses of the people suffer from the combination of political and economic abuses. As the economy deteriorates, political tyranny aggravates. To be able to continue exploiting the people, the

fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique resorts to enlarging its armed forces, buying more military equipment and bribing officers and men with promotions in rank and increases in salary, allowances and other privileges. Increased expenditures for such a parasitic entity as the military result in further deterioration of the economy. More exploitation and more oppression engender more resistance; then, another round of military expenditures by the fascist dictatorship in a vicious cycle of its own making.

With complete callousness, the fascist dictatorship has been proclaiming throughout the world that it has succeeded in keeping Philippine labor cheap for the imperialists to exploit. Indeed, the US-Marcos clique for several years already has so preserved the backward conditions of the country that there is an abundance of the unemployed. Now, under martial rule, labor power is made even cheaper than before. The workers are deprived of their trade union rights, especially their right to strike, even as the prices of basic commodities are skyrocketing. Whenever they demand higher wages, the workers are openly intimidated with armed force by the fascist military and are liable to be arbitrarily suspended or dismissed by their employers. The "new labor code" systematizes the suppression of workers' rights under the pincer attack of the fascist government and the big bourgeoisie. To maintain a general state of intimidation, the fascist military and police often conduct raids and zoning operations on factories and workers' communities.

The peasants are callously told that if they wish to have their own piece of land, they must enter into contracts with their landlords whereby they are required to make installment payments so exorbitant that they cannot make good even the first installment. This is what is bandied about as "land reform." The peasants are also required to pay high land taxes; special levies on the sale of their produce; membership dues and special fees for the "barangay" and "barrio association" and fixed contributions to the so-called "savings fund" and "barrio guarantee fund." Further on they are required to pay high interest rates on overpriced fertilizers from the Marcos-owned Planters Products under the Masagana 99 program and increasing fees for irrigation wherever this is available. Some "insurance" and "medicare" schemes are also afoot to suck more blood from the peasant masses. All over the country the "barangays" are under orders to set up "civilian home defense forces"; these entail extra expenditures by the peasants

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and also reduce their working hours in the fields as they are forced to make “rondas.” Where the people’s army is already in the midst of the peasant masses, the enemy resorts to the most brutal military operations which include forced mass evacuation, massacre, looting, arson and indiscriminate bombing and strafing.

Like the toiling masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie detest the fascist dictatorship. The bare essence of the reactionary state in the service of imperialist, big comprador and feudal interests has become fully and concretely exposed to them and in their day-to-day lives their limited incomes are not exempt from the ravages of an inflation generated both locally and imported from abroad. The fascist dictatorship has gone so berserk as to suppress all the democratic liberties and persecute tens of thousands of democratic personalities who belong either to the urban petty bourgeoisie or whom this social stratum highly respects. Abuses by the fascist dictator and his military minions have become so widespread that every single urban petty bourgeois either has directly experienced some abuse by them or knows a relative or personal friend abused by them. The urban petty bourgeoisie recognize clearly that an atmosphere of intimidation and terror is being whipped up to keep Marcos in power and to promote the interests of foreign and feudal exploiters.

The national bourgeoisie, especially the lower and middle sections, find themselves cast away by the fascist dictatorship. They are being forced into bankruptcies. The foreign monopoly firms have become even more rapacious in their activities in the Philippines as they try to make up for their losses and difficulties elsewhere in the world. It is the shameless policy of the fascist dictatorship to link its existence with the sell-out of the country to foreign monopoly capitalists, principally American and Japanese. Under the Marcos constitution, Investment Incentives Act, Export Incentives Act and so many specific fascist decrees, the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists are enjoying privileges surpassing those under the 1935 Constitution and the Laurel-Langley Agreement with its parity clause. They are rapidly enlarging their holdings, crushing the national bourgeoisie, taking over all sorts of businesses and opportunities, and plundering the country with complete abandon.

While it is true that we are faced with a unified fascist reaction in Luzon, the Visayas and the greater part of Mindanao, this is but the surface of a situation in which the broad masses of the people are

seething with hatred for the enemy and are enthusiastically supporting the early beginning of our people's war. Beneath the apparent strength of the enemy is the deep-going crisis and an irremediable rottenness. If not for the broad support that they enjoy, our small armed units would not be able to last long against the powerful assaults of the enemy.

6. Under One Imperialist Power

The single most valid explanation why there is yet no open war among the reactionaries despite all the bitterness of the internal contradiction among them, a contradiction so far marked by the unilateral acts of terrorism and violence by the Marcos fascist gang, is that the entire country is under the domination of one imperialist power. The country is therefore so much different from the China that was divided among several wrangling warlords supported by several contradictory imperialist powers.

All other explanations follow, like the anti-Marcos reactionaries never having had a cohesive armed force of some significant size outside of the state's armed forces; the country being small and archipelagic and not providing much space for a division into several spheres of influence; Marcos having been smart enough to confiscate the arms of the amorphous petty armed groups under reactionary politicians not reliable to him or known to be opposed to him; the officers of the reactionary armed forces having been so trained to maintain canine loyalty to whoever is commander-in-chief by any "constitutional" pretext; and so on and so forth.

Many explanations can be made but so long as they are pertinent to the question they all lead to the single explanation that US imperialism is the single most important determinant force in reactionary politics in the country. Among the reactionary politicians in the country, the persistence or replacement of one clique by another carries with it either the expressed or tacit approval of US imperialism. In the period before the fascist dictatorship, presidential elections were decided by the campaign funds and press support extended by the US imperialists and their big comprador-landlord agents; and the two major political parties had no basic difference except as to which party had the clique of candidates that best served US imperialist and local reactionary interests and at the same time best pretended to stand for the interests of the people.

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Under the present circumstances, when the rule of the gun has become extremely conspicuous, the strategic control and influence of US imperialism over the reactionary armed forces immediately and directly comes into focus when we pose the question as to whether the anti-Marcos reactionaries have a chance to replace or overthrow the Marcos fascist gang. It is pertinent to recall one time when US imperialism showed blatantly how much it could do with its strategic control and influence over the reactionary armed forces to help effect a change of reactionary administration. That was the time when Magsaysay opposed Quirino in 1953 and the CIA and JUSMAG gave direct orders to AFP battalion commanders to support the former.

From the viewpoint of US imperialism, an open war among its own local minions is as impermissible as it would have the net effect of disturbing whatever "stability" and advantages it has gained in the country under the fascist dictatorship. It is therefore difficult to expect that US imperialism would deliver the arms for an anti-Marcos but still pro-US group to build an army against the Marcos fascist gang. If it would become necessary to replace Marcos by armed force, because he refuses to budge from power despite his notoriety and abuses becoming more of a liability than an asset, it would suffice for US imperialism to instigate another coup d'état.

It has never been the practice of US imperialism to allow the distribution of arms to the people in a country like the Philippines where the reactionary armed forces are still securely under its control and influence. Before the folly of Bataan in World War II, the US colonialists refused to distribute arms to the people to prepare for the Japanese invasion. It was only towards the end of the war when they were already making massive troop landings in the country that they gave arms to the USAFFE guerrillas in great quantity. As soon as the country was reconquered, US imperialism and its lackeys used all kinds of methods to seize what in their view were loose firearms.

It is in this light that we must see the oft-repeated threat of the anti-Marcos reactionaries to launch a coup d'état. Raul Manglapus who is well associated with the old crop of CIA agents that put Magsaysay into the presidency in 1953 is today the most outstanding spokesman of the anti-Marcos reactionaries. He is under the care of the US State Department and it is obvious that he is some kind of a horse in reserve. However, he is not necessarily the principal horse in reserve. It happens that unlike Aquino who is in prison or Macapagal who prefers to

wait in the shadows, he is in a position among the anti-Marcos reactionaries to openly issue propaganda against the Marcos fascist gang.

The fascist dictator Marcos is aware that the length of his political life, including his personal safety, depends on US imperialism. Thus he does everything to satisfy his imperialist master. At the same time, he is aware that his master is benefiting from his indefinite rule as well as from the blackmail value of keeping horses in reserve. Thus, he does everything to maintain his own hold on the reactionary armed forces by keeping his kinsmen and other favorites in the most strategic commands, by pushing out of service those whom he considers unreliable, by bribing officers in general with promotions in rank and increases of salary and allowances upon the expansion of military personnel, by providing them with opportunities for graft and corruption, including outright blackmail and extortion, and by superimposing on the regular intelligence agencies an intelligence network of his own.

Marcos' plans and tactics in prolonging his retention of power are clear. He is out to stagger such possible events as the election of local executives, the setting up of one big political party and possibly one other or several small parties all under his control, his appointment of a "legislative advisory council," the convening of the "interim national assembly," his retention as prime minister, and so on and so forth. It is Marcos' wish to stay in power for so long that after some time all his political rivals would capitulate to him in consideration of their own selfish interests. After all, Marcos and his political rivals can easily agree on the essentials of the Marcos constitution and other fascist acts which serve US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

But then Marcos cannot decide history all by himself. The political and economic crisis is worsening. The people hate his fascist regime more than his prefascist regime and the revolutionary movement is steadily growing and advancing. Though it is his wish to lay out his own kind of "normalization" only to retain power for himself, US imperialism itself after some time might shift from letting him rule indefinitely to replacing him under some kind of "normalization" to which he must agree or else suffer the consequences of a coup d'etat. In many cases elsewhere in the world, puppets of US imperialism have found themselves the scapegoats of their masters.

The fascist dictatorship has so far served US imperialism well. It has been used to preserve and enlarge US economic privileges and interests in the Philippines despite the termination of the Parity

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Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement. In unleashing a reign of terror against the people, Marcos boasts of having created political “stability” for the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists to expand their investments and make bigger profits. But then it is also clear that he has failed to crush the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army. Under conditions of fascist martial rule, these revolutionary organizations have struck deep roots in every region and have enjoyed more than ever a high prestige among the people. The revolutionary movement is steadily gaining ground throughout the country.

Under the infamous “Nixon Doctrine,” US imperialism impliedly admits that it can no longer hold out in mainland Asia by involving its manpower in a land war and so in this context it expresses a policy that it would rather provide its puppets with war materiel and a nuclear umbrella and have “Asians fight Asians” rather than commit its own manpower. At any rate, under this doctrine, it is stressed repeatedly that US imperialism shall remain a “Pacific power.” It is clear that US imperialism has to hold on tightly to the Philippines so as to remain a “Pacific power” and so as to have a base from where to exert influence throughout Asia. As the US “first line of defense” (Indochina, Taiwan, south Korea and Japan, especially Okinawa) declines, the “second line of defense” (Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand) gains in importance to US imperialism. US investments and military bases in the Philippines play the key role in this “second line.”

US investments in Asia are most concentrated in the Philippines and continue to expand in the Philippines. According to conservative 1972 estimates, which do not fully take into account the current market value of all US assets in the country, US direct investments alone amount to three billion dollars. These comprising 80 percent of foreign investments in the country, are strategically located and enjoy a high rate of profit.

To protect these against the people, US imperialism does not only keep firm control over Philippine politics and the local reactionary armed forces but also under unequal military treaties maintains as its ultimate weapon its own military personnel and military installations on Philippine soil. Several tens of thousands of troops are stationed here as a token force and can be increased anytime. The military installations include huge air and naval bases and radio and radar stations; there are also US military reservations which can be reactivated at the

whim of US imperialism. Clark Air Base and the Subic Naval Base are the largest US military bases in Asia. Nuclear weapons are positioned in these two bases as well as in Pasuquin, Ilocos Norte and in the so-called weather station in Bukidnon.

Under these circumstances, we are certain that US imperialism is even more sensitive to the development of our people's war in the Philippines than it has ever been to the people's war in Vietnam or elsewhere in Asia. The stakes are bigger in the Philippines. So, we can expect that US imperialism, despite its own pious words about "withdrawing" from Asia, will commit its own aggressor troops against the Filipino people in the event that the local reactionary armed forces would no longer suffice.

Whoever holds power in Malacañang, so long as he is a mere place-man of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes, shall work against the national democratic interests of the people and shall earn the people's wrath. The crisis of US imperialism and world capitalism and the political and economic crisis in the country will grow worse. Our people's war will develop irresistibly under these conditions. A time is likely to come when the local reactionaries shall become so incapable of fighting us that US aggressor troops will have to step in. On this expectation, we should be prepared that our revolutionary war which has started out as a civil war shall become a national war against a barefaced foreign aggression. It is no mere coincidence that a US ambassador like William Sullivan, the butcher of Indochina, and other US officials who are veterans of the US war of aggression in Vietnam are being assigned to the Philippines.

Since the resumption of our people's war, US military and police advisers on "counterinsurgency" have been increasing and participating in training and military operations against the people. The sale and free grant of military materiel to the local reactionary armed forces have been stepped up. US aircraft flown by US pilots have been involved in reconnaissance and bombing operations against us. US "green beret" reconnaissance teams have been deployed under the cover of "civic action" in various parts of the countryside. AID, Peace Corps and other ostensibly US civilian personnel have been used for intelligence purposes by the US "country team" composed of the US ambassador, the CIA station chief, JUSMAG chief, AID director and USIA head.

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The ceaseless and increasing US military assistance and the possible aggression of US imperialism are two factors that can make for a prolongation of our people's war. It is possible that upon the start of US aggression we shall have to make adjustments in our strategy and tactics, whatever level shall have been previously reached by us in our people's war. As part of our preparedness against US aggression even now, we should expose and oppose every kind of US intervention in our country. In this regard, we must seek right away the support of the American people and the peoples of the rest of the world.

In the face of US imperialism, we are in dire need of international support. The support of those abroad who are in sympathy with our just revolutionary cause is indispensable to our victory. Though we stand firmly for self-reliance, we do not mean to say that this stands for reducing foreign support and assistance to zero. As a matter of fact, as the revolutionary armed struggle progresses, the volume of foreign assistance may increase though it may decrease in proportion to our total war effort. It has been demonstrated in the Vietnam War that as the level of armed struggle rose, the volume of international assistance grew. That is because US imperialism heavily supported its puppets and unleashed the largest and longest war of aggression after World War II.

7. Decline of US Imperialism and Advance of the World Revolution

The Philippine Revolution, particularly our people's war, is greatly advantaged today by the decline of US imperialism in Asia and throughout the world and corollarily by the advance of the world revolution. The main trend of revolution keeps on advancing because of the ever-worsening crisis of US imperialism and the entire capitalist system.

The United States was in its initial vigor as an imperialist power when it was able to thwart the old national democratic revolution in the Philippines at the beginning of the century. The Filipino revolutionaries at that time were not ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to defeat a modern imperialist power, though they had already defeated Spanish colonialism. There were not even the objective conditions nationally and internationally to give rise immediately to the subjective forces that could successfully lead a people's war against the US aggressors in the Philippines.

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World War I shook and weakened the entire capitalist system to the extent that it created the conditions for the victory of the October Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state in one-sixth of the world. The character of the world revolution changed from bourgeois-democratic to proletarian-socialist. But the particular imperialist power holding on to the Philippines was the one among the imperialist powers that took the most advantage of the inter-imperialist war. Besides, the imperialists and colonialists could still manage to hold on to their colonies and semicolonies, though the instability of their rule here started to become more evident than before.

US imperialism maintained a firm grip on its Philippine colony. It continued to cultivate a retinue of reactionary politicians under its orders and further used the country as a forward base for its expansion in Asia. Only in 1930 was the Communist Party of the Philippines founded under conditions of world depression and local social unrest.

The world capitalist system continued to undergo a general crisis even as the first inter-imperialist war had just ended. Subsequently, fascist regimes emerged in a number of Western European countries and in Japan. The struggle for the redivision of the world among the imperialist powers further intensified. Inevitably World War II broke out. As it did in connection with the first inter-imperialist war, the United States made profits on loans and war production before and throughout the war and provided supplies to both warring sides until it was ready to join the war on the winning side and pick up the spoils.

The United States emerged from the war as the Number One imperialist power, having gained hegemony over the entire capitalist system and assuming the principal responsibility for retaining the colonies and semicolonies throughout the world. It was in a strong position to reconquer the Philippines from the Japanese fascists and quell the revolutionary forces here. Moreover, it was helped in a big way by the series of grave errors perpetrated by the Lava and the Taruc revisionist cliques which consistently took the line of subordinating the revolutionary movement to the US scheme of granting fake independence to the Philippines. The gains made by the revolutionary forces in the course of the war, when the US forces temporarily retreated from the country, were squandered and lost. Recovering the Philippines, US imperialism proceeded to expand in Asia and oppose every anti-imperialist struggle in the region.

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But beneath the surface of overwhelming US imperialist strength, the entire capitalist system had been profoundly weakened more than ever before. People's democracies under the leadership of communist and workers' parties emerged over a large area of the world, in Asia and Eastern Europe. In Asia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China emerged. The socialist countries encompassed one-third of humanity. National liberation movements surged ahead with unprecedented vigor in colonies and semicolonies. Thus, the economic territory of the entire capitalist system receded and could not but further recede.

The victory of the Chinese Revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of China came as the hardest blow to the imperialist powers soon after World War II. They lost their spheres of influence in this large country with a large population, comprising one-fourth of humanity, notwithstanding the massive military and economic aid by the US imperialists to the Guomindang reactionaries. The imperialist front in the East was irreparably breached. The world significance of this great victory was incalculable. The impact of the Chinese Revolution in Asia alone terrified US imperialism. The oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America started to look up to China for revolutionary inspiration.

Soon after China's liberation, US imperialism launched a war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and failed to accomplish its objective of conquering the whole of Korea. Then, it formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and violated the Geneva Agreements on Indochina. Failing to learn its lessons from the Korean War, it once more launched a war of aggression in Vietnam and tried to defeat the people of south Vietnam, ruin the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and subjugate the whole of Indochina. At the height of the Vietnam War, 700 thousand US aggressor troops and 1.5 million puppet troops were used against the people's armed forces. About \$150 billion were spent by the US imperialists to carry out their war. But they were forced to withdraw in defeat. The Vietnam War accelerated the decline of US imperialism not only in Asia but also throughout the world.

The Chinese, Korean and Indochinese peoples are all neighbors and brothers of the Filipino people. Their victories are a great inspiration to the Filipino people and have objective effects favorable to the

growth and advance of the Philippine Revolution. Aside from these victories, there is one outstanding phenomenon in Asia which brightens the prospects of people's war in the Philippines. This is the persistence of revolutionary armed struggles in Southeast Asia in general since World War II. Even at the height of its power, US imperialism could not suppress these; it found no effective use for its rift-ridden Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. The revolutionary armed struggle in Indochina has so far been the most outstanding and the most victorious among these. But all other persistent armed struggles in Southeast Asia, of which our people's war is one, promise to eventually grow in significance and effectiveness as the turmoil of the capitalist system worsens and US imperialism declines further.

The revolutionary armed struggles in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have served to stress the fact that since after World War II it has become possible for the peoples of colonial and semicolonial countries in the East to develop over a long period of time big and small revolutionary base areas, wage long-term revolutionary wars in which the cities are encircled from the countryside, and then gradually to advance on the cities and win nationwide victory. Chairman Mao correctly pointed out at the opening of this decade,

Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

The revolutionary armed struggle in the Philippines, even as it was resumed only a few years ago with so many glaring disadvantages (resumed from practically nothing in a small archipelagic country under the sway of one imperialist power and without the condition of either an open war among the reactionaries or an inter-imperialist war), has been able to persist. One important explanation for this phenomenon is the ever worsening crisis of US imperialism and the entire capitalist system and the irrepressible advance of the world proletarian revolution. These external conditions have profound effects within the country.

The crisis of US imperialism and the entire capitalist system cannot but take a more bitter form in a semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines than in the United States or any other capitalist country. This is because an imperialist country makes it a point to extract a higher

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rate of profit wherever it can do so, especially when it is making up for losses elsewhere. Increased exploitation entails increased oppression. Thus, the political crisis has found expression in the fascist martial rule and its intolerable abuses, the worst since the end of the Japanese fascist occupation. The economic crisis features the foreign monopolies, chiefly American, remitting superprofits with complete abandon on direct investments and loans, abetting a rate of inflation and unemployment several times higher than in the capitalist countries and depressing the prices of the country's raw material exports. The inevitable result is that the people hate US imperialism and the Marcos fascist gang and they are readily moved to support and participate in armed revolution. They are confident of winning victory in the long run because they are aware of the defeats and general decline of US imperialism as well as the victories of revolutionary peoples abroad.

The world capitalist system is wracked today by a crisis unprecedented in gravity and turbulence since the end of World War II. The root cause of this crisis is that US imperialism, while playing the role of main pillar and policeman of world capitalism for some time, has overprinted its money and overborrowed internally and externally; overconsumed and wasted the world's resources; overexpended for its military establishment, particularly for its armaments, foreign military bases and wars of aggression; and suffered tremendous losses in the hands of the people. Because the economic territory available for imperialist exploitation has shrunk, the areas for intercapitalist accommodation have also shrunk and intercapitalist contradictions have had no course but to intensify. As a result, the class struggle between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie comes to the fore in every capitalist country.

The struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy between the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, is intensifying. They are fighting without letup for markets, fields of investment, sources of raw materials and strategic positions and they keep on bumping into each other. They covet each other's spheres of influence. They make trouble in several areas of the world and try to manipulate the situation to their own advantage. They keep on trying to reverse the irresistible trend of history—countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. Bullying, aggression, intervention, subversion and control characterize the two superpowers' behavior in international affairs. But instead of

succeeding all the way, they incur the condemnation and resistance of the peoples of the world.

The two superpowers collude in trying to terrify the people with their nuclear arms, in demanding that the destiny of mankind be placed in their hands, in making fake disarmament agreements, in lulling the people with talks about detente and in making certain temporary settlements here and there so long as each stands to gain more than before at the expense of others or at least so long as one does not lose in the bargain though the other gains. But between rival imperialist powers in a capitalist world about to burst asunder, there is no course but for collusion to serve contention from the beginning, at every step and in the end. Each superpower is bent on ruling the world and eventually pushing the other out. Thus, both are feverishly engaged in arms expansion and war preparations. Here lies the danger to world peace and the possibility of a world war.

There is not a region in the world where the two superpowers are not in contention. Eastern Europe is far from the United States and is a Soviet sphere of influence but US imperialism covets it. Latin America is far from the Soviet Union and is a US sphere of influence but Soviet social-imperialism covets it. But even in these regions, not all the incentive belongs to the superpowers. There are countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and peoples wanting revolution as elsewhere in the world.

Western Europe and the whole Mediterranean area are being contested by the two superpowers. US imperialism banks on its old alliance with Western Europe, particularly on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and is concerned about the fact that its foreign investments are most concentrated in this region. Soviet social-imperialism banks on its being the dominant power in Eastern Europe through the COMECON and the Warsaw Pact and on the revisionist parties within Western Europe. Despite the US-Soviet duet about detente and the Soviet proposal to set up a "European security system," the reality stands out that US and Soviet military bases and naval fleets daily confront each other. But in the meantime, the countries of Western Europe singly and jointly and within or outside their Common Market are becoming more and more at odds with the two superpowers; and the proletariat in every country is becoming more and more militant in a class struggle that the revisionist parties cannot lead to a revolutionary victory over the big bourgeoisie.

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In the Middle East, a region that links Europe to Africa and Asia, US imperialism uses Zionist Israel as a lever for enlarging its privileges and profits in oil; and at the same time Soviet social-imperialism uses its arms supplies to extort its own privileges and make profits on the oil income of the Arab countries. The October War is still indecisive. But even as the two superpowers have their own selfish interests and manipulate the situation to their advantage, the Arab and Palestinian people remain firm in their struggle for their sovereign rights and for the return of the occupied lands and are vigilantly opposed to the US-Israeli combination as well as to the other superpower. The countries of Western Europe, adversely affected by the shenanigans of the two superpowers, are being compelled to deal directly and independently with the Arab countries and refuse to be herded by some superpower into any rash action.

In Africa, the two superpowers incessantly maneuver to take the place of the old colonial rulers. Both pretend to be in sympathy with the people's struggles against old-style colonialism and for national independence. US imperialism exposes its own hypocrisy by its close links with the old colonial rulers and by its own rapacious schemes and activities. While being more deceptive, because it uses "revolutionary" language and uses the prestige of the revolutionary past of the Soviet Union, Soviet social-imperialism exposes its own hypocrisy by doing essentially what the other superpower does. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism continues to rage. Africa is a major part of the third world. Its countries, nations and peoples, like those of Asia and Latin America, are in the mainstream of the struggle against the superpowers.

In South Asia, Soviet social-imperialism has made use of the ruling Indian reactionaries to promote its hegemonic ambitions and to make trouble like threatening China and dismembering Pakistan. As a result of the Indo-Pakistani War, which it masterminded, it has secured several bases for its naval fleet in the Indian Ocean. It is so inebriated by its aggressive acts that it continues to dream of putting up an "Asian collective security system" under its control. US imperialism is more than ever concerned with maintaining its own foothold in this region and in launching a series of countermeasures. But the peoples of South Asia, including the peoples of India and Bangladesh, and a number of countries like Pakistan and Ceylon are opposing the two superpowers and their puppets.

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In Southeast Asia, US imperialism wants to retain its hegemony over Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Philippines. These countries do not only serve as a "second line of defense" in the US military strategy for Asia but also are expected to be a great alternative source of petroleum. But the situation for US imperialism is becoming more and more complex and difficult, especially after its resounding defeats in Indochina. Soviet social-imperialism wants to take advantage of US decline and weaknesses in the region. Japanese capitalism has to be accommodated here because otherwise China-Japan relations would develop beyond US-Japan relations. China has its own policy of friendliness towards all her neighboring countries. The peoples of Southeast Asia are engaged in revolutionary armed struggle under Marxist-Leninists parties. Should there be another world war, Southeast Asia is one region that is almost certain to become completely Red.

The scheme of US imperialism to use Japan as its anti-China spearhead and its fogleman in Asia is at odds with Japan's own interests and needs as a capitalist country that can no longer be accommodated in US economic territory as adequately as before, especially when the Korean War and the Vietnam War were on. Likewise, the scheme of Soviet social-imperialism to entice Japan into an anti-China alignment by serving up its natural resources, especially oil and timber in Siberia, is at odds with the more economic terms of China-Japan trade and with Soviet refusal to restore the four northern islands to Japan. The peoples of China, Korea and Japan are firmly against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The desertion of the Soviet Union from the ranks of the socialist countries by becoming revisionist, social-capitalist and social-imperialist does not make for an increase in the strength of the world capitalist system but instead makes for an increase in the virulence of inter-imperialist and intercapitalist contradictions. By usurping the social wealth and military prowess of the Soviet proletariat and people, Soviet social-imperialism has posed itself as the most formidable rival of US imperialism and also a competitor as well as prospective master-state of other capitalist countries.

On the part of revolutionaries the world over, the problem that has arisen with the emergence of Soviet social-imperialism is that here is one imperialist power with the special characteristics of being socialist in words and being imperialist in deeds and being liable to launch

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against socialist China a full-scale war of aggression because of new tsarist ambitions and blatant war preparations in pursuit of such ambitions. As time has proceeded, instead of being able to confuse people, Soviet social-imperialism has demonstrated its true nature not only by its own counterrevolutionary words but also by its wanton acts of aggression and counterrevolutionary deeds.

China has adopted and carried out a comprehensive program of defending and advancing its revolution, opposing the two superpowers and countering their maneuvers and the dangers of a world war posed by them, and promoting the world revolution as the antidote to the poison of imperialism and war. By undertaking the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, under Chairman Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has thwarted the restoration of capitalism within the most populous socialist society and has become consolidated as a strong bulwark of socialism and world revolution. As it continues to win great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, it enhances its ability not only to defend itself against one or two superpowers but also to fulfil its internationalist obligations.

China is playing a pivotal role in developing relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation among the socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism. It is extending tremendous support and assistance to the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations and at the same time encouraging them to be self-reliant and to maintain initiative in their own countries. Its external policy includes the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, specifically the Five Principles. This is an important weapon in the service of the world revolution because by it the broadest possible united front can be created against the two superpowers and contradictions even in the ranks of our enemies can be taken advantage of. It fully accords with Marxism-Leninism to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one.

Within the United Nations, China puts a great emphasis on promoting the struggle of the third world countries and small and medium-sized countries to assert their independence and state sovereignty against the two superpowers. The monopoly of the imperialists over international affairs is being shattered. Therefore, it becomes difficult for any single superpower to draw a following for launching a world

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war. As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens, there are bound to be more and more disagreements and conflicts between the two superpowers and between one or two superpowers and the dependent countries, whether also capitalist or developing.

As disorder reigns in the affairs of the two superpowers and the world capitalist system, the revolutionary forces of the world find the situation excellent for their anti-imperialist struggles. Should a world war still break out despite all efforts to prevent it, the outcome for the imperialists shall be worse. The last two world wars have proven that a world war leads to civil wars and a revolution of wider scope against imperialism.

In the world anti-imperialist struggle against the two superpowers, it is entirely correct for China and other socialist countries to raise their levels of socialist revolution and socialist construction and rely on their own proletariat and people and upon such a basis carry out an external policy that would foster unity with Asia, Africa and Latin America and take advantage of intercapitalist contradictions as well as contradictions between the two superpowers themselves. Under these circumstances, Marxist-Leninist parties the world over can thrive in leading the people in revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles in their respective countries.

The Philippine Revolution, particularly the people's war that we are presently waging, finds abundant support not only among the broad masses of the people in the Philippines. It also finds abundant support in the peoples and proletariat of socialist countries, colonies and semicolonies and capitalist countries. Support comes in the general form of fighting in common against one or two superpowers and, in cases to increase in the future, also in the form of direct and concrete assistance to the Philippine Revolution.

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The Communist Party of the Philippines Enters the Seventh Year since Reestablishment

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The Communist Party of the Philippines now enters the seventh year since its reestablishment on December 26, 1968. The broad masses of the people and the rank and file of the Party and the New People's Army have great cause for rejoicing in this fact.

Year after year the Party has accumulated revolutionary victories and proven itself as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the protracted struggle for national freedom and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

There is no party today in the country that is more tempered and more qualified ideologically, politically and organizationally to lead the revolutionary struggle for the broad interests of the people against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Victories of the Communist Party of the Philippines

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a victory without which the Philippine revolution could not have taken a single step forward during the last six years. We have followed the principle that ideological building is the first requisite for Party building. Thus, we have vigorously propagated the scientific proletarian principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and sought to apply them on the concrete conditions of our own revolutionary struggle.

The treasury of Marxist-Leninist works is so vast. But we have put stress on the reproduction, translation and circulation of those works that are most fundamental and most relevant to the present stage of the Philippine revolution. These works have reinforced our primary and intermediate courses of study and have also been of such a latitude as to allow anyone to do advance reading, especially for the advance course of study.

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We have promoted not only the reading of Marxist-Leninist works, regular study classes and theoretical conferences for the purpose of achieving a comprehension of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method but also the application of such a stand, viewpoint and method through researches into the history and current circumstances of our people as well as social investigation at the grassroots for the purpose of ensuring and enhancing correct revolutionary activity.

Our struggle against Soviet modern revisionism and the Lava revisionist renegades has been very fruitful. This has served to heighten our ideological and political level. This has urged us to seek a better grasp of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and guard against our own weaknesses and negative tendencies. Correct ideas flourish in contention with wrong ideas.

Total victory has been decisively won against the Lava revisionist renegades. Before their shameless open surrender to the fascist puppet dictatorship, these traitors, hooligans and swindlers were defeated ideologically by our Party. We have stood in the forefront, together with the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties, in combating Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism. Our Party enjoys a high prestige not only within the country but also throughout the world.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, especially that of Chairman Mao on revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country, we have correctly adopted the general line of people's democratic revolution through a people's war over a protracted period of time. The strength of the Party lies in its correct ideological and political line. We owe to this line every victory that we have won in the face of enemy military task forces, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and more than two years of unbridled fascist martial rule. A newly reestablished party with an incorrect line would have collapsed in the face of such enemy onslaughts.

The Party has scored a victory in preserving and tempering itself against such powerful odds. But the victory does not stop there. The Party has dealt hard blows against the enemy and has gained political strength by courageously leading the New People's Army and promoting an antifascist national united front.

The New People's Army created and led by the Party stands today as the only revolutionary army that the broad masses of the people have against the fascist counterrevolution in all regions of the country,

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with the exception of southwestern Mindanao where the Bangsa Moro Army is fighting for national self-determination. In every major region in the country, we are engaged in guerrilla warfare.

Our people's army has grown from a few guerrilla squads and a few rifles in one province in 1969 to several guerrilla companies and hundreds of rifles, distributed to several strategic points in the archipelago. In many areas we are now capable of wiping out whole enemy squads and in a few areas we are also capable of wiping out whole platoons and half-companies.

Our Party has struck roots in the regions of Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Montañosa-Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Manila-Rizal, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao. We have won a victory in being able to shift Party cadres and members from Manila-Rizal to various other regions and from the cities to the countryside under extremely adverse conditions. Being a newly reestablished Party, enjoying the advantageous conditions provided by the first quarter storm of 1970 and the succeeding upheavals, we could not have one-sidedly attended to work in the countryside.

The Party has laid the main stress on mass work in the countryside. We adhere strictly to the strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside, where the people's army can be built and fight over a long period of time. Under the leadership of the regional Party committees, created and nurtured by the Central Committee, the New People's Army is developing guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones.

The Party within the people's army and the localities is the leading force in the building of the organs of democratic political power, mass organizations of various types and local armed forces of various types. In this regard, we have carried out an antifascist and antifeudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants and other middle elements to participate in the armed resistance and encouraging the rich peasants, local entrepreneurs, enlightened landlords and anti-Marcos power groups to support the resistance in one way or another against fascism and the worst of feudalism.

On a wide range in both urban and rural areas, we are indefatigably developing a national democratic front which involves developing the leadership of the proletariat through the Party, forging the basic alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie as a basic revolutionary force together with the

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toiling masses and encouraging the national bourgeoisie and the anti-Marcos sections of even the comprador-landlord class to support the armed resistance against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The antifascist underground has developed well. Being a party that has taken the road of armed revolution soon after its reestablishment, we have maintained the lead in building an antifascist underground spanning the entire archipelago and ranging over the rural and urban areas. Our allies have their own underground networks. And underground committees and groups of a united front character have been established.

A number of regional Party and army organizations have achieved self-reliance, especially in the areas of fierce fighting where there is no recourse but to be self-reliant. The productive efforts of the people, people's army and mass organizations have often been disrupted by enemy military operations. But even then our army units have not ceased to live and work with the people through thick and thin. We have succeeded to some extent in land reform work and tax collection and our allies have been generous to us.

The Party is still small and weak. We have barely started to fight. We are still in the early substage of the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. But certainly we have the strength to help destroy the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique within a relatively short period of time, especially now that the domestic crisis and the world crisis of capitalism are daily worsening. Our participation in the antifascist united front is of decisive significance even now.

Whatever we have achieved can never be properly appreciated without a consideration of the difficulties that we have had to overcome and the sacrifices and martyrdom that have had to be incurred.

We started from scratch. The grave errors of the Lava-Taruc opportunists and revisionists had deprived us of the gains made by the people in previous revolutionary struggles. And we have had to fight soon after the Party reestablishment an armed struggle against a crescendo of armed reaction in a small archipelagic country which is under the sway of one imperialist power and where there is neither open war among the reactionaries nor interimperialist war.

The Party members in general are deeply imbued with a conscious iron discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice and service to the people. They recognize the rigors and risks of revolutionary struggle and they

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constantly remold their thinking so that they can do their revolutionary duties better with no fear of death or sacrifice and with no thought of seeking high positions, fame or wealth. Their honor lies in living, working and, if need be, dying for the revolution.

Only a handful of traitors and misfits have dropped out of Party ranks. They come into the sharpest contrast with those who have suffered martyrdom and those who have withstood torture in the hands of the enemy. They are shamed by the overwhelming number of Party members who have persisted in revolutionary struggle and who continue to increase. Indeed, the Party itself is not exempt from the universal law of contradiction.

Favorable Conditions for Advancing the Revolution

The objective conditions in the Philippines are more than ever favorable for advancing the revolution. The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique has only served to aggravate the political and economic crisis of the Philippine ruling system.

In the entire semicolonial history of the Philippines, there has never been a regime more brutal, more servile, more corrupt, more bankrupt and more disorderly than the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. In other words, there has never been a regime more hated by the broad masses of the people since the end of World War II.

The fascist dictatorship has not only failed to crush the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but has also created the conditions for them to enjoy the highest prestige among all antifascist forces and to increase their strength in many respects throughout the archipelago.

The armed struggle for self-determination carried out by the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army has only intensified and expanded as a result of the criminal actions of the fascist regime. This struggle has served to weaken the enemy in every region of the archipelago.

The terror effect of the Marcos rightist coup has worn off and the situation is perking up for all antifascist forces. Because of the raging economic crisis, the fascist dictatorship will only hasten its downfall should it resort to terror worse than it has already unleashed. The weaknesses of the fascist dictatorship are already showing in its

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admission of the economic crisis and its increasing pretenses at reconciliation with its victims.

More and more leading elements of what the fascist dictator has sweepingly categorized as the Right have started to fight back. Marcos is now the one terrified by the united front between the Left and all other antifascist forces. His berserk attacks against all political forces and organizations that were in any degree critical of him has left him all alone at dead center.

The split within the reactionary ranks is not only something between some expatriates in the United States and the fascist dictatorship. Significant sections of the Catholic clergy and laity, some local power groups and anti-Marcos groups within the reactionary armed forces have started to stir. Marcos now is definitely more terrified by the possibility of a coup d'état against him and his fascist clique than by the military operations of our people's army. Certainly, he is most terrified by the combined strength of the antifascist united front which has already isolated his regime.

US imperialism has already gotten all that it wants from its fascist puppet and it calculates that it can keep these better by changing horses. It would not stake its interests on one puppet alone, especially when that one has become more of a liability than an asset in the face of the raging antifascist revolutionary movement. US imperialism is adept at making scapegoats out of its own puppets.

At this time, Marcos is already caught in a dilemma between maintaining the rigidity of his rule and opening the floodgates of public condemnation. Either way, he is bound to fall ignominiously. He cannot escape an ignominious downfall, except by going promptly against his own imperialist master and changing to some extent acceptable to the people the anti-national and antidemocratic character of his regime.

Marcos has left himself with no quarters by slavishly giving way through the Marcos constitution to US privileges far exceeding those under the 1935 constitution and the Party Amendment and by reversing principles settled by decisions in the Krivenko, Quasha and Luzteveco cases. He gains no new quarters by continuing to make anticommunist onslaughts. The Party always gives the highest priority to fighting its worst enemy.

All the bluff and bluster of the fascist dictator about "peace and prosperity" of his "new society" is gone. He cannot deny the misery and disorder of this old semicolonial and semifeudal society gone

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worse than ever before. He himself fallaciously said that autocracy and political tyranny are justified and tenable only when these bring about economic prosperity. But the truth remains that autocracy and political tyranny become even more unjustified and untenable under conditions of worsening economic misery.

Soaring prices, rampant unemployment, food shortages, continuous devaluation of the currency, increasing tax burden, excessive foreign and local borrowing, depressed prices of traditional exports and large trade deficits, increasing foreign domination of the economy and accelerated remittance of profits by US and other foreign monopoly capitalists and unbridled deficit spending for the parasitic military, nonproductive projects and grossly overpriced infrastructure projects—these are the economic characteristics of the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist dictatorship shamelessly takes the utmost pride in suppressing the workers' trade union rights, particularly the right to strike, and in keeping Philippine labor cheap for the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists to exploit. The rate of unemployment and that of disemployment are running high and the soaring prices of basic commodities are ruthlessly eroding the stagnant wages of workers who manage to remain on their jobs.

The Marcos "land reform program" is all a farce. The "temporary land transfer certificates" are mere pieces of paper that tell the peasants that they can never afford to buy land from the landlords. Not a single poor peasant has acquired a single square inch of land from any landlord. On the contrary, the peasant masses are the principal target of enemy military operations and are required to render extra tribute through various organizations imposed by the fascist regime. Large tracts of land have been rapaciously seized from poor settlers and the national minorities for the benefit of US and Japanese agrocorporations. Feudal and semifeudal exploitation reigns with intensified rapacity in the countryside.

The urban petty bourgeoisie do not only find their democratic liberties suppressed but also find their fixed salaries or small nonsalary incomes assailed daily by the inflation. The national bourgeoisie find themselves pushed out of business more than ever before by the foreign monopoly capitalists.

Millions upon millions of the people suffer intolerable exploitation and oppression. In the face of the fascist tyranny, they see no way out but to support or participate in the armed revolution. Marcos is our

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best teacher on state and revolution by negative example. Long after his downfall, the profound education being gained by the people now will continue to undermine foreign and feudal domination.

The fascist dictator disclaims responsibility for the economic crisis just as he disclaims the massacres, arson, torture and other barbarities committed by his regime. Before Proclamation No. 1081, he blamed everyone else but himself for the crisis. But now that he has a monopoly of reactionary authority and responsibility, he blames the entire world for the graver crisis that has arisen.

Marcos cannot explain away his own culpability by simply referring to the "world crisis" or "crisis caused by outside forces." It is true that the crisis of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system and the heavy toll of the two superpowers' struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy are shifted to semicolonial dependents like the Philippines in a more bitter form. But it is equally true that the fascist dictatorship is culpable for unbridled puppetry to US imperialism.

The corruption of the Marcos fascist clique is one big multiplier of the ills transmitted to the country by US imperialism. Marcos enjoys being a puppet to US and other foreign monopoly capitalists because he is well bribed for being so. This arch oligarch knows no bounds for amassing wealth in both stockholdings and lands. There is not a single privilege, concession, license, contract or loan agreement of some considerable value that does not involve a share for him.

The present crisis of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system has been the severest and most turbulent since the end of World War II. The results for the Philippines are terrible. Inflation is imported through the commodities that are imported and the big comprador and bureaucrat capitalists combine to make the inflation even worse. Because of the breakdown in their industrial production at home, the foreign monopoly capitalists seek to maintain a high rate of profit by depressing the prices of raw materials from the developing countries like the Philippines. At the same time, they accelerate the remittance of profits on direct and indirect investment here and impose more and more loans that carry extremely profitable terms for them.

Like the US imperialists, Marcos harps on the line that the oil-producing Arab countries are responsible for the current world inflation. There has never been a more absurd line, especially as he obscures the role of the US oil majors and also the fact that developing countries have to cope with the crisis caused by the imperialists in the first place.

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The most profound causes of the present crisis of the world capitalist system lie in the two superpowers' struggle for world hegemony and arms supremacy, the accumulated defeats of US imperialism in wars of aggression, the wanton overprinting and overspending of US dollars abroad and the imperialists' profligate consumption of the world's resources.

Under the pressure of the world capitalist crisis, the fascist dictatorship has encouraged trade relations with the People's Republic of China and has gone so far as to acknowledge interest in diplomatic relations. It is entirely correct for China to remain firm on its policy of developing relations with the Philippines on the basis of the Five Principles of peace coexistence.

Any step towards full diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines constitutes a further defeat of the old anti-China policy of US imperialism, a counteraction to the two superpowers and a development of the relations between the Chinese people and the Filipino people, no matter what may be the subjective wishes of the Philippine reactionary government. The policy of peaceful coexistence is an integral part of the proletarian foreign policy of a socialist country.

China's relations with the Philippines serve to take advantage of a breach in the traditional hold of US imperialism over a semicolonial dependent and therefore serve in a certain way to support the Philippine revolution. Nevertheless, the relations between a socialist country and a reactionary country are distinct from the relations between the ruling class or clique and the revolutionary masses in the reactionary country.

The objective conditions in the world are favorable for advancing the Philippine revolution. US imperialism is in rapid decline and there is great disorder between this superpower and the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism. Countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and the people wanting revolution are isolating and dealing hard blows on the two superpowers.

China and other socialist countries continue to make great advances in socialist revolution and construction as well as in their international relations. The Third World, including China as a developing socialist country, is firmly conducting an anti-imperialist struggle for national independence and state sovereignty. The lesser capitalist countries are also increasingly at odds with the two superpowers.

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Even as they collude to oppose revolution and the people and create the illusion that there is detente and diminution of their arms expansion and war preparations, the two superpowers are ceaselessly contending for spheres of influence, sources of raw materials, fields of investments and strategic positions. They keep on creating disorder and resorting to foul acts that threaten world peace and stunt the progress of mankind.

But then they merely create conditions on which revolutionary movements thrive. The revolutionary forces are confident of winning victory in their respective countries because of their just cause and self-reliant efforts and also because the two superpowers are encircled ring upon ring by countries, nations and the people fighting for their legitimate interests.

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines

We have stated our accomplishments and presented the overall situation. Inevitably, the tasks that the Communist Party of the Philippines must carry out need to be laid down. In this regard, problems that we face must also be pointed out. A firm grasp of the problems does not only clarify the tasks but also the methods carrying them out.

1. To everyone interested in raising his ideological level, reading and studying Marxist-Leninist works are indispensable. But to do so exclusive of the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution is to fall into dogmatism. To muddle through in practice without theoretical guidance is to fall into empiricism. Both trends of subjectivism must be combated.

The problem of dogmatism arises not simply because we devote our attention exclusively or mainly to the reading and study of Marxist-Leninist works. The fact is that we are not yet well-read and well-versed in these. The problem of empiricism arises not simply because we plunge into practice with utter thoughtlessness and have too much of experience. The fact is that we are still ill-experienced. Indeed, we are a newly established party.

To combat subjectivism, we must apply ourselves to the task of linking revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice. Certainly, we must diligently read and study the Marxist-Leninist works and thereby grasp the fundamental laws of dialectical materialism and historical

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materialism. But the point is to link these with our concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

To do so is not simply to plunge into practice and let practice pile on practice. Researches into the history and concrete circumstances of the Philippines must be continuously done. Social investigation of varying scope must be made wherever we are. Our practical activity must be summed up periodically and at critical junctures. In any case, the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method must be applied. Of course, there is a division of work in the making of researches, social investigations and summing-ups. But these are done to raise the ideological level and deepen the knowledge of the entire Party within and outside of regular courses of study.

There are those who do not delve into the specific characteristics of the Philippine revolution. They engross themselves with looking for similarities between the Philippine revolution and other revolutions abroad and disregard the differences. They are obsessed with simple parallelisms and analogies. They forget that principles and basic lessons may be drawn from revolutionary experience in other countries but these should not be superimposed mechanically on our own history and current circumstances. They forget that the soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

There are those who pick out the biography of a great communist leader and impose this or parts of it on everyone as the sole measure of being a revolutionary. There are those who content themselves with reciting quotations and casting labels without investigation and analysis of the situation. There are those who move from one barrio to another without any prior social investigation and delivering the same set speech in the style of a preacher.

Even in the handling of the Party's basic documents, which are certainly attempts at linking revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, there are those who cannot place matters in their correct historical context and would rather learn by rote what they can and forget all about what they cannot. Terms that we have used in critical writings against the Lava revisionist renegades who misled the Party for more than thirty years and who sabotaged a relatively large people's army are indiscriminately applied on anyone irrespective of circumstances and scope of responsibility.

Those who are relatively better read within the Party come from the petty bourgeoisie. If they do not cut off their petty bourgeois tails,

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the Party members who come from the toiling masses would always be able to insist that their individual knowledge is better founded on experience no matter how limited. Definitely, there is much more learning to be found among the toiling masses than among petty bourgeois elements who regard books as fetishes to impress people with. The correct thing to do is to let our Party members who are better read and those who are barely literate to help one another and advance together ideologically.

2. We have already pointed out that we are still in the early substage of the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. We are not yet strong enough to be mainly responsible for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. However, we can state correctly that we, together with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army, have been mainly responsible for keeping alive the antifascist armed resistance and that we can make a significant contribution to an antifascist united front capable of overthrowing this regime within a relatively short period of time.

There are several possibilities regarding the life of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. One is that it will be extirpated by a coup d'état sooner or later. Before this can occur, US imperialism will have to seriously reckon with what will already be a hard-hitting broad antifascist and anti-imperialist armed movement, supported or joined in by anti-Marcos local power groups. Another possibility is that the Marcos regime will stay long because the New People's Army remains the only antifascist army fighting the enemy in the entire archipelago, with perhaps the continued exception of southwestern Mindanao.

A related possibility is that Marcos' "normalization" gimmick will hold because the anti-Marcos reactionaries will capitulate completely under some arrangement designed by US imperialism. The remotest possibility is that the fascist puppet regime will promptly change its anti-national and antidemocratic character to some extent acceptable to the people and develop Sino-Philippine relations as a full anti-imperialist weapon in the face of an anti-Marcos coup plan that is inspired by US imperialism and is intractably against us. We must be ready for every possibility and hold on firmly to our guns.

What is already a serious crisis of the ruling system will grow far worse in the coming year. The problems of the fascist puppet dictatorship will not be relieved by US imperialism. On the contrary, these will be aggravated by the much-worsened crisis that US imperialism itself

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is suffering from. On this score, we must act with ever greater confidence and perform our revolutionary tasks with ever greater militancy. United and determined to march forward, we can take full advantage of the disorder and chaos within the ruling system.

In adopting any policy, we must be fully aware of the specific conditions and be sure that our aim is realizable with the forces available on our side. The aim carried by the policy should mean a definite advance in our revolutionary struggle. The policy must be well understood by the Party cadres before it can be promoted and carried out among the masses. What constitutes Right and "Left" deviations should be pointed out at every phase in the implementation of that policy so that corrections and adjustments can be made.

We are fighting a people's war and we are doing so on the scale of guerrilla warfare. We cannot but fight on the basis of our own historical circumstances. We did not inherit a single rifle from the previous armed struggles of the people, which had been sabotaged by the Lava-Taruc revisionists and opportunists. We were able to start only by seizing a few rifles from the completely new stock of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in 1969. There is no open war among the reactionaries in the areas where we have been and there is neither an interimperialist war directly involving our country.

It is absolutely correct to implement the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. We the proletarian revolutionaries must build our army among the peasant masses. The countryside is the most extensive arena for our strategic defensive and tactical offensives. But we must also consider that our countryside is shredded, with the two largest islands Luzon and Mindanao set apart by the clutter of the Visayan islands in what is already a small country. To offset the narrowing effect of the archipelago on our fighting fronts, we must strive to achieve width and depth in our maneuvers by making full use of rough and well-forested terrain.

The problem with concentrating our small forces on such a terrain is that we deal more with homesteaders with their own freeholdings than with peasants suffering on the spot from the inequities of land ownership. Thus, if the entire revolutionary guide for land reform were to be considered, it can be said that we have not accomplished much in land reform work. But this is not to say that we are not dealing with feudal and semifeudal practices in the hinterlands and in the adjoining plains.

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We have no choice but to develop guerrilla warfare first in the frontier areas. There are the landgrabbers and usurers to deal with here. The reactionary government no less is the big landlord disposing of the land arbitrarily after the homesteaders have cultivated it. In the plains, our underground forces can approach land reform by adopting measures on the crop still in the fields, which cannot be guarded twenty-four a day by the landlord and his running dogs.

Especially because we are waging guerrilla warfare, we must have a very flexible strategy and tactics. We have no regular mobile forces to embody the principle of concentration in relation to guerrilla forces that embody that of dispersion. We have to consider principal and secondary tasks, forces and directions as well as concentration, shifting and dispersion on the scale of guerrilla squads and platoons. Under these conditions, it is a difficult problem to carry out a policy of annihilation.

The regional Party committees can start solving the problem of maintaining and developing at least a platoon of full-time guerrilla fighters in each fighting front rather than by assigning the three squads to points or areas so far apart that they cannot help each other. A reasonable radius must be defined wherein the squads can concentrate or disperse to their advantage and wherein they can consolidate and expand within a reasonable period of time. Guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones must be created and maintained commensurate to the strength of the guerrilla forces.

We must pay close attention to the dangers of adventurism and conservatism. We are adventurists when we make offensives unwarranted by the limited and superficial mass work that we have so far done in the area. We are conservative when we have developed sizeable mass support and a wide area of maneuver and fail to attack enemy units we are well capable of annihilating. If we neither conduct mass work nor wipe out enemy units, then we cannot expect to grow from small to big and from weak to strong.

We must be good at employing the guerrilla tactics taught by Chairman Mao which consist mainly of the following points:

Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.

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To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.

Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.

The only way by which we can heighten the effectiveness of our guerrilla units is to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. As a matter of fact, we cannot make any start in guerrilla warfare without painstaking mass work. We must build the organs of democratic political power, the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists; and the local armed forces, like the half-time local guerrillas, the militia, self-defense corps and demolition teams.

Under conditions of fascist martial rule, the enemy commits all kinds of barbarities to force the evacuation and reconcentration of the people (as in certain parts of Cagayan Valley and Bicol) and set up "civilian home defense forces" (as anywhere our operations have caught enemy attention) in order to destroy our guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones. We must vigorously arouse and mobilize the people to oppose these impositions which wreak havoc on their lives.

Before shifting to another front, because we do not wish all our guerrilla forces to be caught in a decisive engagement in one front, we must recruit as many of the people's local armed forces as possible into our full-time forces, implant among the people underground units apart from those that may be easily pointed out to the enemy by renegades and assign a stay-behind guerrilla force to harass the enemy forces.

While the bulk of enemy troops are tied down in fighting the people of southwestern Mindanao and in protecting the fascist dictator in Manila, we must develop the guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones in every region in the country and respond to the people's demand for armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. It is our stand that the development of guerrilla warfare nationwide is the best defense and support for every guerrilla base area and guerrilla zone. It is the nationwide concert of our self-reliant guerrilla forces in different islands that will weaken the enemy and strengthen us.

In line with developing nationwide guerrilla warfare, we must go by the principles of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. The regional Party committees must maintain initiative in their

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respective regions. All Party cadres and members must learn how to find their own bearing. Self-reliance and the style of simple living and hard work must be promoted.

Even as a regional Party organization is concentrated on developing one, two or three fighting fronts, a wide range of underground network should be developed for purposes of intraregional propaganda and communications and for liaison with the Central Committee. Two kinds of underground network must be developed: one that is exclusively a Party network and another that has a united front character.

We must build the underground not only in the countryside but also in the cities among workers and other urban poor, the urban petty bourgeoisie, businessmen and other forces that may be brought into the antifascist united front. We must assign Party cadres and members who can move about legally to urban work. Anyone who can no longer work effectively in one place must be shifted to another place where he can work effectively.

3. The Party membership remains small despite all previous prodings, including an expansion plan with a minimum and maximum multiplier. Our policy of boldly expanding our membership and not letting in a single undesirable stands.

The broad masses of the people are seething with hatred for the enemy and the political work conducted by so few of us has been very fruitful. Conditions are favorable for increasing our membership; we are aware of so many who are eager to join the Party. Our enormous tasks demand that we must cast away sectarianism.

It is true that for sometime after the declaration of martial rule the recruitment of Party members was disrupted. The most militant progressive elements were subjected to repression and were regarded by the enemy as indicators of the Party organization. But there has been more than enough time to overcome the disruption. We must not let the number of Party members remain stagnant while the enemy continues its wild attempts to crush us.

We can turn a bad thing into a good thing. Under fascist martial rule, those genuinely eager to join the Party are ready to suffer a thousand cuts to overthrow the emperor. We must open the door for them and welcome them. There is a great advantage that their entry into the Party is under conditions of far greater secrecy than ever before and their training is immediately in the underground or with the people's army.

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Even before the fascist martial rule, the recruitment of Party members was already painfully slow. It seemed as if the typical Party member never asked himself how good a Party member he remained by failing to develop others into becoming Party members. Our rate of organizational growth has continued to be extremely low.

We have long clarified that recruitment into the Party involves Party members recommending the most advanced elements from the revolutionary mass movement and the people's army, providing them with basic Party education, giving them tasks and assigning them to a definite Party branch or group.

The regional Party committees are entrusted with the task of combating sectarianism and enlarging our Party membership. They must submit as soon as possible to the Central Committee their recruitment plans. Upon our organizational growth, we can assume greater responsibilities and move forward in our revolutionary struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Uphold the unity of the Party and give full play to the initiative of the regional Party committees!

Strengthen the New People's Army and the underground in both rural and urban areas!

Take advantage of the every worsening crisis of the local ruling system and US imperialism!

Down with the two superpowers!

Long live the Third World and all anti-imperialist people of the world!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

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February 27 “Referendum”—Another Farce

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Under conditions of fascist martial rule, no honest referendum can be held. The truth of this statement has been amply proven by the fake referendums of January 10-15 and July 27-28 in 1973 when the fascist dictatorship gave itself unbelievable number of votes amidst the overwhelming hatred of the people for its criminal arrogations and excesses. The “referendum” slated for February 27 cannot be but another farce, a travesty of democracy and an insult to the sovereign people.

The fascist dictator Marcos holds the people in complete contempt. His basic stand remains that he holds unlimited powers like a monarchical autocrat and that he rigs up a “referendum” once in a while not really to let the sovereign people decide on questions that he alone frames but merely to “consult” them under rules and conditions that he unilaterally designs. The “referendum” is therefore nothing more than an expensive propaganda gimmick of the fascist dictatorship.

Marcos has already repeatedly declared what uses the third fake referendum has for him. He wants a “vote of confidence” and a “fresh mandate.” He prates that there is need to “consolidate the gains” of his extremely oppressive and exploitative “new society” and that more than ever there is a need for the continuance of his “crisis government,” because the country is rocked by what is a daily worsening political and economic crisis.

The irony of it all is that a referendum is something that should prove there is no more cause for martial rule but instead a referendum is rigged repeatedly to prove that the present fascist martial rule should continue. The fascist puppet dictatorship is the fundamental internal cause for the rapid worsening of the crisis in Philippine semicolonial and semifeudal society. And yet the fascist dictatorship seeks to perpetuate itself by invoking this worsening crisis.

There is no doubt left about Marcos giving himself an “overwhelming vote” on the question of whether there is approval for the mere manner of his exercising the powers that he has usurped and also on

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the question of whether he should continue exercising the same powers. As in the two previous fake referendums, the results of the third "referendum" are already known by the Malacañang fakir-statisticians long before the people are made to go into the motion of voting. If ever there is going to be a new twist this time, it would be for Marcos to appear getting less than 90 percent of the "votes" on every question.

In raising the two questions whether local officials should be appointed or elected, Marcos basically wishes to give himself an "assent" to what he asserts: namely, that everything proceeds from his usurpation of power. Whatever is made to appear as the prevalent answer to the questions, the mere act of "voting" would be taken by him to imply that there is "assent" to his complete control of all local officials. Thus, he is very much concerned about getting a big turn-out of "voters" in the "referendum," apart from his wanting to show some semblance of democracy by allowing debate within the narrow confines of whether governors and mayor-councils should be appointed or elected.

The third fake referendum is therefore a method for Marcos to expand his powers and effect a rigid control of local executive offices that were previously elective. The vulture sees and takes the opportunity offered by the impending termination of the tenure of local elective officials on December 31, 1975. On top of gaining the "principle" that the tenure of local officials whether appointed or elected depends on him, he can have the most rigid fascist control over local officials should the "vote" be made to appear in favor of his power of appointment. However, he can still retain sufficient control over them even if the "vote" be made to appear that they need to be elected. That is because the when and the how of the elections will still depend on him.

There are blatant signs that the fascist dictatorship is interested in appointing a "manager-commission" and imposing it on Greater Manila (Manila-Rizal). The foundation for this has been laid by the integration of all police departments and other departments under the Metrocom. The fascist dictator wants to have the most rigid control over the center of wealth and communications. He wants to monopolize the spoils here and give some crumbs to his favorite military minions. In fact, the Metrocom has already seized for itself all opportunities for graft, corruption and extortion from local elective officials in the area. Marcos is also afraid that were local officials in Greater Manila to remain elective it is certain that his candidates would lose or that he will have to resort to the most scandalous tricks to get them "elected."

In the areas outside of Greater Manila, there is enough basis to expect that Marcos is interested in imposing his power of appointment. Police departments have been integrated under the Philippine Constabulary and have been wrested away from local elective officials. In many areas, especially those where local officials are antifascist or where there is armed antifascist resistance, governors and mayors have been replaced by military men openly and surreptitiously. The current view of the fascist dictatorship is that elections are "divisive" and tend to "loosen the tongue" of the people. There is also some basis to expect that either through the "referendum" or after it Marcos will come under such a heavy pressure from his foreign master, US imperialism, which is more clever in the ways of deception, that he will concede to elections of local officials outside of Greater Manila.

Anything that Marcos wants in his "referendum" Marcos gets. The Commission on Elections is completely in the hands of notorious Marcos hatchetmen. It cannot be any different from the Department of Local Government and Community Development that carried out the previous "referendums." Even if this time the votes were really counted for show in the local "barangays," especially those accessible to foreign press correspondents, the canvassing and tabulation of votes from the municipal or city level upwards will be made by Comelec personnel who are either beholden to or cowed by the fascist regime.

Apart from reminding the people that there are penalties (a jail term and fine) for failing to register and "vote," "barangay leaders" are already making the rounds telling them that dire consequences would befall those who will not vote according to the wishes of the fascist dictatorship. These "barangay leaders" have been intimidated by the fascist military that should they fail to produce the desired results they are subject to various forms of harassment. The coercive effect of illegal detentions, forced evacuations, torture, murder and other forms of fascist abuse is being exerted on the people to the maximum.

Previous to the fascist martial rule, fraud and terrorism was the rule even when the two reactionary parties, civic associations and the press of diverse reactionary tendencies could countercheck each other and watch electoral proceedings from the precinct level to the national level. But now that all political parties are dissolved, civic organizations are deterred from poll-watching and the press is completely in the hands of Marcos-Romualdez kins and dummies, the

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single ultrareactionary Marcos clique monopolizes the terrorism and the fraud in the entire “referendum” proceedings.

The Communist Party of the Philippines should take the initiative and take every opportunity to expose and oppose the forthcoming “referendum” as a farce and as a cheap trick intended by the fascist puppet dictatorship to cover up its extreme isolation from the people and to expand its powers to oppress and exploit the people. The people should be encouraged and urged to boycott the “referendum” and to hold US imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet clique responsible for the present intolerably severe crisis engulfing the country today.

The fear that those who refuse to vote will be penalized should be dispelled by the convincing argument that the fascist dictatorship will not dare jail and fine millions upon millions of the people and further expose its isolation, unjustness and brutality. The fact should be cited that the fascist dictatorship has admitted that millions upon millions of people, comprising twenty-five percent of “registered voters,” did not vote during the second fake referendum. No one was jailed or fined for refusing to register or “vote.” Instead, the fascist dictatorship had to issue an “amnesty” proclamation to save face from the exposure of its empty threats. Punitive measures for such a supposed crime as abstention from a rigged referendum would only serve to rouse the people to fight even more militantly against the fascist puppet dictatorship.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants are impelled by the daily worsening crisis to condemn the “referendum” and all the rotten things it stands for. Antifascist sections of the Catholic Church, leading personalities in various professions, the student masses and a growing number of local government officials are openly working to break the climate of fear and are standing up on public platforms to denounce the “referendum.” More than ever before, there is a substantial basis for a policy of boycotting the “referendum.”

Public gatherings should be held under the guise of discussing the “referendum” questions in order to expose and oppose not only the “referendum” but also the entire fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. Public opinion surveys of varying scales should be promoted before, during and after the “referendum” so as to disprove the preordained results of this Marcos referendum. To achieve the utmost success in the antifascist campaign, Party cadres and members must cooperate and blend with our allies everywhere.

February 27 "Referendum"—Another Farce

Expose and oppose the "referendum" as another farce, a travesty of democracy!

Boycott the fake referendum!

Condemn the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Work well with our allies everywhere in the antifascist and anti-"referendum" campaign!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

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Long Live the New People's Army!

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. VII, No. 1, March 29, 1975.

The New People's Army under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is now a long way in terms of experience and achievement from what it was at its founding six years ago. There is plenty of cause for jubilation and celebration.

The New People's Army has through the years and through ups and downs in varying areas steadily become stronger and more tempered by taking the correct ideological and political line set by the Communist Party of the Philippines. This Red army has stood out as the only army that the broad masses of the Filipino people can rely on in fighting for the completion of the national democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

There is no doubt in the minds of everyone that the New People's Army is in the forefront of the revolutionary armed struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique through the length and breadth of the land.

With the revolutionary party of the proletariat at its core, the New People's Army is in the countryside arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people, mainly the peasant masses, for the people's war. There are now two or three fighting fronts at various stages of development in each of the following regions: Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Montañosa-Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The long-term strategy of our people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside. Our goal is to lure in the enemy deep into our territory, defeat him repeatedly at points of our own choosing and accumulate our small victories until such time that we become capable of advancing on his big towns and cities. The order of the day is to establish and develop guerrilla bases and zones on favorable terrain.

We are still in the strategic defensive in our protracted people's war. We are specifically at its early substage. We are in the process of building up guerrilla forces and waging guerrilla warfare. We can launch only tactical offensives characterized by mustering local superiority over weak points of the enemy.

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In our revolutionary armed struggle, we have killed several hundreds of enemy troops and wounded several more hundreds of them; disintegrated scores of “home defense units” (formerly called BSDUs and now CHDFs); and eliminated quite a number of local tyrants and informers. During the fascist martial rule, especially during the last year, we have inflicted a higher rate of casualties on the enemy than before.

We have exerted our utmost in carrying out the agrarian revolution step by step. We have worked for the protection of the homesteaders and national minorities in the hinterlands against fascist abuses, landgrabbers and merchant-usurers. We have made some modest gains in land reform in the plains. We have helped the peasant masses solve their production and marketing problems.

Trusting the masses and relying on them, we have indefatigably promoted the building of organs of democratic political power (barrio organizing committees and barrio revolutionary committees) and the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists. Without the people’s organizations, our full-time guerrilla fighters could not have had any foothold in the countryside and could not have dealt effectively with the enemy offensives.

In military operations, our full-time guerrilla fighters have been assisted in many ways by the local masses, especially such local armed organizations as the half-time guerrillas and the militia. The people are not only the eyes and ears of the New People’s Army but they also participate in concrete offensive actions against the enemy and provide the necessary material assistance for the fighters.

In arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people, especially the peasant masses in the countryside, the New People’s Army is helping create the basis for a nationwide revolutionary movement and a government of a national united front character.

The enemy unwittingly pays tribute to our success in organizing the masses by trying to evacuate them by armed force and by the vilest tactics from our guerrilla bases and zones. This is what he calls “base-denial operations” which is the preparation for an offensive that he launches against us. Our response to such an oppressive action has been to encourage the masses to oppose consistently every forced evacuation, place among them some cadres who work under cover, make preparations for shifting and assign a stay-behind force to keep the enemy off-balance and strike blows against him.

We have been victorious not only in preserving our revolutionary armed forces but also in achieving both consolidation and expansion and dealing the enemy a number of hard blows. Such a victory can only be appreciate if we recognize the sacrifices that we have incurred and the tremendous odds that we have faced during the last six years, especially since the onset of the fascist dictatorship.

We pay high tribute to our revolutionary martyrs. They inspire us to fight ever more militantly against our enemy. We also pay high tribute to all our cadres and fighters who have undergone so much hardship and suffering in the course of enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." Their discipline and fortitude in the face of vicissitudes have consistently brought our revolutionary struggle from one level to a higher level.

If not for the high ideological and political consciousness of our cadres and fighters, our armed struggle would have long collapsed for want of a hard core in the face of the most malicious and destructive enemy campaigns. The fighting spirit of the New People's Army is boundless. Cases of treason and betrayal are the exception. It is generally the case that those who are captured by the enemy and who manage to get out of imprisonment insist on rejoining our fighting ranks.

Since we started from scratch, from a few rifles and handguns, the enemy has unleashed against us an ever rising wave of onslaughts. The gains of previous revolutionary armed struggles have been thrown away by the Lava revisionist renegades. We have had to fight the enemy in small separate areas of what is a small archipelagic country under one imperialist power.

So far, there have been no conditions comparable to those during World War II when two imperialist powers made the country a battleground. So far, we have not become a participant to anything like the Northern Expedition in China. And definitely, there has been no open war among the reactionaries in the areas where we have been fighting. On the other hand, we have been confronted with a unified fascist reaction.

Unlike the Indochinese countries, there is no common land border with any socialist country to facilitate the assistance necessary to counteract US imperialist support for its Filipino fascist puppets. Certainly, unlike in Cuba during the two-year revolt led by Castro, the US

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imperialists are very alert to the revolutionary advances of the New People's Army as an army led by a Marxist-Leninist party.

The New People's Army is fighting in its own time and under new specific conditions. The ever worsening political and economic crisis of the local ruling system, the accelerated crisis and decline of US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system and the irresistible advances of the Third World and socialist countries constitute the objective conditions that favor the consistent advance and resilience of the New People's Army.

The fascist dictatorship is a desperate political measure that has only served to stress to the broad masses of the people the correctness and justness of our armed revolution against the armed counterrevolution in our semicolonial and semifeudal country. Every semblance of basic democratic liberties has been suppressed and at the same time the people have been subjected to the most vicious forms of economic exploitation by the foreign monopoly capitalists, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The armed resistance being waged by the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army keeps shaking the fascist dictatorial regime and keeps its armed forces absorbed with the far north and far south of the country. At the same time, the seeds of armed revolution that we have cast throughout the country are irresistibly growing. The massacres, illegal mass arrests and detention, assassinations, torture, extortions, forced evacuations, arson and bombings perpetrated by the enemy have only served to make the ground more fertile for popular armed resistance.

The ranks of the antifascist and anti-imperialist united front are swelling. Sections of the Church, the Lopez group and other forces are intensifying their antifascist propaganda. Acting in accordance with General Order No. 1, by which he usurped all powers of the reactionary government, the fascist dictator has just rigged up another "referendum" to put stress on the fact that he has put away every pretense of respecting the right of suffrage. The putting up of "little Marcoses" all over the country is bound to aggravate what is already a serious split in the ranks of the reactionaries.

The fascist puppet dictatorship has served to magnify and multiply in the country the effects of the crisis of US imperialism and the world capitalist system. It is the shameless policy of this terrorist regime to give way to all the unjust demands of its foreign and local masters at

Long Live the New People's Army!

the expense of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The fascist dictator has bound up his resistance in power with the most anti-national and antidemocratic interests.

Inevitably, the broad masses of the people have become more determined than ever to fight for their national and democratic interests. There is no doubt that the objective conditions for carrying out an armed revolution have become more excellent than ever. What needs to be done is for us to work militantly for strengthening and enlarging the subjective forces of the revolution.

Long live the New People's Army!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

Broaden the national united front to isolate and destroy the enemy!

Long the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

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Comments on “The Integration of the Party’s Political Line among the Igorot National Minority”

To: Party Branch of the Army in Montañosa
(Through the IMP Executive Committee)

Re: Comments on “The Integration of the Party’s Political Line among the Igorot National Minority” (Special Report) dated December 17, 1974

Date: March 1, 1975

There is a series of errors in this special report.

1. While it states that the land question is the principal problem of the Igorot national minority, it also states that such a problem is “not due to landlordism” and “affects only a negligible portion of the mountain provinces.”

2. While it recognizes that there is class struggle in Igorot society, it states that such a class struggle is “mainly non-antagonistic” and further states that the Igorot upper middle and rich peasants comprise both the ruling class of such a class society and at the same time take “a prominent place in the leadership of the revolutionary Igorot forces.”

3. It advocates a “national minority war” as the be-all and end-all of the Igorot struggle and “puts the highest value on tribalism and localism;” it opposes “the building of the organs of democratic political power (BOC and BRC)” on the ground that doing so “tends to weaken tribal unity instead of strengthening it” and it proposes that apart from the New People’s Army, an “Igorot Liberation Army” be organized by the Party and the People’s Army.

There are many statements in the special report which are strikingly erroneous, but these can be referred to as we take up the three points above.

1. Indeed, the land problem is the main problem of the Igorot national minority and landlordism or feudalism does exist in the mountain provinces. The land laws applied by the reactionary state on the mountain provinces since the twilight of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines have a feudal basis and have defined what lands privately belong to certain landlords of old stature as well as the new breed of

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landgrabbing feudal masters (who first get pasture leases and then alienate these to themselves), apart from defining what are the areas given in concession to imperialist and big comprador enterprises engaged in mining and logging as well as what are forest reserves, national parks, dam sites, etc.

The reactionary government, with its cream of landgrabbing bureaucrats, acts as a big landlord and becomes conspicuously so as it refuses to issue titles or patents to the real cultivators of the land and then disposes of the cultivated land arbitrarily in favor of some landgrabbers on the ground that it is public land. While it is true that because of a relative scarcity of agricultural lands there are not too many landlords with fifty hectares and above in the mountain provinces (excepting Kalinga-Apayao), there are at any rate plenty of landlords owning less than fifty hectares. We define a landlord as one who relies in the main for his livelihood on the imposition of land rent. It might be interesting to investigate in what way landlordism may exist even in the operation of communal lands in the mountain provinces. In European and Asian countries, in the Muslim areas of our country for one, feudalism developed through the operation of communal lands and land rent took the form of royal tribute, religious tribute and tribute to some nobility. One outstanding manifestation of feudalism in the mountain provinces is also usury; this requires some investigation.

The concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few is far less in the mountain provinces than in Central Luzon and Cagayan Valley. However, such comparative thinking should not erase from our minds the reality of landlordism in the mountain provinces. Also, in our wish to put stress on the struggle for national self-determination, we should not tend to forget the reality of landlordism in the mountain provinces. The correct thing to do is to link the struggle for national self-determination with the struggle for land.

The two struggles are most easily joined in the struggle against the chauvinist reactionary state that keeps on oppressing and discriminating against the Igorot people as a national minority and keeps on depriving them of their lands without the least regard for their rights and without the least thought of compensation. The reactionary state enforces the plunder of the mountain provinces by the imperialists and big comprador bourgeoisie and constructs dams geared to favor the lowland landlords and big bourgeoisie, while the great masses of Igorot peasants are dispossessed of the land that they tenant or own.

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We must determinedly fight the biggest landlord of them all, the reactionary state, and also fight their diehard local minions who are not seldom local landlords and bureaucrats. But we should not go around hitting every local bureaucrat upon sight, because a considerable number of them are our temporary allies, especially in the much broader antifascist revolutionary struggle. In dealing with friendly landlords, we should remain vigilant and we become so because we recognize their class character.

2. The prevailing social relations in the mountain provinces are oppressive and exploitative. There are classes and there is class struggle. The existence of the big bourgeoisie is most stressed by the operation of the mining companies under the foreign monopoly capitalists and local comprador big bourgeoisie. There are big landlords as well as medium and small landlords. There is the proletariat outstandingly present in mining, logging and transportation companies. There are the peasants of various strata (rich, middle and poor) and there is the urban petty bourgeoisie to which the intelligentsia belongs. Under the present social conditions in the mountain provinces, it cannot be that there are no direct members (by being running dogs) of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class among the Igorots. It cannot be that the ruling class of Igorot society are the "upper middle and rich peasants" and yet such a ruling class takes "a prominent place in the leadership of the revolutionary Igorot forces." These are completely contradictory ideas.

It is erroneous to state that "the class struggle in Igorot society is mainly non-antagonistic." One should not mistake a temporary absence of open class conflict for non-antagonism. Class struggle in an exploitative society is surely antagonistic. This is an absolute fact. There may be times in a certain country that the class struggle appears to take a back seat to a national struggle. But this is a relative and temporary fact. Even when the struggle takes the principal form of a national war against a foreign aggressor, with combatants in a previous civil war allied against a common enemy, class struggle continues and never stops. In the national united front against a foreign aggressor, there is both unity against the common enemy and class struggle within such unity. The revolutionary party of the proletariat maintains its independence and initiative and carries out struggles on just grounds, with restraint and to its clear advantage. But at any rate, class struggle is never completely laid aside.

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The special report strains to present the Igorot national minority as self-contained and quite isolated from Philippine history and society. Thus it is stated erroneously that “the ruling class of the Igorot national minority has not been integrated in the ruling system, that is to say, in the distribution of the spoils of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal (Philippine) society.” We state that the Igorot people are tightly bound with the rest of Philippine society by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. There are Igorots who are not only direct members and running dogs of the Philippine big bourgeoisie and landlord class in a general way but who are also vicious agents and beneficiaries of specifically the present fascist regime. In the course of the struggle, you will discover that just as you gain the support of the Igorot masses and they engage in fierce struggles, you increasingly come into conflict with a handful of Igorot demons. There was a time when the MNLF asked us in Luzon not to shoot AFP troops who are Muslim but now, with the polarization of the Muslims, antifascist Muslims themselves are shooting down pro-fascist Muslims whose antipopular interests lie with the worst of the Philippine ruling system.

3. We cannot deny and we should recognize that the struggle for national self-determination is one aspect of the struggle of the Igorot people. They are definitely victims of national oppression and thus they should struggle for national self-determination. But we must have a full view of the other concrete circumstances of this struggle for national self-determination. It is difficult to imagine, to say the least, that the Igorot people can go the whole length of fighting for secession or a separate state with its own army. As a matter of fact, the special report appears to concede that regional autonomy is the most appropriate form of giving way to Igorot self-determination. The whole trouble is that the special report also advocates that a “national minority war” be the be-all and end-all of the Igorot struggle and puts the highest value on tribalism and localism.

The special report keeps on repeating that we must strengthen “tribal and clan unity” to the point of obscuring the fact that we (Igorot and non-Igorot cadres and Red fighters) are already among several tribes and classes in the mountain provinces. Of course, revolutionaries must start to develop the situation on the basis of given facts, such as that some tribes and clans traditional unity. We do not need to strengthen these. The Party and the New People’s Army are not needed to strengthen tribal unity. In integrating themselves with the

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Igorot people, our cadres should develop not only intertribal unity but should also link such intertribal unity with our program for a people's democratic revolution which applies to the entire country.

We do not agree with the limits placed on the struggle of the Igorot people as expressed in the following terms:

To sum up, the integration of the Party's general line to the practice of revolution in Montañosa comprises two main policies:

a) We must strengthen tribal unity, raise this revolutionary tribal unity to the revolutionary unity of the Igorot national minority.

b) We must continually consolidate tribal unity by stressing on the mobilization of the Igorot proletariat, poor peasantry, farm workers, handicraft workers, lower-middle peasants and intelligentsia for armed struggle and in the Igorot Liberation Army.

These two policies define and interrelate united front work and the mobilization of the basic masses in the task of advancing armed struggle in Montañosa.

These "policies" do not expressly link the people's democratic revolution (applicable to the entire country and people) to the people of the mountain provinces and appears to exclude the latter from the former. There is no forward development but a retrogression into tribalism and localism. What follow are deprecatory statements like "the building of BOCs and BRCs tend to weaken tribal unity instead of strengthening it." It is good tactic not to put the organs of democratic political power into unnecessary conflicts with the traditional forms of social organization, especially in the rural areas where the great masses are. As a matter of fact, we can make use of the traditional forms and step by step infuse them with revolutionary content. But it is completely another matter to regard "tribal unity" as the be-all and end-all of revolutionary activity in the mountain provinces. Also, in speaking of an "Igorot cultural revolution," we must be determined in carrying out revolutionary propaganda for the people's democratic revolution, basing itself on the protests and demands of the Igorot people yet linked to the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

Because the special report comes from the Party branch of the New People's Army in the mountain provinces, we are very much concerned about its erroneous propositions that might result in the liquidation of revolutionary organizations that we have already established there. The organs of democratic political power are liable to be regarded as superfluous and unnecessary in the face of the tribes. The proposal to build an Igorot Liberation Army and the reasons placed behind

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such a proposal tend to render the New People's Army superfluous and unnecessary. With regard to the proposed "Federation of Igorot Tribes for Liberation," we can give way to it as a mass organization but we oppose it if it is envisioned and created as a replacement and substitute for the Communist Party of the Philippines.

It is a regressive step and a waste of time for us in the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army to take the initiative in creating an "Igorot Liberation Army." If it were the case that some Igorots outside of our ranks organize such an army, then we would have a real problem of adopting the correct ways of relating to it. We should not create the problem for ourselves. We have enough problems in building the New People's Army: why create the problems of organizing two armies?

The situation that we have come upon in the mountain provinces is that there is no Igorot Liberation Army and there is no serious movement among the Igorot masses themselves to create such an army. The danger arising from the proposal within our ranks that we create such an army is that pretty soon the proposal would follow that the New People's Army is no longer needed in the mountain provinces. It is already clear that the current proposal carries the proposition that an Igorot Liberation Army applies on the Igorots more than any army.

We recognize the reality of clans and tribes and we also recognize the basis for unity as well as disunity among them. Upon the given situation, we integrate ourselves with everything positive and helpful to the development of the armed revolution of the entire Filipino people. Definitely, we must avail ourselves of the brave tribal warriors, their indigenous weapons and their mastery of the terrain. We can develop these further under the New People's Army. It is not necessary to build an Igorot Liberation Army. We advance step by step, linking at every turn tribal and intertribal unity with the Philippine revolution and struggling in the smoothest possible way against localism and tribalism, both of which refuse to recognize and uphold popular interests beyond the locality and their tribe.

Struggling against a common enemy teaches what otherwise would be strangers to each other to unite and become comrades and allies. To fight for a long-term revolutionary program stresses the need for unity to a higher level. In carrying out the program for a people's democratic revolution in the mountain provinces, there are always

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many positive things to fight for and enemies to fight against. All these require unity.

The Igorot people in various tribes are not averse to uniting with the Party and the New People's Army and with the rest of the Filipino people. We have been with them there for several years already. History shows that the Igorot people have increasingly united with the rest of the Filipino people. If we consider the history of the Filipino people, the national unity of the Ilocanos, Igorots, Tagalogs, Pampangos, etc. has been forged by fighting common enemies and holding common aspirations.

In the three centuries that they warded off Spanish colonial domination, the Igorot people readily cooperated with their lowland neighbors whenever the latter defied colonial rule. They provided sanctuary to lowland rebels who sought it. The Philippine revolution of 1896 (especially its second phase) and the Filipino-American War in which they actively participated on the revolutionary side created a profound basis for their unity not only with their direct lowland neighbors but also with the people of the entire country.

In the armed resistance against Japanese fascist occupation, their sense of unity with the entire Filipino people became deepened more than ever before. Of course, they fought under the USAFFE. But then they did so, as it was the case in other parts of the country, only because there was no other resistance organization like the Hukbalahap in the immediate locality.

At this stage of Philippine and world history, the Igorot people in their few hundreds of thousands and in a relatively small mountainous territory would prefer to integrate themselves in a multinational people's democratic state. Their economic life and political aspirations are necessarily and inextricably linked with the rest of those of the entire Filipino people that they cannot form a viable independent state. Their historical experience has proven that it is correct for them to unite with the rest of the Filipino people in fighting for a completely independent and democratic Philippines.

It is an advantage that there is no initiative outside of the Party and the NPA that seeks to create something like the "Igorot Liberation Army." The creation of such a second army, especially as it is supposed to carry the idea that the Igorot struggle suffices as an "Igorot national minority war," would be divisive of the revolutionary movement in the

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mountain provinces and would harm both the interests of the entire Filipino people and the Igorot people in particular.

The situation in Mindanao is completely different. The Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army were formed on the initiative of people outside of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. We support them on the principal aspect that they are fighting for national self-determination and for democracy and we are grateful that they are fighting with us a common enemy. But we do not agree with the sectarian and chauvinist view that the CPP and the NPA should keep out of Mindanao and that the representatives of some 2.8 million Muslims be the authority over all the 7.5 million people of Mindanao.

The Party branch of the New People's Army in Montañosa should study carefully our comments. This is done in the spirit of ideological struggle. If we are not guided by correct ideas, we are liable to go astray in our work. There should be no regrets about the special report being written since it has become an occasion for us to clarify policies. It is always good for us to dare express our views and arrive at the correct line.



Uphold the Leadership of the Proletariat in the Revolution and Go Deep among the Masses of Workers

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On May First, we celebrate the glorious sacrifices and triumphs of the working class in its long history of revolutionary struggle against the oppressors and exploiters throughout the world and in our own country. We uphold the leadership of the proletariat in the Philippine revolution and resolve to go deep among the masses of workers.

We, the advanced detachment of the proletariat, perform our revolutionary tasks in our country not only for the sake of the broad masses of the Filipino people but also in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We are determined to fulfil our share in the struggle of the world proletariat for the liberation of the people of the world from the scourge of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The millions of workers in our country are suffering from extreme oppression and exploitation under this fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. They are eager to defend their political and economic rights and join the ranks of resistance. They know that their liberation is impossible without the liberation of all the oppressed and exploited in the country.

The masses of workers are neither cowed nor deceived by the fascist regime. Fully aware of the viciousness of the US-Marcos dictatorship through their concrete experience, they recognize that revolutionary militancy and consistent revolutionary work must be qualified by prudence and vigilance, especially in the cities and the enemy's main lines of communication.

Patient underground work is the general character of revolutionary work among the masses of workers today. To have well-selected cadres working underground, to accumulate strength and bide our time, and to avoid rashness and exposure is the rule. It requires a great deal of revolutionary effort and struggle to reach and unite the workers in a series of workplaces and in entire industries.

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Every open and legal manifestation of strength must presuppose an underground strength that is several times larger. We can never tire of working arduously and patiently for the revolutionary cause of the working class and the entire nation. We can measure our daily cumulative successes against the difficulties and even some setbacks that we encounter. If we look a few years back, we started with so little or nothing at all.

We have every reason to be confident of winning victory. The objective conditions for waging revolution are more excellent than ever before. The political and economic crisis of the Philippine ruling system is getting worse everyday. The world crisis of the capitalist system is getting worse everyday. The world is aglow with the victories of the people.

All that needs to be done is to steadily build up the subjective forces of the revolution. We expand and consolidate them in the course of revolutionary struggle. At the beginning of the fight, our forces are small and weak and the enemy's are big and strong. But the objective conditions show the way for us to grow big and strong step by step and defeat in the end an enemy that is now outwardly big and strong but is rotten to the core.

The Plight of the Filipino Workers

The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique prides itself in suppressing the workers' political and economic rights, in "stabilizing" the political situation by brute force and pressing down workers' wages for the benefit of the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists and such arch reactionaries as the big compradors and big landlords.

The Labor Code of the Philippines, which has replaced the Industrial Peace Act, systematizes and incorporates all the anti-worker orientation, content and effects of Proclamation 1081, General Orders Nos. 1, 2, 2-A & 5 and Presidential Decrees Nos. 21, 133, 143 & 148, among others. There is nothing new about this handbook except that it conveniently sums up the anti-worker character of the "new society."

The masses of workers, including those in the government service, remain under the threat of arbitrary arrest, raid, murder, torture and indefinite detention by the fascist military. There is nothing that dispels the presupposition and effects of such consummated and still being consummated acts of the fascist regime in carrying out arbitrary

dismissals of government workers, in raiding and looting the homes and offices of progressive workers and trade unions, in arresting and indefinitely detaining trade unionists and common workers and encouraging private employers to punish trade unionists and make the most profit from their workers.

General Order No. 5, which scandalously deprives the masses of workers of their right to strike, reigns supreme. The subversion and nullification of the workers' right to unionize and undertake mass actions is a continuing fact. The "labor code's" recognition of the workers' right to self-organization and right to concerted activities or its harping on the line of "one union, one industry" is senseless formality. Without the right to strike, trade unions whose collective bargaining agreements terminate face extinction and workers, who have no trade union at all to start with, face extreme difficulties in organizing one.

It is keeping to an old ritual for the Department of Labor to be talking about the "rationalization" of the trade union movement, even if such "rationalization" were merely aimed at putting all trade unions at the dictation and command of the fascist regime. What so far is the principal intention of the fascist regime has been to subvert and nullify all kinds of trade unions rather than carry out a reactionary syndicalist policy. A reactionary government becomes concerned about organizing its own kind of trade unions only when it is faced with a large trade union movement with a revolutionary character.

The employers, with the foreign monopolies on top, are far ahead in integrating their organizations. It is already evident that the fascist regime is more interested in such farces as "tripartite congresses," with itself and the highly organized employers playing ball with a few handpicked labor aristocrats who pretend to represent all the disparate yellow trade unions and even the overwhelming majority of workers, who remain unorganized and are outside of either yellow or genuine trade unions.

The "labor code" retains every obnoxious feature of Presidential Decree No. 21. It adopts the National Labor Relations Commission (NLRB), the same dog as the Court of Industrial Relations (CIR) with a new tag. With the never-ending increase of cases involving the workers and their employers, the shifted officials of the CIR and a bigger pack of arbitrators and lawyers continue to prey on the workers and take advantage of bureaucratic delays to carry on their corrupt work.

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While there is pretense of protecting the workers from lockouts, dismissals and suspensions, employers are allowed to carry out “preventive suspensions,” “reassignments,” and “demotions” and are no longer considered criminally liable for unfair labor practices because cases involving these are now conceived to be mere administrative cases easily decided under the table or indefinitely delayed, if not outrightly dismissed, when the workers insist on their rights.

The workers are under a permanent and absolute injunction because they are deprived of their right to strike. And only in “limited cases” may the NLRC issue injunctions or restraining orders against employers. Since the trade unions are prohibited from collecting strike and defense funds, the workers are in the most difficult situation to pay for competent legal advice and make their way through the NLRC.

More cases than ever before do not reach the NLRC. Employers simply call on the fascist military and the integrated police to quell any just demand from the workers and punish their leaders. The workers and their leaders are simply charged with “economic sabotage,” “possession of deadly weapons,” “theft of company property” or any such fabrication. For “stealing” any material, spare part, product or article worth even only a few centavos, a worker can be imprisoned for six to twelve months under a fascist decree.

All the hard-won economic gains of the workers through decades of struggle have been drastically reduced or wiped out. Upon the repeal of the Blue Sunday Law, the employers are allowed to rearrange the work schedules of workers so as to permit them no slack period, avoid paying for overtime work and sabotage every attempt of workers or even only their leaders to meet on Sundays.

Female workers are discouraged from working in nighttime productive enterprises but are encouraged to work in tourist-oriented enterprises like bars, nightclubs, sauna baths and massage clinics. Maternity leave benefits of working mothers have been drastically reduced. The exploitation of child labor has been liberalized because work permits are no longer required for such. The sick and injured can no longer seek compensation under both the workmen’s compensation and the Social Security System (SSS) schemes but instead they can do so only under one integrated scheme, with drastic reduction of benefits and with the workers required to pay premiums, unlike before.

The job security and wage conditions of all regular workers are grossly undermined with the approval and encouragement given by

the “labor code” for employers to take in “apprentices” and “learners” at wages far below the minimum wage and farm out aspects of an enterprise to contractors who are not bound by the minimum wage law. Regular workers are being forced to resign or retire early only to be replaced by lower-paid workers. For exploiting “apprentices” and “learners,” the big capitalists are even given tax deductions as incentives.

The big capitalists are maximizing their profits by taking advantage of the political and legal conditions set by the fascist regime, by enforcing speed-ups, by lengthening the working hours, setting excessively high production quotas on every worker and instituting arbitrary work regulations that are used to cause wage deductions. Of course, the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the economy has not only remained but has even deepened. The landlords are carrying out an enclosure movement but the depressed industries cannot absorb the displaced tenants and homesteaders. The army of reserve labor has rapidly increased and is being deliberately used to depress wage levels.

Contrary to the claims of the fascist regime that it has reduced the unemployment rate to 4.1 percent—an obvious lie because in the present crisis-ridden capitalist world even the leading capitalist countries have high rates of unemployment—the rate of unemployment now in the country could be at least 35 percent. Every year, about a million youth reach working age without finding employment. Large masses of workers are being thrown off their jobs due to the economic crisis churning in the capitalist world.

In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, unemployment is usually camouflaged by the seeming absorption of those who reach working age into the ranks of farm workers. The percentage of farm workers who have daily work within the agricultural season is certainly flimsy and is fast thinning out in all agricultural areas. To create a false picture, statisticians of the reactionary government beat themselves every year in manipulating figures on the unemployed and underemployed.

The vast majority of industrial and other nonagricultural wage-earners in the Philippines do not receive the minimum wage of eight pesos a day. They get coolie wages. Employers circumvent the minimum wage law by resorting to *pakiao* or piece work. It is also through this method that employers of farm workers circumvent the law requiring a minimum

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wage of ₱4.75 for farm workers. The benefits from the Sugar Act of 1972, social security contributions and the “social amelioration bonus” for sugar workers are gobbled up by the sugar landlords themselves through various devices. Farm workers in rice, corn, coconut, banana and other areas have no defined rights whatsoever.

The fascist regime brazenly declares that there should be no fuss about minimum wage levels because it considers “development,” the “generation of more jobs” and “strengthening the purchasing power of the peso” as more important. But the truth is that the minimum wage levels set in 1970 have been left far behind by inflation and the continuous devaluation of the peso.

The open-door policy for foreign investments, the incurring of huge foreign and local debts, the unrestricted remittance of superprofits, the large foreign trade deficits, the expensive and graft-ridden infrastructure projects, the endless increase of the tax burden and the continuous devaluation of the peso have resulted neither in “development,” “generation of more jobs” nor “strengthening of the purchasing power of the peso.” They have merely served to squeeze the toiling masses and the entire nation dry.

Though the fascist regime claims to have cut down the rate of inflation from an already reduced figure of 34 percent to a mere eight percent—another obvious lie—the rate of inflation is actually running high at over 35 percent and is mercilessly cutting down the real wages of workers. It is bad enough, even if we go by the understated figures of the reactionary government’s statisticians, that since 1970 the prices of basic goods and services purchased by the average household of six has been increasing at 20.64 percent yearly.

According to the May 1974 statistics of the reactionary government, a day’s supply of nutritious food costs 18.16 pesos—a far cry from the minimum wage. What about the other basic needs of workers such as clothing, decent shelter, transport fare, medicine and medical care, some utilities as water and electricity and a certain educational level for members of their families? Only the most callous anti-worker will insist that there should be no fuss over the minimum wage level. Since 1965, the minimum wage level has gone up from six to eight pesos or a mere 33.3 percent. But, during the same period, the value of the peso has gone down from 100 to 33 centavos (0.33 of the peso value in 1965) or a drop of 67 percent.

The plight of the workers calls for resolute revolutionary work. Their misery is intolerable. They are certainly ready as ever to develop within their ranks the organizations capable of asserting and advancing their class interests as well as the interests of the entire nation.

The Party and the Workers

It is in keeping with our firm Marxist-Leninist principle that the working class is the leading class in the Philippine revolution that we must go deep among the masses of workers. We must arouse and organize them on the basis of their needs and demands and draw from their ranks the best elements into their own party, the Communist Party of the Philippines.

We should shun the notion or tendency to keep the Party a preserve of members who are of petty-bourgeois origin. We should be seriously concerned with the ever-pressing task of drawing into the ranks of the Party those who come from the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The Party can become strong only if it succeeds in drawing into its ranks members of worker and peasant class background, making them the majority of the Party membership and developing cadres among them.

Once clarified simply, relevantly and step-by-step, Marxism-Leninism is more easily and profoundly grasped by the workers than by the petty bourgeois. It is after all the theory that touches the essence of the workers' daily experience, that shows the leading role of their class in the Philippine revolution and that is drawn from the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat.

The reorganization of the Party organization in the Manila-Rizal region that has recently taken place is in the correct direction. The principal feature in strengthening the Party branches and Party groups at the base of the regional Party organization should be going deep among the masses of the workers. It is necessary to make more cadres available for work in the factory areas and workers' communities. After all, the largest and strongest possible mass force in the region is the working class.

The urban committees of other regional Party organizations should look up to the example of the Manila-Rizal regional Party organization in going deep among the masses of workers, without neglecting other sections of the urban population. It is also obvious that in guerrilla

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bases and zones the Party in the New People's Army should not fail to pay attention to the workers even as principal attention is paid to going deep among the peasant masses and in carrying out a peasant war.

Inasmuch as the masses of workers are most concentrated in the Manila-Rizal region, we refer mainly to them when we discuss the tasks and methods that should be undertaken with regard to going deep among the masses of workers.

We have more than enough cadres to start with for going deep among the masses of workers. Even before the Party was reestablished, we had done some modest amount of trade union work. The most important thing now is that we have a correct ideological and political line in approaching the workers and we know where to concentrate our efforts in order to make wise use of our limited personnel and resources even as we readily work where we most easily can, where we have some contact in one form or another with the workers or where one or more of our Party members are employed or are residing.

We cannot go far in arousing and mobilizing the workers without first doing social investigation. We can always start by making friends with some workers in a given factory or line of work and holding a series of talks with them, preferably in their homes, about their work and living conditions. The few friends that we start with have their own friends in the same workplace. So, it is always possible to expand our source of information whenever a previous round of talks seems insufficient.

A good knowledge of the reactionary laws pertaining to trade unions and workers is necessary. Actual work and living conditions of the masses of workers are so bad that certain provisions of these laws can be invoked and used to improve these conditions. We must be good at raising questions on trade union experience, job security, compliance with the minimum wage, medical and dental care, the system of promotions, the number of regular and nonregular workers, the departments or sections of work, the profits made by the company, the need for a trade union truly concerned with the welfare of the workers and the like.

Though strikes are banned, there is no expressed ban against trade unions. Though the collection of strike and defense funds is banned, that of funds for education and seminars is not. Though employers have the prerogative of making "preventive suspensions," the suspended workers can demand compensation for the period that they are suspended. The workers can always demand due cause for punitive

measures against them. Of course, there are certain laws (like the minimum wage law, law on overtime pay, workmen's compensation law, social insurance law and medicare law), which are supposed to be automatically applied for the benefit of the workers but are not, when the workers are not well organized and do not demand what is due them. All these and others can provide a legal basis for making petitions to the NLRB and organizing or maintaining trade unions.

We must be good at being pupils of the workers. A worker-cadre must always remember this in dealing with co-workers. At the same time, we must not fail to inform the workers as to how they are being exploited and what they stand to gain by organizing a trade union and demanding compliance by the employers with provisions of the law that are beneficial to the workers. In the course of social investigation, we do not only accumulate data and firm up in the end a list of workers' demands. But we also develop close relations with the interviewees and pick out among them those who can initiate organizational work.

As soon as a list of demands can be drawn up, we must be able to form a workers' organizing committee of at least five members. Just as the social investigation is conducted without the employer's knowledge, the workers' organizing committee must be formed discreetly. The task of this committee is to draw in the masses of workers step-by-step so that in the end the majority are solidly behind the list of demands. The employer must not be made aware of such a campaign until the overwhelming majority of the workers have adopted a definite form of legal organization or course of legal action by which to pursue their demands and are thoroughly united to fight for what is due them.

Under conditions of fascist martial rule, it is foolhardy to expose the leadership of what could be a trade union before the majority, if not all, of the workers are fully united to the point of being able to back up their petitions or demands, if need be, by carrying out slowdowns, making the products off-standard or unsaleable, trooping the offices, creating snags in the production line, simultaneous leaves of absences or any tactic in lieu of a strike. The closer the employer is to the fascists, the more prudent the workers should be and the more patient they should be in waiting for conditions to ripen.

To gain the support of the vast majority of the workers step-by-step in a given workplace is a worthy revolutionary struggle. To expose one's plans prematurely and expose a few people to an enemy crack-down is certainly "Left" in form but Right in essence because it brings

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the workers' movement nowhere but defeat. To accumulate strength secretly and wait for conditions to ripen involves a recognition of the fact that in so many other workplaces Party cadres are also busy arousing and mobilizing the workers for the development of a general situation beneficial to the workers in every workplace.

It is very possible that before we can organize trade unions in large droves or launch some general strike the Marcos fascist clique shall have been overthrown by a coup d'état by other reactionaries, who are still supported by US imperialism but who may adopt some antifascist posture. Our underground efforts among the workers shall not have gone to waste because these can be carried out further to develop a revolutionary trade union movement on a scale larger than ever before and overthrow the labor aristocrats who are now licking the boots of the fascist dictatorship.

The workers' organizing committees as an underground force in the ranks of workers should not stop at pushing forward mere economic demands. We must combat reformism and economism. After all, even only in fighting for the establishment or continued existence of a trade union, a high level of political consciousness is required to maintain the militant unity and firmness of the workers against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

So, the workers' organizing committees must relate the economic struggle to the Party's general line of people's democratic revolution. It is through group discussions not only on trade unionism but also on the whole range of the Philippine revolution that a strong political unity can be forged among the workers. The workers' organizing committee and its possible subdivisions, like the subcommittees and groups or cells, should generate these group discussions.

Only by raising the political consciousness of the mass of workers both through their practice and study can we succeed in choosing the most advanced elements to recruit into the Party. As soon as there are three or more Party members in a factory or line of work, a Party branch can be established. The workers' organizing committee and its subdivisions can continue under the direction of the Party branch for as long as there is yet no legal organization that can openly work for the workers' demands.

Besides reaching the workers directly in a given factory or line of work, we can reach the workers who may belong to several workplaces by establishing community organizing committees and developing

mass organizations of various types in workers' communities. Certainly, we can establish and develop the most intimate relations with the workers in workers' communities. After all, it is the appropriate style of a workers' organizing committee to hold its meetings in its members' homes rather than in the premises of a factory.

There is also the interaction between the workplace and the workers' community; between the workers' organizing committee and the community organizing committee, together with various mass organizations in the community; and between the Party branch based in the workplace and that based in the community. Workers in one factory belong to various communities and workers in one community belong to various workplaces. Thus, the possibility for expansion is limitless so long as we exert arduous efforts and we know how to rely on a never-ending chain of comrades and masses.

By going deep among the masses of workers, we intend to develop and strengthen further the subjective forces of the revolution, the organized workers and the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the Philippines, among others. The proletarian revolutionary character of the Party would be greatly enhanced by increasing the number of Party cadres and members of working class origin who can either carry on the revolutionary struggle in the urban areas or be shifted to the countryside, especially to the New People's Army.

Conditions for Waging the Revolution

The most incontrovertible evidence that the reactionary classes in the Philippines can no longer rule in the old way is the setting up and continued operation of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. While the fascist dictator is fond of boasting that he thrives on crisis after crisis, because he has in the first place set up what he calls a "crisis government," the glaring fact is that this anti-national and antidemocratic regime has not only failed to stem a continuing political and economic crisis but has even aggravated it and intensified the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people.

The hatred of the broad masses of the people for the fascist puppet dictatorship is profound and it deepens with every day that passes. US imperialism and the big comprador-landlords on whose account the fascist dictator wishes to remain in power indefinitely are inevitably

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seen by the people as the malefactors behind the fascist counterrevolution. Each moment that the tyrannical regime stays is a favorable occasion for the subjective forces of the revolution to grow and develop.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and various revolutionary people's organizations are growing and developing steadily. Having taken the correct road of armed revolution from the start, though from scratch, and applying the strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside, the Party and the New People's Army have frustrated the attempts of the enemy to crush them and have become tempered in the course of fierce struggle. Also in the urban areas, the Party has proven to be resilient because of its underground character from the very start.

The Party and the New People's Army have sown the seeds of a protracted people's war in all regions of the country. Fierce fighting is going on without letup in several regions. There is no region in the country where the fascist enemy has not received a hard blow from the NPA. Small hard blows are being made to accumulate strength and rouse the people to a wider scale of armed resistance.

With the Party going deep among the peasant masses, the solid basis for the national united front is being laid. The organs of democratic political power (the barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees) are springing up in the countryside. Mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists enthusiastically support them. At levels above the barrio level, the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front is actively working for cooperation between the Party and its antifascist allies.

The people of southwestern Mindanao, the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army are persistently fighting for national self-determination. They have extended considerable support to the NPA by tying down large enemy forces and inflicting heavy losses on them.

The Lopez group has started to stir after more than two years of being blackmailed since the declaration of the fascist martial rule. Fascist rule is bound to be shaken in the Visayas. Antifascist sentiments and currents are also building up within the Catholic Church, Iglesia ni Cristo and the Protestant sects. Thus, the fascist dictator is not getting anywhere in whipping up a "Christian-Muslim war."

The group potentially most capable of overthrowing the Marcos fascist clique by a coup d'état remains to be seen. This group has some representatives openly making anti-Marcos propaganda in the United States and are working with significant sections of US policymakers. The fascist dictatorship is demanding more US military aid under the pretext of fighting the revolutionary people of southwestern Mindanao. But US imperialism is already concerned about Marcos' own determination to stay in power beyond his puppet usefulness and calculates that some day it must wash its hands of any accountability for keeping him in power.

However, by all indications, especially the third fake referendum which brusquely removed from the people the formal right to suffrage, it is clear that the fascist dictator has the illusion that he can stay in power on a stretch as long as that of Suharto, Pak or even Franco. There cannot be a more foolish illusion. He underestimates the broad masses of the people who cherish national independence and democracy. The civil war which he has instigated has barely started.

This is the worst time in the world for someone to undertake a fascist puppet dictatorship in the Philippines. A semicolonial and semifeudal country has its own chronic political and economic crisis that has its own worsening course. Thus, this has led to a fascist puppet dictatorship. But consider that on top of this is an unprecedentedly grave crisis of the world capitalist system that is now occurring due to the accumulated defeats of US imperialism in the hands of the revolutionary peoples of the world and its endless struggle with Soviet social-imperialism for world hegemony and arms supremacy.

Trying to make up for its losses elsewhere, US imperialism is exacting a rate of profit that is higher than ever before on its direct investments and loans in the Philippines and is shifting here the ravages of its inflation and recession. This is on top of the unbridled corruption and profligacy of the Marcos fascist gang. The broad masses of the people are forced to suffer soaring prices, an increasing tax burden, a breakdown of local industries and even of agricultural production and an accelerated rate of unemployment. The end result cannot but be the expansion and intensification of revolutionary struggle.

At any rate, US imperialism is in a state of rapid decline in its homegrounds and throughout the world. It continues to suffer defeat and weaken in the hands of the revolutionary peoples of the world. At the same time, it cannot get out of its ever intensifying contention

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with the other superpower. There is no detente but war preparations between the two superpowers. Under these circumstances, the first world of the two superpowers is opposed by the second world of the lesser capitalist countries and even more militantly and thoroughly by the third world of developing countries.

The Philippines is now being tugged between demands of puppetry to US imperialism and demands of being part of the third world. The former still very much prevails over the latter. The increasingly contradictory stances taken by the fascist puppet dictatorship does not prove any cleverness on the part of the fascist dictator but merely reflects the actual contradictions in the Philippine situation and in the relations between the Philippines and other countries. These contradictions can no longer be handled in the old way either by the Marcos clique or any other clique of reactionaries no matter how strong is its wish to remain under the shadow of US imperialism.

The resounding defeat of US imperialism in Indochina clearly shows the inevitable doom of US imperialism in Asia. Even as in the Philippines a relative tightening of the US grip is to be expected, because this is in line with the US scheme of remaining a "Pacific power" and of holding back its general and absolute decline in Asia, Europe is inexorably becoming the focus of contention between the two superpowers. The struggle between the two superpowers in the Middle East and the Mediterranean relates closely to their struggle in Europe.

We are still in the era of imperialism. The imperialist powers are becoming more desperate than ever before. The factors of both revolution and war are increasing. The people of the world must make revolution and be prepared against war more determinedly than ever before. As the two superpowers lurch on to a world war, the people should make revolution on an even wider scale and countries should assert national sovereignty and independence.

The broad masses of the Filipino people must carry out the Philippine revolution even more resolutely, vigorously and self-reliantly than before. The objective conditions inside and outside the country are extremely favorable for their revolutionary efforts.

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An Assessment of the Fascist Martial Rule after Three Years

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Issue, October 6, 1975.

An assessment of the fascist martial rule of the US-Marcos clique after three years is called for.

There are eight questions in this assessment. The first seven involve the “pledges” of the fascist dictatorship and span its entire national policy. The eighth involves its foreign policy.

Peace and Order?

The Marcos rightist coup on September 23, 1972, laying itself out as a fascist counterrevolution in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, stands as the biggest crime in the country today. In the simplest terms, this crime consists of high treason and tyranny, causing turmoil and disorder rather than peace and order.

Crime is not made any less criminal and violence any less violent when it is the US-Marcos clique that manipulates and employs the reactionary armed forces to perpetrate massacres, assassinations, forced evacuations, zonings, bombardments, arson, mass arrests, kidnappings, illegal detention, torture, rape, extortion and looting in order to repress the revolutionary mass movement and every other entity arbitrarily deemed opposed to the fascist regime.

The crimes of the fascists have wracked the entire country and are the seeds of discontent by which not only the present fascist dictatorship but also the entire ruling system and its imperialist overlord will reap a whirlwind. Far from “saving the republic,” the fascist dictatorship has merely deepened the people’s hatred for the entire ruling system and made the ground more fertile for revolution.

The “new society” is the same old semicolonial and semifeudal society, made worse by a fascist dictatorship that is so far the most brutal, corrupt, mendacious and puppet among local reactionary regimes beholden to US imperialism.

The fascist dictatorship cannot lessen its harshness by the catchphrase “constitutional authoritarianism.” In the first place, it does not

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go by any constitution. It used one provision of the 1935 constitution to negate the entirety of the same constitution. Then, at the point of a gun, it unlawfully seized from the constitutional convention the final drafting of what has come to be called the Marcos constitution, a scrap of paper that is invalid from the very start and that cannot be made any less invalid by repeated fake referendums.

It is idle for the fascist dictatorship to acclaim itself as a “crisis government” and argue that had it not been set up the ruling system would not have been able to tide itself over such crises as the armed struggles waged by the New People’s Army and the Bangsa Moro Army and the economic crisis which he points out as emanating solely from abroad. The fact is that armed resistance has broken out on an unprecedented scale and the economic crisis has been aggravated because of the fascist dictatorship.

Oftentimes, the fascist dictator and his henchmen comfort themselves by claiming that the people are acquiescent to their usurpation of power. They like to drum up this supposed acquiescence as “national discipline” ad nauseam. But they know that the armed resistance is ceaselessly gaining ground and that they are dealing with a revolutionary movement which does not believe in putsches but which perseveres in a protracted people’s war. The broad masses of the people have never been cowed: they have only become more prudent than before the fascist rule. They are steadily learning the ways of the revolutionary underground and the revolutionary armed struggle.

There can be no peace and order with the intensified oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. Armed resistance is steadily growing. The most outstanding armed resistance is being waged today by the New People’s Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and by the Bangsa Moro Army under the direction of the Moro National Liberation Front.

The New People’s Army has not only preserved and tempered itself against the berserk attacks of the enemy but has also further strengthened itself. There are now more Red fighters than ever before. There are now more guerrilla bases and zones. These are in northeast Luzon, northwest Luzon, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao. The people’s army has accounted for at least 1,500 enemy casualties since the declaration of the fascist martial rule.

An Assessment of the Fascist Martial Rule after Three Years

Being better armed than the New People's Army and being able to launch larger and more frequent operations, the Bangsa Moro Army has accounted for more than 5,000 enemy casualties in Cotabato, Lanao, Sulu, Basilan and Zamboanga provinces. There have been instances of direct cooperation between the New People's Army and the Bangsa Moro Army, especially in mainland Mindanao. But on the whole, the two armies help each other by fighting well within their respective areas.

The Bangsa Moro Army does a good service to the Philippine revolution as its antecedents did in fighting and tying down the bulk of the reactionary armed forces today. This allows the people in all other areas of the country to develop their armed resistance. We speak of a unified fascist reaction as a difficulty for the revolutionaries in Luzon, the Visayas and the greater part of Mindanao, in the sense that the absence of an open war among the reactionaries allows the enemy to singlemindedly engage us in armed struggle with superior military strength in every province.

When revolutionaries recognize such a difficulty, they become determined to overcome it and do everything to grow from small to big and from weak to strong. There is a disadvantage when there is yet no open war among the reactionaries or serious splits within the reactionary armed forces. But there is an advantage too in being the only army regarded by the people as their own over about 90% of the country.

The fascist dictatorship flatters itself almost daily by reporting in its press the mass surrenders of antifascist armed units, organs of democratic political power and mass organizations. The enemy's trick in this regard is no different from that used in fake referendums. People are called to a meeting by the fascists, coerced or coaxed to raise both hands in seeming surrender or one hand in seeming oath of allegiance and photographed for purposes of fascist propaganda.

The illegal arrest and detention of more than 10,000 people, including workers, students, teachers, professionals, journalists, politicians, churchmen and so many others, in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas are serious crimes but, even as these are often attended by torture, murder, rape and looting of homes and offices, they pale in comparison to wide-scale terror unleashed by the fascist enemy in the countryside. The comparison needs no stressing, except to present the whole picture of fascist barbarism.

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About the most barbaric act of the fascist dictatorship is the creation of what it calls “free-fire zones” and “targets of bombardment” through the forced mass evacuation and displacement of 1.7 million people in Mindanao and about 200 thousand people in northeast Luzon and in separate places in Bicol, Samar and Panay, to mention only a few. The people have to leave their homes and unharvested fields and often cannot bring with them all their farm animals and personal belongings. Since the idea is to deprive the guerrillas of a mass base, the regular fascist military and their “home defense units” of various descriptions go on a rampage of killing, looting and burning. Airplanes hover to give support to them and are wont to strafing and using napalm bombs.

Under the cover of “base-denial operations,” the regular fascist military and the “home defense units” have perpetrated massacres. In Mindanao, there could be at least 5,000 massacre victims. In northeast Luzon, there are hundreds of these. These are conservative estimates. The massacre victims include defenseless children, women and aged people. The massacres are invariably attended by all sorts of unspeakable barbarities, finalized by removal of ears or by decapitation.

At the “evacuation centers,” there are only a few token huts for the evacuees and certainly there are no supplies for them. At least 95% of the evacuees cannot be given any small lot on which to put their own huts. Not only are the evacuees cheated of the few rations made available by certain organizations but are also deprived of their meager belongings and farm animals by the fascist military who either extort these outrightly or make ridiculously low token payments. Thus, the evacuees eventually land on their relatives somewhere or dare to go back to the “free-fire zones” and fight back rather than starve and be subjected to further fascist abuses.

Even when the antifascist guerrillas have already shifted from an evacuated area, the fascist enemy refuses to let the people go back to their farms. Extensive areas evacuated by the poor settlers and national minorities are now being claimed for corporate farming and for the “palayang bayan” and “maisang bayan” by the fascist dictatorship.

All over the land, the fascist military officials are conspicuously taking after the fascist dictator in using their authority to extort from the people and amass wealth. Within and outside the areas of armed conflict, it is characteristic of the fascist military and their criminal cohorts to blackmail and extort from the people. They can at will pin the charge of “subversion” or some other charge on anyone and threaten him to

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pay or else be detained indefinitely. Thus, hundreds of thousands of people have spent at least a day of detention in military stockades.

Common criminality is on the upsurge because of the rapid deterioration of the economic situation. Crime incidence, especially that which involves property, is exceeding by far the level before the fascist martial rule. Crime syndicates have become tightly intertwined with the bosses in the fascist military. Ordinary people who have been deprived of their licensed firearms, including shotguns, are at the mercy of marauding robbers who are linked in one way or another with the fascists.

The budget for the parasitic fascist military is increasing by leaps and bounds and is an ingredient in the worsening of the economic crisis. From the start of the entire Marcos rule to the eve of the fascist martial rule, the budgetary appropriation for the military rose from ₱324 million to ₱800 million. On the first year of martial rule alone, actual military expenditure rose more than ₱2.0 billion. Now the budgetary appropriation for this year is ₱3.0 billion and is bound to be overshot as was the case during the first year of martial rule. The fascist regime is determined to bring up the number of its troops to 275,000 and "integrate" all police forces in the country.

The increasing amounts for the military have been used for increasing the number of officers and increasing their salaries, allowances and other privileges; for acquiring more military equipment; for building military camps and facilities and increasing the number of regular troops and trainees. The regular troops receive extremely low salaries and are cheated of their mess allowances and rations. The situation is worse for the trainees who receive starvation allowances and are the ones thrown into the frontline before the regulars.

There are internal causes for the possible disintegration of the reactionary armed forces. The enlisted men and trainees come mainly from the peasantry and are being made to fight for an unjust and anti-peasant regime. Factionalism among officers is also rife because of favoritism, nepotism and regionalism being used by the fascist dictator to maintain an officer clique servile to him. If other reactionaries opposing Marcos were to play on their own influence within the reactionary armed forces and also organize their own armed groups outside, it would prove easier for them to persuade the US policymakers that Marcos had better go.

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It is clearly possible that long before the all-round victory of the national democratic revolution the Marcos fascist gang shall have been deposed by its own imperialist masters and fellow reactionaries. By that time, the present fascist dictatorship shall have made the ground even more fertile than now for the armed revolution and shall have fully instituted a new style of infighting which puts the highest value on armed groupings among the reactionaries.

By all indications, the fascist dictator is bent on staying in power at whatever cost and is depending on sheer armed force. All forces opposed to this tyrannical regime should realize more than ever that armed revolution is the answer to armed counterrevolution. Even the reactionaries opposed to Marcos should better realize that it takes more than peaceful pleadings to effect even only a coup d'état.

Land Reform?

It is not true that the fascist martial rule has “slowed down” land reform. It has in fact viciously opposed land reform, even only for the tenant on rice and corn lands; and has intensified feudal and semifeudal exploitation in the countryside. The “new society” does not have the “cornerstone” it claims to have. The “democratic revolution” it also claims to be carrying out has absolutely no basis.

Land reform is simply impossible when the tenants who are overwhelmingly poor peasants are required to pay land prices that they can never afford. The so-called land reform boasted of by the fascist regime might as well be called a realty business high above the heads of the peasant masses.

Presidential Decree No. 2 and No. 27 are no different from the Agricultural Land Reform Code of 1963 and the Agrarian Reform Code of 1971 in “abolishing” share tenancy by simply calling it by another name, “leasehold system”; in requiring the poor peasant masses to pay a fixed land rent to their landlords on the basis of bloated production figures; and in upholding the reactionary principle that the poor tenant can have his own piece of land only if he pays for it.

The “leaseholder” is still a tenant, one who must pay ground rent to his landlord. In fact, leaseholders under the leasehold system are required to pay a much higher rent than the tenants under the old share-tenancy system. Under the old share-tenancy system, the tenant was entitled to 70% of the current actual crop when he shouldered most

of the production expenses. Under the leasehold system, the landlord is allowed to choose the three “normal” harvests, meaning to say the best harvests, from which to derive the average “normal” harvest. The leaseholder is obliged to shoulder all production expenses and to pay as a fixed land rent what is equivalent to 25% of the aforesaid average “normal” harvest, whatever is the actual harvest. He is not at all assured of his 75% share of the crop but failure to pay the high fixed rent means indebtedness or breach of contract and loss of tenure, depending on the landlord’s judgment.

The general experience of the tenant masses show that they do not make good harvests all the time and that they are not always free from such calamities as floods, drought, crop epidemics or serious illness in the family. One after the other, the strains of “miracle rice” being promoted usually fail after only one harvest and these require high expenditures for fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation. The dismal failure of the US-sponsored “green revolution” is best manifested by the grain shortages and importations throughout the Marcos rule.

Under the goading of Presidential Decree No. 27, which makes the false promise of making every leaseholder or tenant an “amortizing owner” through private transaction with his landlord, landlords have gone on a rampage compelling their tenants to sign documents stating false production figures that are excessively high. Invoking the high production claims of Masagana 99 program, many landlords go so far as to state that the per-hectare production of their lands is 99 cavans whereas the actual production averages in the country are in the range of 25 to 40 cavans per hectare.

The formula set by Presidential Decree No. 27 for determining land prices and the mode of payment is enough to make impossible land purchases by tenant peasants even if the landlords were only to take into account the actual peaks of production on the lands. But the landlords do not miss their chance to set land prices that are even higher and demand a higher fixed rent on their lands by falsifying production figures. They have their way by simply invoking the policy of private transaction behind the fascist decree and by threatening their tenants or leaseholders with eviction on flimsy charges.

There is not a single tenant or leaseholder who has become an amortizing owner under Presidential Decree No. 27. At the very start, the fascist dictator showed that he was joking when in his decree he promised three hectares of irrigated land or five hectares of unirrigated

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land for every tenant and seven hectares of retainable land for every landlord and at the same time stated in his covering speech that a total of only 1,767,000 hectares was available for 1,000,000 tenants and several thousands of landlords. (Soon after, the fascist regime spread the word that there were actually 1,078,817 tenants and 1,343,217 hectares of tenanted rice and corn lands.)

Only a month after the signing of Presidential Decree No. 27, the fascist dictator made a memorandum to the Secretary of the Department of Agrarian Reform ordering him to maintain the status quo of landlord-tenant relations until such time that he issues a set of rules and regulations. Until now, he has not issued this. The Agrarian Reform Code of 1971 is now undergoing further revision only to incorporate all the anti-peasant fiats of the fascist dictatorship.

The fascist dictator has raised the amount of land retainable by landlords from seven to 24 hectares and has already declared that there is not much land to offer for sale to tenants because more than 85% of tenanted rice and corn lands are owned by landlords who have holdings of only 24 hectares or less.

At any rate, in a massive act of deception, worthless sheets of paper called "land transfer certificates" are still being distributed under "Operation Land Transfer"; and barrio committees on land production are still aforming to engage in futile talks about production figures and land prices, notwithstanding the fact that Marcos has held from the very start that land sale contracts under Presidential Decree No. 27 are essentially a private transaction between landlord and tenant or leaseholder.

Although he still refers to other possible modes of land sale between landlord and tenant or leaseholder in which the Land Bank may be involved, Marcos has used his Presidential Decree No. 27 as an excuse and camouflage for rechanneling finances of the Land Bank into ventures other than purchases of land for redistribution to tenants. There are still a few negligible negotiations and transactions on land sale between the Land Bank and the landlords and as usual the former and the latter connive in overpricing the expropriated estate at the expense of the tenants who must suffer the high redistribution price which they will never be able to pay completely.

Should there be any tenant or leaseholder who is inveigled to become an amortizing owner, he is required not only to pay the ever rising land tax but also to join the "samahang nayan" which exacts

from him a host of other levies in the form of membership fees and annual dues; penalties for misdemeanors ranging from tardiness in meetings to breaches of contract with landlords; contribution of one cavan per hectare per harvest to the barrio guarantee fund; payment to the barrio savings fund of 5% on every bank loan; and premiums to the cooperative insurance system. This is not to mention the various taxes exacted by the provincial and municipal governments and collections for all sorts of "barangay" activities.

The cost of living and farm production is fast rising because of the inflation and the general deterioration of the economic situation. The poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants are always forced to sell their products cheap because they cannot bide their time for better prices. They are at the mercy of the merchant-usurers, aside from the landlords who may be usurers themselves. Agricultural credit from government and private banks are sucked up by the big comprador-landlords for their sugar and other plantations.

Under the pretext of raising food production, the fascist regime has undertaken the "supervised credit scheme" called Masagana 99 for rice production and Masaganang Maisan for corn production. But this has reached only a very small proportion of the peasant masses and more importantly it has served to exact usurious rates in indirect ways.

Borrowers under Masagana 99 are required to join the samahang nayon and comply with onerous obligations and are not given cash loans but loans in kind such as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides which are overpriced and are wasteful when as is generally the case these are in excess of what is needed or unsuitable to the land. The borrowers are given their loans only after losing a great deal of working time and spending their loans of money in having their papers processed. The farm technicians have not been able to help them in production, much less to oversee the suitability of the chemicals to their land, because these government employees are tied down to processing loan papers in behalf of such a private Marcos-owned outfit as Planters Products, Inc. Then comes harvest time, the Masagana 99 borrowers are required to pay their loans in grain at the low price set by the National Grains Authority.

Masagana 99 has caused serious imbalances in the distribution of fertilizers and pesticides; oversupply in some areas and extreme scarcity in other areas. Landlords and the peasants of every strata have had to join the Masagana 99 scheme and therefore also the

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samahang nayon only to be able to get fertilizers. The maldistribution of agricultural chemicals has created a blackmarket victimizing the overwhelming majority of peasants.

Now that Masagana 99 is drying up, the few samahang nayons that came to be formed are also evaporating. The disintegration of the samahang nayons has been accelerated by its being held liable for the unpaid loans of some members but has its deep cause in the excessively heavy obligations required of members whose interests are far apart and conflicting. Moreover, the members realize that samahang nayon funds are being sucked up by higher levels of the bureaucracy. Thus, the association expected by Marcos to displace all peasant associations and small cooperatives outside of government control is fast fading away.

The fascist regime has boasted of building massive infrastructure projects for the benefit of the rural population. But the people are groaning under the weight of an increasing tax burden as a result of the large counterpart funds required, the onerous payments that have to be made to the foreign lenders and contractors and the big cuts that have been pocketed by the fascist dictator and his top subalterns on infrastructure contracts. Moreover, these ill-planned costly projects generate inflation.

The people pay for the overpriced and graft-ridden projects not only in the form of higher taxes and higher prices for the commodities that they buy but also in the form of higher fees. For instance, big irrigation projects have been undertaken but irrigation fees have increased from year to year and only this year have increased by 700%.

In the areas where the massive projects are undertaken, the fascist regime removes people from the land without satisfactory provisions for compensation and resettlement. Land in excess of project requirements is often taken over by the fascist regime only to be privately repossessed by fascist officials. The ranks of the landless peasants have been thereby increased.

If the pledge of land reform to tenants on rice and corn lands is empty, there is not even a false pledge to tenants on lands planted to other crops. The land policy of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique consists of opening the road wide for corporate farming. Talk of land reform by the fascists has been used only to divert attention from the emergence of rice and corn production that is based on wage-capital relations; the increase and expansion of

pasture leases and plantations for such export crops as sugar, coconut, banana, pineapple, abaca, rubber and others; and the large-scale conversion of logged-over areas into plantations of all sorts. We are witness today to the most abusive grabbing of lands already cultivated by poor settlers and the national minorities; alienation of public lands to private corporations and the conversion of share-tenancy relations to capital-wage relations.

Under the Marcos constitution, the foreign agricorporations and the big landlords are allowed to hold vast tracts of land under various guises. Foreign fruit companies continue to enjoy "lease agreements" and "grower's agreements" on vast tracts of land with corporations of the reactionary government. Under General Order No. 47, big foreign and local capitalists are encouraged to engage in rice and corn production and in the process displace tenants in the old feudal areas and the poor settlers and national minorities in the frontier and logged-over areas. The complete exhaustion of the land frontier is being accelerated by the Marcos policy.

There is enough land to distribute among the landless peasants in all kinds of crops if only the tillable pasture lands, logged-over areas and parts of plantations are added to the lands under the share-tenancy or leasehold system in the range of distributable lands. But the interest of the fascist dictatorship lies in preserving the semicolonial and semifeudal system and in opposing land reform.

The land question is involved in the struggle for national self-determination by the indigenous people of Mindanao. They can give way to the masses of poor settlers. But they can never tolerate the big corporations and big comprador-landlords grabbing vast tracts of land and forcing them out. It is a tragic event surely to be avenged that massive enemy operations are being undertaken to force out the poor settlers and national minorities from their lands.

In fighting the New People's Army, the fascist regime is trying to stop the genuine land reform that we are carrying out. The fascist military has inflicted the most vicious onslaughts against the peasant masses who have organized themselves into peasant associations and are undertaking genuine land reform among themselves. The peasant masses are being forced to evacuate even in areas where there is yet no sizeable antifascist armed resistance only to make way for the landgrabbers. In many cases, the "palayang bayan" and "maisang bayan" have been used as a preliminary pretext to make way

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for landgrabbing. The fascist dictatorship is thus merely arousing the millions of peasants to rise everywhere.

Though the fascist regime has shown itself not to be truly interested in land reform but in food production, it has also failed in this direction. In the years 1973 and 1974, it imported a total of 483,461 metric tons of rice. As of August this year, it imported anew 153,085 metric tons. And yet fascist propaganda keeps on blaring out that there is no need to import rice this year.

Economic Development?

There has been no economic development but economic retrogression under the fascist martial rule. The fascist dictatorship has pushed back every gain made previously by the patriotic movement for economic independence and has more than ever before entrenched the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the economy. The country is laid prostrate by an unprecedented crisis resulting from the world crisis of capitalism and aggravated by the fascist dictatorship.

On top of the intensification of feudal and semifeudal exploitation, the fascist dictatorship has more than ever before made the Philippine economy subservient to the foreign monopolists, chiefly American. It is clear why the US imperialists have supported and promoted the fascist counterrevolution. It is to assure themselves of the continuance of their privileges and dominance over the Philippine economy in a period of rising anti-imperialist movement among the people.

The Marcos constitution retains all US privileges and interests established or gained under the 1935 constitution and the revised Bell Trade Act (Laurel-Langley Agreement). Worse, the "new constitution" does away with all previous restrictions (including those settled in Supreme Court decisions) on foreign ownership of Philippine lands (Quasha case), on foreign exploitation of local natural resources and on the employment of foreign personnel (Luzteveco case); and poses no hindrance to the investment laws fashioned under the Marcos regime even before the fascist martial rule to allow as much as 100% foreign ownership of local enterprises and provide a wide range of incentives for foreign investors. The business of mass media is the only area where foreign investors are excluded but is now under the fascist Marcos press monopoly.

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The Laurel-Langley Agreement and the Parity Amendment have lapsed but far worse laws are now in operation in favor of US and other foreign investors. The Investment Incentives Act, the Export Incentives Act, the Export Processing Zone Act and Investment Registration Act have been amended to make them even more detrimental to national economic interests. Decrees have been issued enlarging the privileges of foreign direct investors in specific fields like banking, investment houses, trading, oil exploration, mineral extraction, semiprocessing, export processing zones, plantation projects, car assembly, repackaging and reassembly in general, real estate business, shipping, fishing and many others.

Under the “open door” policy of the fascist regime, the foreign investors enjoy such privileges as decreased limitations on extent of foreign ownership; guarantees and insurance against confiscation, expropriation and requisitioning; unhindered capital repatriation and profit remittances in the open way or through camouflaged ways like transfer pricing and excessive payments for loans, royalties, licensing, technical services, management contracts, foreign personnel and guarantees for private loans and in the use of local credit; tax deductions and tax credit of every imaginable kind; protection from government competition and Filipino competition; employment of foreign nationals; and even deduction of so-called labor training expenses.

Foreign investors are stridently called on to avail themselves of cheap Filipino labor. The fascist regime shamelessly boasts of having kept down local wage levels by using its coercive power against the Filipino workers and prohibiting them to strike and exercise fully their trade union and political rights. The minimum wage of ₱8.00 for industrial workers and ₱4.75 for farm workers has stagnated since 1970 despite the fact that from that same year, according to watered-down statistics of the reactionary government, the cost of living has risen by at least 160%.

The rates of exploitation and also the rates of profit have been higher than ever in foreign-owned and controlled enterprises. But the antilabor code and investment policy of the fascist regime make it a point to encourage these foreign companies to spend less for wages and salaries. They are encouraged not only to maintain the same old salary and wage structures of their regular employees but also to lessen the need for such regular employees by being allowed to take in “learners” and “apprentices” who can be given subminimum wages

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for the same work done by regular workers and on whose account deductions from taxable income can even be made.

More than ever, the foreign monopolies can take full advantage of the already low wage levels in the country and manipulate the gap between those who are already employed and the ever increasing ranks of the reserve army of labor. The rate of unemployment is running at more than 40% and not at 4%. Even the Ranis report has it at 25%. The overwhelming number of youth in the countryside and cities have always been unemployed or extremely underemployed. In a recession-ridden capitalist world, the fascist dictatorship in a semicolonial and semifeudal country cannot claim to maintain what is deemed a rate of full employment for capitalist countries in their periods of boom.

US multinational companies lead the pack of foreign investors grabbing local capital and even the foreign loans for which the Philippines is held liable. The Japanese companies run next to the US companies and they are now well-boosted by the Japan-Philippine treaty of amity, commerce and navigation ratified by Marcos alone. Under the signboard of joint venture, the big comprador-landlords are being pushed to join up with foreign investors; otherwise they simply expand their landed estates which are planted to export crops, engage in urban real estate speculation or simply wallow in their wealth through conspicuous consumption. Patriotic businessmen interested in nationalist industrialization find themselves squeezed and forced into either absorption by the foreign companies or bankruptcies. With their increased control of the banking system, the US multinational companies can use available funds as they please.

As in the past, the kind of direct investments made by the foreign monopolies in the Philippines throughout the period of Marcos rule, especially the last three years of martial rule, run counter to economic development and accentuate the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the economy. Companies owned or controlled by foreign investors have gone only into areas where they can invest a relatively small amount of capital only to draw superprofits within so short a time. These areas are mineral extraction, new export crops, semiprocessing, repacking-reassembly and, of course, trading.

The main line of the Marcos economic policy has always been the promotion of "export industries." While the big comprador-landlords are encouraged to expand production of traditional export crops (sugar and coconut), the foreign investors are encouraged to go further into

mineral extraction and new export crops (banana and pineapple). The infrastructure projects and financial policies of the US-Marcos clique have been essentially oriented towards promoting a raw-material exporting economy. Resources have always been diverted from the development of a self-reliant economic base.

Philippine subsidiaries of the multinational companies create the illusion of investing heavily in the country, gain substantial tax deductions and other benefits and conceal the superprofits that they are remitting by overpricing the materials (some capital equipment and other merchandise) and services (management and technical, for instance) from mother and sister companies abroad. Excessive payments are also made for royalties, licensing and loans to camouflage the remittance of profits. On the other hand, the Philippine subsidiaries underprice the goods that they export or reexport to their mother and sister companies abroad. It is, therefore, futile to measure the amount of profit remittances by foreign companies by merely taking Central Bank data at their face value.

US direct investments in the Philippines constitutes about 85% of all foreign investments and could easily amount to far more than ₱4.0 billion if the actual market value of assets is taken fully into account, especially as a result of the current rapid rate of inflation and continuous devaluation of the peso. During the last four years, new foreign direct investments amounting to \$398 million were made in the country. Forty-eight percent of this is US. There should be a higher percentage of US direct investments if we take into account that US multinational companies take cover under various nationalities other than US.

Considering the large accumulated capital base of the US imperialists in the Philippines, the amount of profits being extracted from the country by them every year should be far more than the paltry sums running into a few tens of millions of dollars which are formally carried on Central Bank records. The actual profit remittance should run into hundreds of millions even if we assume that the US companies make only a very low profit rate of 10% and therefore disregard the far larger rate admitted by the US embassy a few years ago that these companies make \$4 for every one dollar that they invest in the country.

As the crisis of world capitalism is intensifying, the US imperialists make it a point to shift the crisis to countries like the Philippines that they can dictate on and therefore extract a higher rate of profit in order to make up for losses elsewhere, such as those incurred in

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the Indochinese war, the ongoing recession in the United States and competition with other capitalist countries. The US imperialists have had their way in churning a crisis several times worse in the country than in the United States because of the servility and puppetry of the Marcos ruling clique.

Foreign capital, chiefly US, that exploits the country and people does not consist only of direct investments but also loan capital. Such loan capital is extended in accordance with imperialist policies and yet the Philippines as debtor must pay it at high rates of interest. At the beginning of Marcos rule in 1966, the foreign debt of the country was only \$599.5 million and Marcos pretended to be mad about this at his inaugural address. But from year to year the foreign debt went up and in 1972 it was already \$2.2 billion. At the end of September of 1975, it was already \$4.0 billion, excluding the SDR credits from the International Monetary Fund already availed of and also credits which are either past due or payable on demand but do not have definite maturity dates. The foreign debt should now be very much ahead of \$4.2 billion.

The rate at which the Philippines is incurring foreign debt is conspicuously much faster under the fascist rule than before. The fascist dictator is unrestricted in having the government and private sectors incur foreign debts. As a matter of fact, he considers indebtedness to foreign creditors a measure of his regime's success. The Paris group of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund keep on pouring onerous loans into the Philippines.

High-level corruption is linked with foreign debts incurred by the government and private sectors. The Marcos ruling clique gets large cuts in the disposition of foreign loans procured by the government, especially in contracts for infrastructure projects, purchase orders and relending funds to private enterprises. There is always a large amount of money paid to the fascist clique under the table in return for guarantees for private foreign loans. There is also a wide range of Marcos-controlled companies which are used to milk the reactionary government of funds raised from abroad and internally.

Foreign loans have been used to buttress the international reserves and cover up deficits in the balance of payments. The technique is to always get new loans and keep these larger than the amortizations that have to be made. However, amortizations that have to be made keep on rising. Debt repayments in 1974 expanded to \$1.131 billion,

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then more than one-third of an undiminished total debt of \$3.2 billion. In the current year, larger debt repayments have to be made and a huge deficit has to be recovered. The merchandise trade deficit in the first three quarters was \$758 million and is estimated to exceed the level of \$1.0 billion before the end of this year. Balance of payments deficit rose to \$370 million.

The capitalist world crisis is wreaking havoc on our raw-material exporting and manufactures importing economy. The direct manifestation is the growing foreign trade deficit. Recession has depressed the market in the capitalist world for such principal exports of the Philippines as logs and lumber, copper concentrates, sugar and coconut products. While the prices for these exports have steeply gone down, the prices of manufactures imported from the capitalist countries have steeply gone up, apart from the accelerated transfer pricing perpetrated by the foreign companies. The rate of inflation on the imported manufactures is in fact higher than that on petroleum products on which the US oil monopolies are profiting heavily as a result of the six oil price increases approved in quick succession by the fascist regime.

The rapid depletion of foreign exchange is eroding the value of the peso vis-a-vis the US dollar at a rate faster than ever before. In 1972, the US dollar was equivalent to ₱6.78. Now the current blackmarket rate is going strong at ₱8.60. It is quite obvious that the fascist regime cannot long hold the official rate at ₱7.60. This is quite a long way from ₱3.90 which was the exchange rate at the beginning of Marcos rule.

The fascist dictator and his cohorts comfort themselves by making it appear that the economic crisis comes solely from abroad and that were it not for the fascist martial rule of the “crisis government” the Philippines would not have been able to tide itself over such a crisis. The fact is that the Philippine economic crisis, which is ever going from bad to worse, has been generated by both the fascist dictatorship and the world crisis of capitalism.

The main responsibility for the economic crisis afflicting the country belongs to the fascist dictatorship. It is the responsibility of this regime for being servile to the dictates of US imperialism; for unfolding the most unbridled corruption ever experienced in the entire history of the country; for enlarging the expenditures for the unproductive and parasitic fascist military; and for undertaking massive infrastructure projects in rapid succession, with no thought about the inflation these generate but certainly with the thought of making an “impact”

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and concentrating resources for the retention of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the economy.

The budget of the reactionary government has risen from a level of ₱2.7 billion in 1965 to ₱18.2 billion in 1975. The budget in 1972 was ₱5.5 billion. But within the first year of fascist rule, the budget skyrocketed to more than ₱10 billion. The fascist regime has been unbridled in passing on government funds to Marcos and his clique, in undertaking projects aggrandizing them, in beefing up the fascist military, in creating large secret funds for intelligence, and in doing expensive propaganda gimmicks in the country and abroad.

The tax burden has increased by leaps and bounds. In 1965, the tax collection was ₱1.6 billion. In 1972, it went up to ₱6.6 billion and further on to ₱14.3 billion in 1974. The fascist regime is straining to increase further its tax collection by increasing old taxes and making new ones in order to cope with the current enormous budget. The old pretext of soaking the rich has been worn thin as the taxes on the wealthy have been blatantly passed on to the broad masses and direct taxes have been increasingly exacted from the lowliest of the people.

Going alongside the rapidly increasing tax burden and foreign debt is the rapidly increasing internal public debt. In 1965, the internal public debt was only ₱3.1 billion. In 1972, it reached ₱9.7 billion. At the end of 1974, it leaped up to ₱17.3 billion in so short a time of fascist rule. It is bound to rise at a more rapid rate this year.

Never has the country known a more spendthrift regime. The fascist regime cannot escape responsibility for the inflation raging in the country today. The suffering of the broad masses of the people is intolerable. It is to rub salt into the wound for the fascist regime to claim that it has brought down the rate of inflation to 7 or 8% from last year's rate of 39.8% which at one time peaked at 46%. The current inflation rate is still very much above 35%.

It is acknowledged by economic agencies of the reactionary government that the purchasing power of the Philippine peso has gone down to only 33 centavos, with 1965 as the base year. Because of the runaway inflation, especially during the last three years, the purchasing power of one peso should be far lower. Even as it is admitted that the peso has been depreciated by 67% within 1965-75 the minimum wage levels for industrial and nonindustrial workers have increased by only 33% within the same period. There has been no increase in the

minimum wage levels since 1970, but there has been a depreciation of the peso by 41 centavos from the 1970 level of 74 centavos.

According to watered-down statistics of the reactionary government, the nominal incomes of employees have fallen far behind the cost of living. With 1965 as the base year, the cost of living went up by 73.4% while salaries and wages went up by only 41.6% and 56.9%, respectively, in 1972. At the end of 1974, the cost of living went up by 191.1% while salaries and wages went up only by 71.8% and 98.6%, respectively. The disparity between the nominal incomes of employees and the cost of living continues to widen at an accelerated rate this year. All talk of “socialized pricing” by the fascist regime has consistently meant runaway inflation robbing the people of their real incomes.

It is estimated by a number of agencies of the reactionary government on the basis of early 1974 prices that a day’s supply of nutritious food (proteins, fats, energy foods, fruit and vegetables) cost ₱18.16. Millions upon millions of people do not have the income to afford this. Of all the basic necessities, food has registered the highest rate of inflation. With 1965 as the base year, food prices went up by 89.1% in 1972 and then 227.7% at the end of 1974. Food prices continue to soar. Starvation is the lot of millions upon millions of people under the fascist dictatorship. They are also deprived of decent clothing and shelter and the simple amenities of life.

Despite the rapid deterioration of the economy, the fascist regime claims such growth rates for the Philippines as 9.9% in 1973 and 5.8% in 1974 and increases in per capita income. These are based on the growth of the “gross national product.” There can be nothing more deceptive than this. Many figures that go into the GNP can be fabricated. When the figures are relatively true, they can well represent actual transactions that are extremely unproductive and counterproductive. Transactions involving the government are characterized by overpricing due to corruption. Then the inflation rate may also not be fully taken into account, as the fascist dictatorship is given to outright lying and juggling contradictory nonfacts.

The fascist regime is very active in carrying out in the country the worldwide campaign of US imperialism to blame the “population explosion,” the people themselves, for the ills of exploitative societies, especially in the developing countries. But the economic crisis in the capitalist countries and in every colonial and semicolonial country is exposing the fundamental causes of such ills. There cannot be enough

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for the people, wherever the imperialists and the exploiting classes accumulate for themselves what is socially produced by the people.

Other Internal Questions

Development of moral values? This can never be part of the policy of a treasonous, brutal, mendacious and free-spending fascist regime. The fascist dictator and his cohorts are bogged down in the cesspool of moral degeneration and seek to degrade the entire nation and people by the detrimental effects of their rule as well as by negative example.

Like every autocratic tyrant of old, the fascist dictator rules with absolutely no moral authority. It is an incontrovertible fact of history that when the farce of a constitutional convention would not suffice to retain him in power he made preparations for his rightist coup and fascist counterrevolution by such dastardly methods as massacres, violent disruptions of mass actions, fake assassination plots and bomb panics.

That was not all in the background of the fascist dictatorship. Marcos was at the helm of the reactionary government for close to seven years before his fascist martial rule. During all that time, he did not take a single step to reverse the processes harmful to the nation and people. On the other hand, he systematically aggravated these for his own benefit and the benefit of his foreign and feudal masters. More than anybody else in the country, he has been responsible for the worst crisis that has ever afflicted the puppet republic.

Though trying to pass himself off as one opposed to the Left and the Right, he has always acted as an extreme rightist, serving the US imperialists and the most reactionary interests, relying on counter-revolutionary force and lies to achieve his ends and asserting his privilege to rule indefinitely in the most backward manner of an absolute monarch. He facetiously describes the political and economic crisis as one of "modernization" and nothing more, as if one inane word were enough to obscure his counterrevolutionary role and responsibility.

The fascist dictator is himself the arch oligarch demagogically orating against the oligarchy. By corruption and extortion, he has amassed wealth in land and capital on a scale never known before among reactionary officials in the entire history of the Philippines. Because of his unbridled power, he has amassed far more wealth under fascist rule than before when he was more restrained by legal exposure from

his political rivals and of course from the people. Making himself the unquestionable arch oligarch is what he actually means by “democratization of wealth.”

To size up the ill-gotten wealth of the fascist dictator, one has only to perceive the fast-expanding land and capital holdings under the names of the Marcoses and Romualdezes. One does not even have to count in those Marcos holdings under the names of such dummies as the Benedictos, Pobladors, Silverios, Cuencas and so many others. One does not even have to count in the least visible Marcos wealth that is in the form of secret bank accounts abroad, securities in foreign-based companies, and piles of jewelry in vaults.

The fascist dictator derives his wealth not only through the graft and corruption attendant to the allocation of privileges from the reactionary government but also through extortion pure and simple. Filipino enterprises, including those not necessarily against the fascist regime at the start, have become victims of outright extortion, with no privileges in return. The confiscation of the Lopez enterprises for the personal aggrandizement of the fascist dictator is not an isolated case.

It is the scheme of the fascist dictator and his top henchmen to monopolize the practice of corruption and extortion and thus increase their take and limit conspicuousness of malfeasance. But still the practice of corruption and extortion at every level of the reactionary government is widespread. The tax collectors and permit-issuers are having a grand time with graft while the fascist military excel in the use of extortion. The petty fascists prosper on the sale of curfew passes, traffic violations and the like.

The lowest type of immoral business is flourishing under the chieftainship or protection of fascist military officials. Prostitution houses, nightclubs, sauna baths and gambling joints are often under the ownership of fascist military and police officials. These officials enjoy being called promoters of tourism. Vice has been made a considerable part of the gross national product under the item of services. In the international propaganda of the fascists, it is not only Filipino labor that is offered cheap but also Filipino women.

Crackdowns on criminality are made now and then but these prove only to be shakedown to show to criminals and criminal syndicates who their real lords are and to whom they must pay tribute. The fascist military and police officials have become notorious in both urban and rural areas as the crime lords.

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Government reorganization? The fascist dictatorship has enlarged and sharpened the reactionary state as an instrument of coercion against the people and has accentuated the corruption and ineptness that prevail in the ranks of civilian and military officials. There has been no “backsliding” because the fascist regime has remained corrupt and inept and has kept on careening from bad to worse.

All the hubbub about government reorganization for better and cheaper service to the people has been a thin veil for the Marcos conspiracy to make good his coup against the legislature and the courts and place everyone retained in the executive and judicial branches of the reactionary government under his mercy.

Contrary to the illusion created at the start of the fascist martial rule, there has been no trimming down of what was described as excess personnel and there has been no removal of the corrupt and the inept. All government personnel were simply intimidated to submit letters of resignation so that they would owe their retention in office to the fascist dictator.

The reactionary government has become an even more expensive and parasitic monster. There has been an increase in the number of government departments and offices. Several old departments have been split into two. With the increase of departments and offices, more personnel have had to be taken in for unproductive employment that is characteristic of the reactionary government. Of course, the increase of troops, spies and employees under the department of national defense constitutes the biggest personnel increase.

Expenditures of the reactionary government have increased by leaps and bounds. These have gone for the bloated salaries of the officials of the so many departments and offices and for a horde of additional lower personnel whose salaries, however, are kept so low in relation to the salaries, allowances and privileges of the officials. The purchase of unnecessary equipment and the overpricing of said equipment, especially office equipment and motor vehicles, constitutes a big drain on the treasury.

The departments of national defense, public highways and public works have gobbled up the biggest share from the overall budget of the reactionary government for reasons already explained. What is most revolting is that while the share for the department of national defense has increased by leaps and bounds, the share of the departments of

education and culture, public health and social welfare have plummeted down.

When the fascist regime speaks of having increased government capital investments it means the overpriced military equipment, camps and other facilities, office equipment, buildings and motor vehicles of all government offices; and construction equipment used in infrastructure projects. Considering the overpricing and corruption involved in transactions involving these, plus the increasing government payroll, no one is surprised at how the fascist regime bloats the gross national product from year to year to show the growth rate in a period of unprecedented economic crisis. That is aside from simply fabricating figures for services.

Corrupt practices are so rampant at every level of his government that the fascist dictator lately has had to go after a few civilian officials outside of his most reliable clique. The point is for him to stress that he and his top henchmen enjoy the monopoly and no one else should dare dig into the field and make the digging too obvious by widespread petty malfeasance. Besides, such old Marcos tricks as changing the names of discredited offices, juggling discredited officials from one office to another or forming investigative committees whose sole end is to kill an issue do not suffice all the time.

Wanting to secure a full and rigid control over the people at the grassroots level, the fascist dictator is using the old barrio councils, merely renamed "barangays," to carry out all his counterrevolutionary orders like faking ballot reports in "referendums," surveillance on barrio residents, etc.; form military units; and suppress all the people's organizations that are not instruments of the fascist regime. He wants all peasant associations and small cooperatives to be dissolved and replaced by the samahang nayon and kilusang bayan, just as he wants all trade unions that manage to exist to come under fascist control under the pretext of promoting "one union, one industry." He wants all youth associations eliminated and replaced by the "kabataang barangay."

Educational reform? The orientation, curricula and style of the Philippine educational system remain reactionary as before, pro-imperialist and at the same time feudalistic. Worse, the schools have been placed under rigid fascist control and have been turned into channels of fascist dictates and anticommunist bias.

At every level of the educational system, both private and public, study courses based on or using fascist texts have been imposed

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on the students and teachers. Such filthy notions as that the fascist counterrevolution is democratic revolution, that foreign investments are good for the nation and people, that the landless peasants can have land if they can pay the landlords' prohibitive prices and so on and so forth are being promoted. Students and teachers are always under the threat of being arrested, thrown out of school and detained should they criticize fascist policies even if only in the course of classroom discussions.

The fascist regime has rammed through the recommendations of the Presidential Committee to Study Philippine Education. These recommendations are designed according to objectives set by US imperialist agents in the World Bank and US foundations. The state universities and colleges have been reorganized to accord with US financing schemes and intensify promotion of the anti-national idea that the educational system must serve the technical requirements of the US multinational corporations and graduates of schools must compete with each other for a few jobs from these foreign companies. The pro-imperialist curricula of the state schools have been made even more pro-imperialist. The position of the most reactionary school authorities has been reinforced.

The fascist regime has pounced hardest on those universities, colleges and high schools where the national democratic movement has been strong. Thousands of progressive students and teachers have been arrested and detained for varied durations on no charges at all. Many of them have been permanently thrown out of school. Hundreds of them still languish in military stockades. There is no end to both the overt and covert presence of military personnel and spies on the campus. The fascist regime has unceasingly developed the atmosphere of intimidation that it started with the closure of all schools upon the declaration of martial rule.

Throughout the country, student governments and publications are banned; where there are exceptions to the ban, they are in an emasculated form and under strict censorship. Like their students, the teachers also find their political rights curtailed; they do not find any civil liberties within or outside the schools or the faculty associations. They are restricted by the terms of their employment and they are prohibited from acting concertedly to assure themselves of tenure or improved teaching and salary conditions.

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The public school teachers at the grade and high school levels are among the most politically resentful of and opposed to the fascist regime, although they appear to be the most acquiescent. They resent being ordered about to participate in such farces as the last three “referendums” and in sweating it out and spending together with their students for various show-off projects of the fascist regime. Their salaries have stagnated and they have been made to pay for larger extracurricular fees, despite the inflation. The number of teachers and classrooms have declined considerably in relation to the increasing number of school children.

The budget for the department of education and culture has fallen far behind that for the department of national defense. While the already watered-down 1975 budget for the military is ₱2.85 billion, that for education is ₱1.5 billion comprising only 8.63% of the national budget and falling behind the budget for the military which is larger by 180%.

Before the fascist martial rule, the budget for education always had a share in the national budget that was substantial and far larger than that for the military. In 1965, the budget for education was 29.08% of the entire budget and was larger than the budget for the military by 202%. On the eve of the fascist martial rule, the budget for education was 25.12% of the entire budget and was larger than the budget for the military by 159%. But now, the fascists consider guns more important than books or anything else.

Education at every level has become extremely expensive due to the economic crisis and yet the fascist regime would rather use scarce resources for the military. The rapidly rising matriculation fees, prices of books and other study materials and cost of living have kept more youth out of school than ever before. The vocational schools of “manpower training centers” of the reactionary government for out-of-school youth are negligible token entities and also require high fees. And then finally jobs are too few for too many people with some education or skills.

All print and electronic media are lorded over by the Marcos press monopoly. Fascist censorship is thoroughly imposed on them. The abolition of the media advisory council makes no difference; the Philippine print media council and the DND office of civil relations continue to perform its functions. Above everything else, all the principal newspapers, magazines and TV-radio stations are owned by the Marcos-Romualdez kinsmen and proteges. They set the themes and

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patterns of fascist propaganda serving foreign and feudal interests. They pollute the atmosphere with the grossest of lies which cannot fool the people and which only raises the people's wrath against the fascists.

Social development? The answer to this question is already found in the answers to the previous questions. At this point, it is apt to stress the outstanding characteristic of the social situation.

Never in the semicolonial and semifeudal society of the Philippines has there been a polarization of social forces as now. Class contradictions have sharpened at an exceedingly rapid rate. The toiling masses of workers and peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are in that order daily being pushed to the extremist plight by the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. Official terrorism is inflicting deep wounds that cry for redress. The very gimmicks concocted and invoked by the terrorist regime to solve the people's sufferings are measures to exacerbate it. The people's consciousness and actions are clearly developing in accordance with the law that only armed revolution can overthrow armed counterrevolution. The revolutionary armed struggle is moving forward at a steady pace, and the revolutionary underground is flourishing all over the country.

The political and economic crisis has led to splits among the reactionaries that are far more serious than before Proclamation No. 1081. Joining the ranks of those reactionaries directly offended by the Marcos fascist gang since the start of the fascist martial rule are those reactionaries now finding themselves taken advantage of in the attempt of the fascist regime to raise foreign exchange by increasing controls and exactions on the trading of the country's primary exports. Only Marcos' own small group of reactionaries is being assured of flourishing on the spoils of fascist rule.

The ruling system is abursting; all its limits are being exceeded. While the fascist dictatorship is the result of a political and economic crisis that could no longer be handled in the old way, it has become the cause for the worsening of the same crisis. We are living in a period of one social upheaval after another within the ruling system. We are on the eve of a revolutionary upheaval that will finally bring forth social emancipation and national liberation.

Self-reliance? Independent Foreign Policy?

The fascist regime is in fact and by policy dependent on and servile to US imperialism internally and externally. Contrary to its lip service to self-reliance, it has outbid other reactionary cliques in serving US monopoly capitalists and has depended mainly on US direct investments and loans and on US military support and protection.

Even without any new treaty replacing the lapsed Laurel-Langley Agreement, the US imperialists have gotten more than what they want from the prefascist Marcos investment laws, the Marcos constitution and other fascist acts.

In calling for “negotiations” on the military treaties between the United States and the Philippines, the fascist dictatorship is careful to affirm as a constant policy the role of US imperialism in providing the Philippines with a “nuclear umbrella” and in “protecting” the sea lanes and air routes in the country and its vicinity. We must recognize too that calling for negotiations on said military treaties is an old trick of the reactionaries in beating down the growing demand of the people for independence from US imperialism.

The fascist regime has actually put specific limits on its supposed attempt to seek better terms in its military relations with the United States. There will be no subtraction from US extraterritorial rights; US troops on duty inside and outside the US bases will still be outside Philippine jurisdiction. What is demanded is merely the turnover of parts of the US military bases for real estate speculation by the fascist clique. The demand for rent can be laid to rest if the fascist clique is assured of continuous financial support by the United States. Also the demand that the Philippines be not inhibited by the military assistance pact from purchasing armaments from countries other than the United States can be laid to rest if the United States assures the fascist clique of abundant military supplies at low prices or through loans or grants.

The demand for an “automatic retaliation” clause in the mutual defense treaty only goes to show that Marcos the puppet wants even to outpope the pope. All that he does after all is to play on leverages within the limits of puppetry to US imperialism. His single purpose is to assure himself of abundant US financial and military assistance so that he can better retain himself in power.

The rapid expansion of Japanese direct investments and trade with the Philippines during the period of Marcos rule has created the

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illusion that the economic dominance of the United States over the Philippines has been eroded to some considerable extent. This illusion is far from reality. There is a considerable part of Japanese investments tied up with and under the control of US multinational companies. Trade figures showing that Japan is getting ahead of the United States are misleading. US multinational companies or US-Japanese firms dominate Philippine-Japanese trade. Moreover, the world crisis of capitalism is intensifying contradictions among capitalist countries and US-based companies are now pushing hard on their foreign trade to beat down companies that lie outside of their control.

While Japan does not yet go beyond her defensive posture and does not take an aggressive course, Soviet social-imperialism poses itself as a bigger threat to the Philippines and to the Philippine revolution. This superpower has a vast military and economic apparatus for imperialist expansion and aggression. It has already started to make a foothold in the country. In the whole of Southeast Asia, we are witness to the cunning bear trying to swagger in while the preying eagle seems to be flying away although the Philippines is still very much in its shadow.

What is actually creating most the illusion that the Philippines is taking an independent course in its foreign policy is the grave local economic and political crisis and the crisis of the world capitalist system, the defeats of US imperialism and the intensified contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony. Under the stress of these, the fascist regime was first compelled to take a friendly posture towards the Arabs and Palestinians. Then, it had to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the People's Republic of China. Also, since the defeat of US imperialism and its puppet regime in Indochina, it has been anxious about having good relations with the Indochinese countries.

The irreversible and irresistible trend of history has compelled the Philippines to take the stance of being one among the third world countries. There is not much choice because US imperialism itself is isolated inside and outside the United Nations and more importantly cannot provide for everything to the Philippines and to the fascist regime. Moreover, US imperialism itself wants the Philippines to serve as its infiltrating agent in the ranks of the third world countries.

At the time of the October war in the Middle East, the fascist regime started to place the Philippines on the side of the Arabs and

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Palestinians because not to do so was to place the country in the oil embargo list and deprive itself of room for maneuver in dealing with the Moro National Liberation Front. US imperialism was more than willing to let the fascist regime make the Philippines lead in the oil embargo. In fact, there was no end to US military bases getting oil from the Middle East because of the Philippine leak. The US oil companies went so far as to play along with the fascist regime in the establishment of the Philippine National Oil Company.

The fascist regime has kept a double face in relations with the Arab countries. It keeps on echoing the US propaganda that the inflation is the result of oil price increases and Arab profligacy and obscuring the fact that the oil price increases have been merely the result of the inflation generated by US imperialism and the world capitalist system. It also obscures the fact that the US oil cartels are the ones unduly raising oil prices vis-a-vis the Philippines.

In establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the People's Republic of China, the fascist regime has been most concerned about the shrunken market and depressed prices of traditional Philippine exports in the world capitalist market and also about having an additional source of oil, food and other commodities which are not too expensive elsewhere.

The fascist regime has become so desperate as to go ahead of the United States in casting away the Jiang clique and go so far as to agree to the antihegemony clause against the two superpowers in the Beijing communique. The Philippine crisis and the crisis of the world capitalist system has become so deep and turbulent that dependent countries like the Philippines have to scramble on their own.

Even before the fascist martial rule, it was already clear to all the reactionary parties that Philippine foreign policy must become broader in the face of the worsening crisis and that China was one country with which the Philippines could have relations of equality and mutual benefit. The fault of the fascist regime is that it delayed these relations.

It is idle for the fascist regime to spread the intrigue that the Philippine revolution led by the Communist Party of the Philippines has been adversely affected by the establishment of Sino-Philippine relations. We have always held that country-to-country relations is one thing and that party-to-party relations is another and that the Philippine revolution has no other way of developing except on the basis of internal conditions.

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The resounding victories of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao-tian peoples in their revolutionary armed struggle against US imperialism and its running dogs have had a tremendous impact on the whole of Southeast Asia, not to speak of the entire world. US imperialism is on the wane and it will no longer do for any country to always tag along with it as in the old days.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) has proven to be completely useless to the reactionaries and to US imperialism. Even the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), originally designed to promote a regional "free trade" zone in the service of US multinational companies and a reserve force behind the SEATO, has been profoundly affected by the world crisis of capitalism and the defeats of US imperialism.

The ASEAN members are now being compelled by the depression in their traditional exports to look up to and act according to the example set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in defending itself against inflation and recession.

The catchphrases of "peace and neutrality" is turning out objectively to mean opposition to the warmongering of the two superpowers and detachment from both superpowers.

The struggle for hegemony over Southeast Asia is intensifying between the two superpowers, as the world crisis of capitalism is worsening. But the Southeast Asian countries are increasingly finding affinity and common interest as developing countries against the two superpowers. The longstanding scheme of US imperialism, highlighted by the "Nixon doctrine," is to let Japan play the role of fogleman in Asia in behalf of US interests. In exchange, she is supposed to be well accommodated in Southeast Asia. But as events are turning out, she has to look out for herself as US imperialism, like the other superpower, is compelled by crisis to become less accommodating to her and become more rapacious.

Within and outside the United Nations, the unity and militancy of the third world countries are intensifying against the two superpowers. Standing firmly against the world capitalist crisis and the hegemonism and arms race of the two superpowers, the developing countries have united on a wide range of issues in defense of their state sovereignty and national independence and have only recently deepened their unity by adopting the comprehensive anti-imperialist resolution on development and international economic cooperation

aimed at establishing a new international economic order. The United Nations, once monopolized by US imperialism and then by the two superpowers, has changed drastically upon the increased membership of developing countries which must find their common as well as independent ways in coping with the oppressive and exploitative schemes of the two superpowers and the increasing deterioration of the capitalist world.

Though everywhere in the world the two superpowers cast their shadow on every issue, Europe is inexorably the central cauldron of their contention. It is here where their clashing military and economic interests are concentrated. Even as the “final act” of the conference on European security and cooperation (CESC) has just been signed, the two superpowers’ contention for hegemony over Europe has become even more intense and vicious. “Detente” is mere cover-up for this contention and is calculated to lull the people. But to no avail. The people of the world have seen too much hypocrisy in such artifices as the nuclear test ban and nonproliferation treaties and the strategic arms limitations talks to know better.

As the two superpowers become increasingly engrossed with Europe, and are effectively shunted off the third world, especially Asia, the Filipino people like the peoples of the rest of Southeast Asia enjoy better conditions for waging revolution. Should the two superpowers start a world war, it can only turn out to be the worst for both of them. The best possible preparation against war that the Filipino people can make is to persevere in armed revolution under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of a proletarian party, with a short-range and long-range view of things.

Heighten the Revolutionary Struggle!

After three years of fascist martial rule, we must be even more resolved to unite and to fight the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. We must heighten the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle. The national democratic revolution must be carried out more militantly than ever before. The broad masses of the people demand so.

The objective conditions within the country and in the world are more favorable than ever before for pushing the Philippine revolution forward. The subjective forces of the revolution, with the Communist

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Party of the Philippines at the helm, must be strengthened and enlarged in order to take full advantage of such conditions. The correct ideological and political line must be carried out with ever increasing force and effectiveness.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must raise the level of its ideological, political and organizational strength. The New People's Army must intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and carry out the appropriate steps towards agrarian revolution more vigorously than ever before. The broad united front must forge ahead upon the growth of the organs of political power and mass organizations in the guerrilla bases and the various underground organizations in the guerrilla zones and the completely white areas.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is absolutely correct as the theoretical foundation of our Party. And we must do well to apply it to the concrete conditions of the Philippine revolution. Under the general line of the national democratic revolution, we must do intensive social investigation among the masses, draw from them their needs and demands and then arouse and mobilize them.

Even while doing our work well but especially when we do not do it well, we must do self-criticism and seek the criticism of others. We can always improve our work even when we are doing it well. We owe it to the people to rectify our errors and shortcomings when we do not do our work well. We must learn to pose problems and arrive at solutions whenever we sum up our work.

So long as we do our political and organizational work well within the New People's Army and in the localities, in the countryside and in the cities, we can increase the membership of the Party by drawing in the ever emerging advanced elements and by following reasonable standards. We must always develop a Party core in every unit of the revolutionary mass movement.

There is now a Party organization in every region of the country. The Party cadres and members here should raise their own personnel and resources without let-up, achieve self-reliance and be able to find their own bearing even when subjected to the most vicious enemy onslaughts. Every regional Party organization outside of Manila-Rizal should concentrate on and be deeply involved in the revolutionary armed struggle and therefore in work among the peasant masses.

The Central Committee is responsible for central leadership, ideological and political; for concentration of personnel and resources at

the most strategic points in the country; for coordination of all regional forces and for seeing to it that the nationwide revolutionary struggle rises from one level to another.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization and the urban Party organizations in the other regions should do well their work among the urban poor, the workers, the urban petty bourgeoisie and other positive forces and should continuously be able to make available personnel and resources for various lines of work in the countryside.

Everywhere in the country, we must be able to distinguish and combine the legal, semilegal and illegal forms of struggle in defending the people and promoting the armed struggle. While stressing work in the countryside, we must be able to coordinate it with work in the towns and cities. One inspires the other; one helps the other.

Armed struggle is the main form of our revolutionary struggle. Thus, the New People's Army is the main form of organization under the leadership of the Party. The fascist reign of terror has stressed to us the principle that armed revolution is our central task and that it is the best possible answer to armed counterrevolution. We must persevere in people's war.

Our main strategy is to encircle the cities from the countryside. We are at present strategically on the defensive but we can launch tactical offensives that we are sure of winning. The main form of our warfare throughout the country is guerrilla warfare. We must have a flexible strategy and maintain the initiative by skilful employment of such operational principles as concentration, dispersal and shifting.

We must give priority to developing guerrilla bases on well-inhabited mountainous and hilly terrain. This is suitable to our kind of warfare. Here we can give full play to the principle of luring the enemy in deep and to the use of such weapons as bolos, spears, crossbows, traps, grenades, landmines and shotguns. The essential point is to make up for our inferior weapons with the superior number of people fighting on favorable terrain to defeat enemy units armed with superior weapons.

We must follow the principle of advancing in waves. A guerrilla zone must have its anchor in a guerrilla base. Our expansion work should be based on our consolidation work. The former should not be too far ahead. We should aim to have one consolidated barrio for every one, two or three barrios that are newly under our influence. So much is accomplished by relying on the masses, by entrusting them with tasks

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responsive to their needs and aspirations and by developing cadres in their midst.

Whenever a barrio organizing committee is formed, groups of local activists must be called forth to form mass organizations for peasants, youth, women and children, and whenever there is a basis, for workers and fishermen. As soon as possible, the barrio militia and committees for organization, education, economy, defense and health may be formed.

The cadres from the outside should give full play to the initiative of the local non-Party activists. Within a period of six months, a local Party branch should be established at the core of these local activists. When it is time to inaugurate the barrio revolutionary committee, the barrio people should be able to say that in the main they are the ones who have achieved it.

Because the main content of our revolution at the present stage is the struggle for land, we should give the highest priority among the mass organizations to the peasant association. The peasant masses are eager to have their own association, especially as a result of the antipeasant activities under the bogus land reform of the fascist regime.

In the frontier areas, inhabited by the poor settlers and original inhabitants who have their own individual lots or communal lands, the peasant association can stand to defend the people against landgrabbers, get fair terms from lenders of money and grain and from merchants, and promote savings, exchange of labor and mutual aid.

To broaden the support of the people in the antifascist struggle and make a widely accepted beginning even among the tenants, we may allow 20% rent of the current actual crop to the small landlords and our rent reduction campaign would still be far superior to any terms of rent under the old tenancy system and the so-called leasehold system of the reactionary government.

To give way to the lending of money and grain and at the same time achieve the elimination of usury, we may allow interest rates between one-half to two percent per month, a far cry from the usurious rates of 50 to 200% per season (a period of only three-four months). Especially in guerrilla zones, which are much affected by inflation, we must have a flexible credit policy that eliminates usury but at the same time encourages those who have surplus cash or grain to lend at fair terms what they can to those in need.

An Assessment of the Fascist Martial Rule after Three Years

To lessen the money costs of production and promote production, we should encourage such methods of labor exchange as the *suyuan*, *damayan*, *bayanihan*, *turnuhan*, *bataris* and the like. While eliminating usurious practices, we should promote savings by the peasant family for their own subsistence and production budgets and also cooperative projects of the peasant association.

The peasant masses firmly support us whenever under our leadership they improve their livelihood. We should also seek the improvement of the workers' lot even as we draw taxes from their employers. We must develop allies who can give us a wide range of support. To guarantee that our armed units will not starve or unduly increase the people's burden under the most adverse conditions, the people's army must engage in production and keep grain stocks of its own.

To get the broadest mass support, we must develop the national united front. By building the organs of democratic political power in the countryside, the Party links the proletariat with the peasantry and thereby lays down the most reliable basis for the national united front. Such organs of political power must also be in line with the antifeudal united front, whereby the Party relies mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, wins over the middle peasants and neutralizes the rich peasants.

The Preparatory Commission of the National United Front is working for the broadest possible national united front participated in by the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Significant groups and personages representing these classes and strata are already developing an extensive revolutionary underground under the aegis of this commission.

Progressive sections of religious organizations have become active in the struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. We must also work towards the disintegration of the reactionary armed forces. We should not leave them only to the reactionary cliques. Especially as there is yet no open war among these reactionary cliques in Luzon, the Visayas and the greater part of Mindanao, we must pay attention to sending revolutionary propaganda into the midst of the enlisted men, trainees, lower officers and those about to be conscripted.

Abroad, there is a wide range of Filipino organizations in support of our revolutionary struggle. They should expand their following among

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overseas Filipinos and amplify cooperation with foreign friends in the spirit of fighting US imperialism and its running dogs in the Philippines.

World opinion in favor of the Philippine revolution must be enhanced. The demand for nonintervention by the imperialists, respect for democratic rights, the cessation of fascist barbarities and the release of political prisoners in the Philippines must be consistently raised before the people of the world. We shun dependence on foreign aid. But we welcome such concrete assistance as would supplement our revolutionary war effort and relieve the victims of fascist depredations.

The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique has been isolated from the very start and is unceasingly being further isolated. It will not last very long. The fascist dictator has brought the people's wrath not only on his own head but also on the entire ruling system and the imperialist overlords. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the national united front are developing steadily to make sure that the crisis and disorder of the ruling system is turned into a revolutionary upheaval in the end.

Unite to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the national united front!

Carry on the Philippine revolution!

★ ★ ★

Long Live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, December 26, 1975.

It has been seven years since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The concrete practice of the Party in pushing forward the Philippine revolution has been exceedingly militant and fruitful.

The achievements of the Party consist of giving a vital national form to Marxism-Leninism and clarifying the general line of the people's democratic revolution; forging an unbreakable unity through criticism and self-criticism and through resolute struggle against the enemy; defeating the revisionist renegade line of the Lavas and the Tarucs; disseminating the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao; applying democratic centralism and nourishing the committee system and collective life among its members; recruiting its members from the ranks of revolutionary mass activists and Red fighters; creating nine regional Party organizations which cover the entire country; establishing the New People's Army soon after the Party reestablishment and laying down the strategy and tactics of the people's war in the Philippines; developing guerrilla warfare in well chosen areas in every region outside Manila-Rizal; building mass organizations, full-time guerrilla units and local armed forces, local organs of political power and various types of underground organizations; and arousing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people on a scale unprecedented in the entire history of the old merger party that was liquidated in 1955 by the Lava revisionist renegades.

It is very heartening that the Party has succeeded since early 1973 to deploy to and recruit most of its members from the countryside and the regions outside Manila-Rizal in the spirit of developing the armed struggle as the main form of struggle against the ruling system. It is equally heartening that by an accurate accounting the strength of the New People's Army under the absolute leadership of the Party has grown on a nationwide scale from March 29, 1969 to September 21, 1972 and from this latter date to the present. Severe setbacks have

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been suffered in some regions at various times during the period of fascist martial rule but these have not brought down the general level of armed activity and have been more than compensated by both recovery and expansion.

The achievements of the Party are paid for in blood and in many forms of sacrifice on the part of the heroic masses and Party members to whom we must pay the highest tribute. There is not a single segment of the Party, not a single regional organization especially, which has not come under the tremendous pressure of vicious enemy attacks, including the most unbridled fascist onslaughts during the last more than three years. Lack of vigilance, isolation from the masses and reluctance to shift when necessary have resulted in unnecessary sacrifices.

We are on the whole well-tempered and resilient in the face of enemy onslaughts and capable of growing in strength and advancing the revolutionary cause. But ours is still a small party with capability falling far short of fulfilling the gigantic tasks of the revolution and the urgent demands of the masses. Whether in the guerrilla fronts or nonguerrilla fronts, in rural and urban areas, or elsewhere, all Party members must seize the hour and the day to perform the deeds that cry out to be done. There is no room for complacency.

The road of revolution, especially an armed revolution fought in our specific conditions, is not a straight and well-paved boulevard. It is rough and has many twists and turns. It is a grave mistake for anyone to imagine that everything is set and ready like a plate of sumptuous food when one enters the Party or a line of work in the Party. We must know the historical background, current circumstances and perspective of our Party and those of any specific line of work. Even when a higher level of activity is reached, there is no end to the task of overcoming difficulties, rectifying errors and weaknesses and solving both big and petty problems.

The objective conditions for making revolution in the country and in the world are excellent more than ever before. All that we need to do is to enlarge and strengthen the subjective forces of the revolution on a self-reliant and independent basis in the country and strive to translate the worsening disorder in the ruling system and in the imperialist-dominated world into local advantages. The Central Committee is determined to provide ever more effective leadership to the Philippine revolution.

Long Live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

We must exert all efforts to enlarge and strengthen the Party, the New People's Army and the national united front. We must uphold the class leadership of the proletariat through the Party and expand the ranks of the Party on the basis of revolutionary activism, persevere in the protracted people's war as the main form of our revolutionary struggle, create more full-time guerrilla squads and local armed forces, carry out a genuine land reform program step by step, build the basic mass organizations in the countryside and cities, broaden the revolutionary forces through the united front and launch every possible popular movement along an antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist line.

The enemy can concentrate its forces only at a few points at every given time in the vast countryside. Thus, there are always large areas which are relatively favorable for us and where we can conduct social investigation and mass work; set up mass organizations, local armed forces, Party branches and organs of democratic political power; and launch mass movements centering on the land question. Expansive political work is possible, especially because the people's hatred for the fascist regime is deep-seated, widespread and now loudly spoken out. Things become more difficult for the enemy when the guerrilla forces make good use of mountainous and forested terrain in combination with the plains and illegal methods in combination with legal and semilegal methods.

By doing political work on ever widening scale among the peasant masses, including the farm and nonfarm workers, our small guerrilla units can give full play to their mobility, shiftability and capacity for surprise against the enemy. They would thus be able to seize the initiative and wipe out small and weak enemy units where they can and are least expected, while making the enemy punch the air and exhaust itself in areas where it launches massive and prolonged "search and destroy," "clear and hold," "base denial" and other campaigns and operations.

A storm far larger and stronger than the first quarter storm of 1970 and subsequent events is brewing in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Current manifestations show that the proletarian masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie will swell the ranks of those in democratic mass organizations but unlike before the former will far outnumber the latter. The Party must work hard to unleash the storm in the correct direction.

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The fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique is in an isolated and precarious situation. Marcos' dynastic ambitions in preparing Mrs. Marcos as his successor in case of his untimely death are futile and shameless. As the CIA "ins" in the Marcos regime are thinning out to join the CIA "outs," it does appear that the Marcos fascist gang is consolidating its position but it also appears that US imperialism is putting the saddle on another horse. The trick of changing horses is an old one in US-dominated countries. At any rate, the broad masses of the people can never lose sight of US responsibility for the fascist dictatorship.

Whoever is at the helm of the Philippine ruling system has to contend with an ever increasing political and economic crisis. So long as the counterrevolutionary evils of fascism, feudalism and puppetry to US imperialism persist, the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines will continue to resolutely carry out a revolution that accords with their national democratic interests.

It has become clear to everyone that Marcos has thoroughly undermined the very ruling system which he professes to save. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and other middle forces have been so oppressed that they are convinced of the necessity of revolutionary armed struggle not only against Marcos but also against the ruling system. Even the big compradors and big landlords who have been persecuted and squeezed out by the Marcos clique of big compradors and big landlords want to remove Marcos by armed force.

Marcos has exceeded the limits in foreign and internal borrowing and taxation for purposes of conjuring illusions and counterproductive projects, enriching himself and his clique and beefing up the reactionary armed forces. At the same time, the US and other foreign monopolies are accelerating their profit remittances through transfer pricing and are depressing the prices of the country's raw-material exports. There is runaway inflation. Unemployment and depressed wage conditions are rampant. The pesos is continuously being devalued at a rapid rate. Graft and corruption is blatant at every level of the civil and military apparatus of the state.

US imperialism will always find it more difficult than before to prop up any puppet regime in the Philippines. This superpower will continue to extort special military and economic privileges and accelerate the

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extraction of superprofits on investments, loans and trade and thereby arouse the people to wage ever fiercer resistance against it and its local stooges.

The handwriting on the wall spelling the doom of US imperialism is already clear in Southeast Asia as a result of its stunning defeat in the hands of the heroic Indochinese people. Definitely, there is a relative and temporary hardening of the US position in the Philippines. But as time passes, US dominance in the Philippines will be eroded and will ultimately crumble under the stress of a persevering revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people and various types of pressures from abroad.

The Philippine revolution enjoys the support of the revolutionary peoples abroad. It also derives support from the antifascist struggles of the third world. The rivalry of the two superpowers for world hegemony and their ceaseless war preparations on top of an insoluble crisis of the entire world capitalist system cannot but undermine US dominance in the world at large and in the Philippines.

While we recognize that between the two superpowers US imperialism is still the No. 1 enemy of the Filipino people, we must also be alert to the aggressive and expansionist character of Soviet social-imperialism. Right now, the Lava revisionist renegades who are the advance party of Soviet social-imperialism are surrenderees to and instruments of the Marcos fascist gang against the Party, the people and the revolution. But they talk among themselves about their pipe dream of someday making full use of Soviet social-imperialist support for bigger troublemaking.

After seven years of revolutionary armed struggle since reestablishment, the Communist Party of the Philippines has become well-rooted ideologically, politically and organizationally and is more determined than ever to grow in strength and advance further. It is confident of confronting all kinds of odds and overcoming them. By firmly and skillfully wielding the two powerful weapons of armed struggle and united front, the Party is certain of leading the Filipino people from one victory to another until the national democratic revolution is completely won. No superpower or local reactionary clique can stop the revolutionary movement of the masses who are aroused and mobilized to take their destiny into their own hands.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

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Down with US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

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Message on the Seventh Anniversary of the New People's Army

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, March 29, 1976.

It is with revolutionary pride and jubilation that we celebrate today the seventh anniversary of the New People's Army. We are more than ever resolved to carry forward the great red banner of the people's democratic revolution.

Conditions for taking the road of armed revolution are more excellent than ever. The political tyranny and economic crisis under the fascist dictatorial regime have roused the broad masses of the people to join the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement.

Under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has won political and military victories and has become tempered in the course of fighting a life-and-death struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship instigated and propped up by US imperialism.

The people's army now has guerrilla forces and fighting fronts in eight regions: northeast Luzon, northwest Luzon, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao. The overall rifle strength of this army has steadily grown from March 29, 1969 to September 21, 1972 and from this latter date to the present.

Ours is a guerrilla warfare grown from scratch only seven years ago in a small archipelagic country with a single dominant imperialist power. And for more than three years already, we have been confronted with a fascist dictatorship increasing its armed strength and intensifying its campaigns against us.

While US imperialism is on the decline in Southeast Asia, the whole of Asia and throughout the world, it is at the moment using the Marcos fascist dictatorship to harden its position in the Philippines and hold out against the powerful wave of revolution, especially after the brilliant victories of the Indochinese people.

Ours is a protracted war. We cannot change the balance of forces between us and the enemy overnight. We also have to consider that while US imperialism is increasing its military support for its local

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puppets we are not so privileged as to receive even only one percent of one percent of this from friendly forces abroad.

We have grown step by step and we shall continue to grow step by step nationwide and in every region. All Party members and Red fighters should remember this point and work hard to foster self-reliance. The whole indigenous movement cannot but rely on its parts. Certain parts in a better position should help the other parts in an inferior position.

We should grow in strength by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses and consequently defeating the enemy in battle. We must study and do well the political work crying out to be done and the strategy and tactics required by the specific characteristics and current level of our people's war. Our relatively advanced forces in certain regions should help our less developed forces in other regions in as many ways as possible.

The most outstanding problem posed by the Marcos fascist dictatorship is its massive and prolonged campaigns in our areas, attended by forced mass evacuations, reconcentration, massacres, assassinations, mass arrests, arson, looting and bombardments. Nevertheless, the enemy cannot cover the entire archipelago all at once with sufficient force to suppress us.

When the enemy is not yet launching any offensive in a given area, we must seize every moment to expand and consolidate our forces and wipe out the diehard agents and the bad influence of the enemy. When it launches its offensive, we must deprive it of any target and let it exhaust itself by punching the air. If we cannot smash an enemy campaign, we can at least frustrate it.

While the enemy is still casting its net on a given area, we must make every possible armed and nonarmed resistance that is to our advantage. But we must be ready to shift our main guerrilla forces when the enemy becomes too large and too concentrated and succeeds in moving out or controlling the entire population of that area.

When our forces in one area are under concentrated enemy attack, our forces elsewhere have the chance to increase their political strength or launch military operations that they are capable of winning. The nationwide expansion of our guerrilla forces is the price already paid for by the enemy in concentrating on certain areas like Isabela, Sorsogon, Aurora and Samar at varying times.

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The tactical offensives against enemy units that we are capable of wiping out take the form of ambushes and raids. To maintain full initiative and achieve the utmost success in these, we must give full play to the elements of surprise and quick movement. The entire war is prolonged but our operations strike like lightning.

From the very outset, we have been determined to develop guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale. This is the strategic way to divide the forces of the enemy in the archipelago and in the countryside. To have only one strategic base at this stage in our small archipelagic country would have been to invite a strategic defeat in one narrow front.

But in every region, we should guard against overdispersal and overconcentration of our small armed units. Our guerrilla forces must expand to assure themselves of sufficient area for maneuver but must also consolidate to assure themselves of deep popular support.

We must always suit our military actions to the level of mass organizing and consciousness already achieved. It is painstaking mass work that gives a popular character to our guerrilla warfare and lays the foundation for military victories. It is not simply the show of arms or the sound of gunfire that rouses the people's confidence in the New People's Army.

Adventurism and commandism are rooted in the failure to raise the level of mass organization and consciousness. We must shun these errors as much as we shun conservatism and tailism. Our armed propaganda squads or full-fledged guerrilla squads should not rest content either with their own existence or with the creation of something like the barrio organizing committee.

We must set aside the barrio organizing committee in accordance with the decision of the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee so as to give due emphasis to the peasants' revolutionary struggle and provide sufficient protection to the peasant revolutionaries at the early stage of organizing. When standing alone or when put ahead or on top of everything, the barrio organizing committee is vulnerable to the slurring over of the class struggle and even to the excessive influence of unreliable elements.

In place of this committee, we must create the peasants' organizing committee and its core group per sitio and barrio center as the principal means and measure of our expansion work and at the soonest time ensure that in a typical farming barrio we rely mainly on the poor

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peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and oppose the feudal tyrants.

To consolidate a barrio would then be to build the peasant association and the other mass organizations for youth and women; conduct mass campaigns, especially land reform; train the basic mass organizations as militia forces; and raise Party members from the ranks of the local activists to build a local Party branch and its Party groups in the mass organizations and sitios.

Consolidation work can be entrusted to as many local activists as possible and a minimum of experienced cadres from the outside. So long as the mass movements are launched according to the urgent interests of the people, we are going to have a surplus rather than a shortage of Party and non-Party cadres for every sphere of local work.

The peasants' organizing committee and then the leading organ of the fully-organized peasant association, instead of the now laid-aside barrio organizing committee, can serve as our trusted organ within a farming barrio prior to the establishment of the organ of democratic power composed of the representatives of the Party, the basic masses and allies.

We can carry out the united front policy in the countryside even without forming the barrio organizing committee. We can maintain the appropriate relations with allies in a barrio by dealing with them individually or with groups of their own or through legal and traditional associations where peasants of various strata are members.

Even where we do not yet have any armed force in the countryside, we must assign cadres to do mass work and underground work in the spirit of expansion. This kind of expansion is either a preparation for the emergence of new guerrilla forces in the area or for the shifting of guerrilla forces which cannot hold out in another area.

While we have insisted on developing our initial two or three fighting fronts in a region on favorable terrain, that is to say on forested mountainous and hilly terrain with some population and remote from the enemy's centers and main lines of communications, we must not neglect to develop coordination between our organized forces in the mountains and those in the plains; and between those in the barrios and those in the towns.

We must be adept at underground work everywhere and therefore in combining legal and illegal methods. Our small forces are fighting against far bigger forces within narrow fronts. We must adapt to the

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intensity and exceeding fluidity of our people's war. It is apt in many cases, especially in the plains and towns, to use as cover certain legally permitted organizations so long as these are not harmful to the people.

We are confident of winning in the long run. We go through the twists and turns in order to achieve one advance after another. Led by a Marxist-Leninist party, we shall always be able to overcome difficulties, rectify our errors and weaknesses, further strengthen ourselves and advance from one stage of development to another in our people's war.

The disorder in the world wrought by the intensifying contention of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is favorable for the advance of the world revolution. But the Philippine revolution can be won only with the Filipino people rising up and taking their destiny into their own hands.

Long live the New People's Army!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Strengthen our guerrilla forces and the basic mass organizations!

Conduct revolutionary mass movements, especially land reform!

Wipe out enemy units that we can and frustrate enemy campaigns!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!





Strengthen the Revolutionary Workers' Movement

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, May 1, 1976.

In celebrating this day, we are reaffirming our conviction to strengthen the revolutionary movement of the masses of workers in the realm of the national democratic revolution in the Philippines as well as the international proletarian revolution.

The objective conditions are far more favorable at present in strengthening the people's revolutionary movement within workers' ranks. The Party needs only to deepen its roots within the workers' ranks and arouse, organize and activate them in a more militant and systematic way than before.

The fascist dictator Marcos, with the prodding of US imperialism, is continuously worsening his political tyranny and heightening the economic crisis to the detriment of the working class and other sectors of Philippine society. There is no other recourse for the broad masses of the Filipino people but to wage a heroic and valiant struggle.

The fascist acts suppressing the right to strike, the right to unionize, the total elimination or curbing of workers' benefits which were attained through decades of painstaking struggles; the lowering of wage standards amidst galloping inflation and the rapid increase of unemployment—are conditions that drive the workers to advance their struggles, not only economically, but also politically.

The masses of workers are aware that the fascist dictator Marcos is doing everything to amass more profits for the comprador big bourgeoisie at the expense of gravely limiting workers' wages. Many of the "export industries" and "vital industries"—where the right to strike is forbidden by the fascist dictatorship—are owned by the comprador big bourgeoisie, represented by US and other foreign interests and the local big bourgeoisie-landlord class.

There is a rapidly increasing awareness among millions of workers that they should unite as a class to protect itself from these onslaughts and more importantly, to link up with other sectors in order to enhance the effectiveness of their struggle. Today, the unionized workers are coming out from the narrow view of unionism lorded over by union

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aristocrats, lieutenants of capitalism, since the early part of the 1950s due to the errors and irresponsibilities of the renegade Lava gang.

Instead of being overcome by fear, the masses of workers are being forced by the fascist dictatorship to unite and struggle in unison. The 30 workers' strikes held since October of last year until February of this year is just a signal of bigger storms to come from the Manila-Rizal area and other regions wherein the majority of workers are concentrated.

We dare to predict that before the end of the decade, a tumultuous storm will occur, a storm much bigger than the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and participated by more masses of workers than students. But this even will only take place if the Party—as the political party and vanguard of the working class—can effectively undertake its tasks.

In learning from the planned demonstration which failed to materialize on January 25, we should give more emphasis in doing secret political work within the ranks of the workers, and popularize mass discussions in exposing workers' demands; popularize more strikes, slowdowns, work stoppages, picketing and other forms of protests in various factories in preparation for bigger political demonstrations in streets, plazas, and even in front of Malacañang.

There are many holes and cracks that we can exploit in the dam put up by the fascist Marcos dictatorship to stem all political and economic struggles. The 30 workers' strikes have demonstrated the weaknesses of this apparatus. If the Party will give more time and effort, we can gather a big force that will burst the fascist dam.

The Party should strengthen revolutionary propaganda and agitation in order to heighten the political consciousness of all workers, whether organized into unions or not; whether the union is genuine or not. Moreover, it should undertake solid organizing work in the midst of such propaganda and organizing campaigns.

The scarcity of Party cadres assigned to work within the workers' ranks should not be a deterrent. The key to this problem is to rely on the workers themselves. That is why we created workers' committees long before martial law was declared. As an underground force, this type of committee can cope better with the present condition.

The workers' organizing committee is a tool for undertaking social investigation, developing revolutionary propaganda and studies in Marxist ideology, developing worker activists and mobilizing the

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majority of workers to create new unions or change old ones in order to truly serve workers' interests in politics and economics.

In starting a committee, we should have as members of the core, workers that have potential as revolutionary activists in their workplaces. These advanced workers should comprise the majority if not the total membership of the committee. The Party may assign one, two, or three cadres from the outside to this core who may in due time transfer their tasks to local worker activists. There can be from five to ten members who can constitute a committee. Under a committee, subcommittees should be created within the largest department or section in a certain workplace. Thus, a bigger number of workers can readily advance forward.

We should propagate revolutionary struggles with the goal of striving to embrace the workers around just demands and to provide them with political education before any open mass action can take place. In time of open mass actions, more worker activists will be tested and the Party can then further recruit and expand its ranks.

The workers' organizing committee is a temporary tool for expansion. This will be dissolved when worker activists have been integrated in the ranks of the local union and when a Party branch has been established in the factory.

Worker activists who are party members should not monopolize the official positions of the union nor should they place into leadership positions of the union all those who are heading up the local party branch. There are two reasons for this: one is that we do not want the party branch to be destroyed or paralyzed by the enemy when it attacks the union; another is that the democratic character of the union must be upheld.

There are two ways we can expand our organizational work and broaden the propaganda among the working masses. One is to expand from one factory to another to forge the unity among the working masses. Another is to mobilize workers to form mass organizations in their communities so that they can reach other workers from other factories.

By being active in organizing their local communities, the workers can unite not only among their fellow workers but with other oppressed and progressive sectors of the population like the urban petty bourgeoisie. They can assist in the process of uniting workers' organizations with other organizations in the democratic movement.

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In many communities of the Manila-Rizal area and other cities, the vast majority of workers should be able to fight off attacks of the fascist dictatorship that uses the barangays against them. Last January 25, the fascist dictatorship ordered the barangays to carry sticks and wait for workers who were scheduled to march from different points of the city.

The working masses can turn the table around and defeat the enemy's tactics of pitting workers against each other. The barangay can be used as a forum voicing out demands and complaints against the fascist dictatorship.

Under the leadership of the Party, the working masses should be able to effectively unite with other progressive classes and sectors of the population in the city in order to broaden and expand the antifascist and anti-imperialist democratic movement. The working masses are the largest, most productive but most oppressed, most concentrated, most progressive, and most important force of the democratic movement in the city. However, they need allies, just as their allies need them, in order to expand and mobilize the antifascist movement.

As an organization of the working class, the Party is working closely with the peasant masses to advance the worker-peasant alliance, which serves as the basis for the broadest national and revolutionary united front. Even if they maintain their jobs in the city and wage revolutionary struggles in their workplaces, the workers should realize their relationship to the peasant masses, and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.

The revolutionary workers' movement, although primarily legal for a long time, is a powerful political support for the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. The workers must continue to undermine and shake the enemy resolutely. The working masses must continually undermine and shake the enemy which it daily surrounds in the cities.

At present, the revolutionary workers' movement can provide concrete support for the revolutionary armed resistance in the countryside. Party cadres who are workers are warmly received in the countryside. They should systematically be sent there, especially in regions where they grew up or established roots. They can also collect funds, medical and military supplies, medicine, clothing, etc., to be sent to the countryside.

In the distant future, general strikes or general uprisings of workers in the cities will be launched in coordination with general offensives

Strengthen the Revolutionary Workers' Movement

of the New People's Army. The workers should realize the great task they must carry out to accomplish the seizure of state power nationally. After the seizure of state power and after the national democratic revolution, the historic task of the working class will intensify more in the stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In raising the political consciousness of the workers, it is not enough to tell them of their great role and task in the Philippine revolution; we should also raise their enthusiasm by relating the glorious history, the revolutionary victories and continuing struggle of the proletariat and people of other countries and encourage them to contribute to the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the whole of mankind against the two imperialist superpowers and all forms of reaction and opportunism.

There are many twists and turns along the revolutionary path. No major victories are achieved by the proletariat without sacrifice and suffering. We should be determined to accomplish our just goals and do everything we can. We are sure to win victory.

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Our Urgent Tasks

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This is a statement of the urgent tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the light of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee and the most recent circumstances. Here included are the conditions, forces, methods, trends and reasons involved in carrying out such tasks.

We must unite wholeheartedly and firmly to carry out these tasks for the single purpose of winning the life-and-death struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and in the process carry forward the people's democratic revolution in a comprehensive way.

Each of us in the Party must take as much assignment and responsibility as possible, fearing neither hardship nor sacrifice and always devoting ourselves to serving the people. All of us must exert the utmost effort to lead our people towards national liberation and social emancipation.

1. Carry Forward the Antifascist, Antifeudal and Anti-imperialist Movement!

We must resolutely carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement. This is the current combative expression of our general line of people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is the main force of armed counter-revolution and is ruthlessly conducting a civil war. Thus, we must give first place to the antifascist movement. We must do everything we can to push forward the democratic armed revolution against the fascist armed counterrevolution.

Everywhere in the country we must focus on the abuses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. In the entire semicolonial and semifeudal history of the Philippines, there is no regime more infamous than this for the political tyranny and economic crisis it has unleashed against the broad masses of the people.

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The “new society” (variably calling itself “constitutional authoritarianism,” “crisis government” and now lately “new democracy”) is but the old society gone far worse and far more intolerable. The reactionary state has shorn itself of all its bourgeois democratic embellishments and is nakedly acting as the coercive instrument of the big comprador-landlord-bureaucrat clique of Marcos and US imperialism.

We have the Marcos fascist dictatorship as the narrowest and weakest target on which to concentrate the broadest and strongest possible attack by the people. But to achieve the most profound, most wide-ranging and most forward results in the antifascist movement, we must deliberately and clearly link it to the antifeudal and anti-imperialist movements. It is only thus that we can effectively strike at the very essence and main body of the reactionary state.

Otherwise, we would be merely calling for the restoration of formal democratic rights and worn-out processes of the ruling system. Like bourgeois democrats, and not proletarian revolutionaries, we would be going after forms and we would be missing the content of a people’s democratic revolution.

To deepen the antifascist movement, we must vigorously wage the antifeudal movement. By doing so, we develop the main force for overthrowing or causing the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We respond no less to the main demand of the people’s democratic revolution and win the abiding interest of the most numerous class, the peasantry, in the armed revolution.

To raise the level of the antifascist movement, we must vigorously undertake the anti-imperialist movement. We must make US imperialism pay the ultimate price for having masterminded the Marcos fascist dictatorship and having been the most aggrandized by it. The longer Marcos stays in power, the stronger the anti-imperialist movement should become.

So long as we pay comprehensive attention to the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement, there is no chance for US imperialism and the local reactionaries to confuse the people and derail the revolution one day by simply replacing the current fascist dictatorship with another.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is a measure of the weakening and desperation of the entire ruling system, rather than of strengthening and stability. This open terrorist rule is the absolute proof that the ruling classes can no longer rule in the old way.

The political crisis continues to worsen. The split among the reactionaries has continued to widen and become more virulent. The revolutionary mass movement, under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, has proven to be resilient and has expanded and intensified, instead of being crushed by the fascist counterrevolution.

Though at first taken by surprise by the ultra-rightist coup, Marcos' political rivals have gone on to disseminate anti-Marcos propaganda in their so-called bailiwicks and maneuver for influence in the very same reactionary armed forces manipulated and used by Marcos for his fascist autocratic purposes. In the years to come, the gun will become more important than ever in the conflicts of the reactionaries.

The alliance of the Macapagal, Aquino, Lopez and Manglapus groups is not idle. Though US imperialism continues to get what it wants from the Marcos fascist dictatorship, it has already assured this alliance that it should do what it can to stand in reserve in the face of Marcos' gross unpopularity. US public opinion and certain US business interests recognize the fact that even as the Marcos fascist dictatorship is a short-term asset for US imperialism, it is a long-term liability.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has given no quarters to its political rivals. The ultrarightist coup of the executive against coequal branches of the reactionary government, against the constitutional convention and against all kinds of opposition carried extremely vindictive measures. Properties have been extorted for the personal gain of Marcos and his henchmen. The Marcos press monopoly and other Marcos assets in far larger enterprises consist mainly of robbed property.

The series of fake referendums have in progression served to merely endorse the arbitrary martial law proclamation and the autocratic rule of Marcos. The "new" constitution, the indefinite nonconvening of the interim national assembly, the supplantation of national and local elections by presidential appointment and the projection of Imelda as second-in-command and successor of the fascist dictator close every peaceful avenue to political power for Marcos' political rivals.

The broad masses of the people have suffered most from the fascist counterrevolution. More than 95% of victims of illegal mass arrests and mass detention, massacres, assassination, torture, forced mass evacuation, illegal searches and looting, sexual molestation, bombardment, extortion and the like come from the ranks of ordinary people. Hundreds of thousands have become victims of direct physical abuse by the fascists.

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At least three million people have been displaced, especially in the countryside, through fascist intimidation. People have been forced to abandon their homes, crops and small landholdings due to enemy “counterinsurgency” campaigns, expansion of corporate farming, “infrastructure” projects and real estate speculation.

The elimination or drastic diminution of political and economic rights and opportunities is causing incalculable suffering to the broad masses of the people. In such a situation, more people are liable to suffer oppression of the most direct and brutal kind.

The mass organizations of national democratic character and the critical press are banned. The workers are deprived of their right to strike and the effective exercise of their trade union rights. The right of the peasants to self-organization is sabotaged by military operations and by the imposition of the “samahang nayon.” The students, together with their teachers, are under close guard and even student governments and publications are prohibited.

Every means of democratic expression is shut off. All forms of mass action opposing fascist, feudal and imperialist abuses are expressly prohibited. Even private conversations are liable to be considered “rumormongering.” Ownership and operation of even mimeographing machines and other minor printing equipment are also severely restricted. There are not only the written penalties but also the far more severe penalties imposed by the fascist torturers, murderers and extortionists.

Under the suffocating fascist martial rule, the broad masses of the people have no recourse but to fight back. They learn daily to resist their enemy. The Marcos fascist dictatorship has stood out as the best teacher by negative example. The learning process is so deep-going that the people increasingly detest not only the Marcos fascist dictatorship but also the entire ruling system.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has, instead of effecting “peace and order,” fanned the flames of armed resistance. The New People’s Army, led by the Party, has only strengthened itself and expanded in the face of fascist abuses and barbarities. There are now tested guerrilla forces of the people’s army in all regions outside Manila-Rizal.

The armed resistance for self-determination among the people of southwestern Mindanao has been ignited and fueled by the abuses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. This has constituted a great though

indirect support to the revolutionary armed struggle of the New People's Army.

A revolutionary underground is thriving all over the country. This is composed mainly of basic revolutionary forces led by the Party. Allied forces and other antifascist forces also have their own underground activities. In time to come, a powerful groundswell will overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is extremely isolated and under fire from all directions. Contrary to its wishes, it cannot be at the center of a "balancing act" between left and right. It is the ultra-right. It has made itself the target of a broad antifascist movement.

The economic crisis has rapidly worsened, making the core of the political tyranny more rotten everyday. This crisis is generated by the Marcos fascist dictatorship through its own profligacy and corruption, and its subservience to US imperialism which is shifting the burden of its crisis to a semicolonial dependent like the Philippines.

All our Party cadres and members must be well acquainted with the fast changing economic data in the country as a whole and in the local areas where they are, so that they can give clear substance to their propaganda and agitation.

Prices have been soaring since 1970 but these have been soaring even more rapidly since the imposition of fascist martial rule. Price increases have been by several hundreds of percent since 1972. Imported commodities lead the way. The repeated oil price increases obtained by the US oil companies alone have been a major factor in pushing up prices in the country.

Severe scarcities of locally produced commodities have been occurring and have been pushing up prices because the main focus of the fascist regime is to encourage production of raw materials for export and build up the "infrastructure" for it. Domestic prices of exportable commodities have risen so fast because exports are being made without prior attention to local needs. Food production is also grossly inadequate and food requirements are dependent on imports.

The incomes of the toiling masses are forced down to yield high profits to the US and other foreign monopolies and the local exploiting classes. Wage levels have sunk too far below the price of basic commodities. The wage increases recently announced by the fascist regime do not correspond to the inflation since 1970 and can be

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completely circumvented due to the loopholes provided by the anti-labor fascist regime.

It is openly admitted in watered-down statistics of the reactionary government that the purchasing power of the peso has gone down from 1965 to 1970 to 74 centavos and more rapidly from 1970 to 1975 to 33 centavos. This is bad enough. But the fact is that the purchasing power of the peso has certainly gone down to far less than 20 centavos.

According to no less than the National Economic Development Authority, the top economic agency of the fascist regime, a worker must earn ₱45.00 daily for his family to subsist. Another agency, the Private Development Corporation of the Philippines, has also arrived at the slightly higher figure of ₱46.00. Even when applied faithfully, the new minimum wage of ₱10.00, ₱9.00 and ₱7.00 for nonagricultural workers in Greater Manila, nonagricultural workers in the provinces and regular agricultural workers, respectively, are far below the level of subsistence.

Unemployment is more rampant than ever. Forty percent of the employable population is without employment. This exceeds the chronic level of 25% noted in 1970. Most of the unemployed are in the countryside, under the guise of being irregular farm workers. Many of the unemployed continue to flock into the cities to look for jobs that are not available.

There is no land reform whatsoever. It is a big hoax, obvious from the very start. The tenant masses have been merely offered to buy land from their landlords at prohibitive prices. The bogus land reform has been used as cover for divesting the tenant masses of their tenancy rights, for arranging high fixed land rent and promoting usury, for expanding corporate farming and for enriching the Marcos-controlled corporations on fertilizer, pesticide and farm equipment sales contracts with the reactionary government.

US and other foreign investors are encouraged to extract superprofits on their direct investments, loans and trade. Restrictions that should have fallen on US investments upon the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement have been overridden by obnoxious anti-national provisions of the Marcos constitution and presidential decrees enlarging those privileges already available to foreign investors in those foreign investments incentives laws before fascist martial rule.

US investments and assets amount to far more than the well-known figure of \$3.0 to \$4.0 billion and comprise 85% of all foreign investments. Ownership is often camouflaged by the various nationalities of US multinational firms.

The US monopoly capitalists, followed by the Japanese, have increased their direct investments, especially in banking, investment houses, mining, oil exploration, foreign and local trading, plantations, repackaging and reassembly, real estate and the like in accordance with their schemes of quick profit and misshaping the economy. The basic character of the economy remains as semifeudal as ever, restricted to being a producer of raw materials and consumer of finished products from abroad.

Foreign loans with usurious rates of interest and other onerous conditions are being rapidly unloaded on the Philippines by the imperialists. Whereas the foreign debt of the Philippines stood at \$2.2 billion at the end of 1972, accumulated through seven years of Marcos misrule, it now stands at more than \$5.0 billion after only three years of fascist rule.

This is already far beyond the critical point. New and bigger loans have been incurred to pay old debts, thus, there is no end to the enlargement of the debts. What is most silly is that those who take most advantage of these loans are the foreign investors and the Marcos clique of big compradors and big landlords.

The deficit in the balance of trade has gone beyond the \$1.0 billion level in comparison to the few hundreds of millions of US dollars three years ago. It is still mounting. A greater volume of exports at lower prices is being made, while a greater volume of imports at higher prices is being made. With their tighter stranglehold on the local financial system, the foreign monopoly capitalists are using foreign trading more rapaciously than ever before to camouflage the remittance of superprofits.

The deficit on the balance of payments keeps on rising. It went beyond the level of \$500 million at the end of 1975 and is now approaching the level of \$1.0 billion. As usual, bigger foreign loans are resorted in order to cover the deficit. Taking aside the private foreign exchange deposits in commercial banks, the international reserve fund of the Philippines is composed almost entirely of foreign loans in the process of being rapidly spent and replenished by new borrowing.

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A great deal of foreign loans incurred by the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been used to put up ill-planned and inflationary “infrastructure” projects beneficial essentially to the foreign investors and the local exploiting classes. The purpose is not only to make propaganda out of showy public works but also to enrich the fascist dictator and his henchmen through contract-pulling, kickbacks and real estate speculation. Marcos has controlling interests now in the major local construction firms and related companies.

The manipulation of public works is an old bureaucrat-capitalist method of self-enrichment which Marcos has indulged in an unprecedentedly colossal manner. “Infrastructure” projects are always priced high above the actual inflationary trend. A major part of the “cost” of every construction project represents the corruption of the fascist dictator and his top henchmen. The burden that is the fascist dictatorship’s profligacy and corruption is always passed on to the people in the form of higher taxes and higher toll charges or service fees.

The tax burden has increased abruptly so many times. This increased from ₱6.6 billion in 1972 to ₱14.3 billion in 1974 and has continued to rise. And yet revenues of the reactionary government fall far short of expenditures. The budgetary deficit for fiscal year 1974-75 is ₱5.0 billion, almost equivalent to the total budget of only a few years ago. Aside from foreign borrowing, the fascist dictatorship has had to resort to heavy local borrowing. At ₱20.7 billion in fiscal year 1974-75, the local public debt is now rapidly approaching ₱30 billion, skyrocketing from the 1972 figure of ₱9.7 billion.

The new development in the budgeting of the reactionary government under fascism is the rapid increase of appropriations for the military and the number one position of military expenditures. Before fascist martial rule, expenditures for public education and public works always vied for the top position, with those for the military running a poor third. Out of the total 1974-75 expenditures of ₱18.5 billion, the share of the military is more than ₱4.0 billion, including some ₱1.0 billion for intelligence.

On the whole, the expenditures of the reactionary government has been mainly for beefing up the personnel and equipment of the reactionary armed forces, increasing salaries and privileges of military officers, purchasing office materials and vehicles, acquiring public works equipment, paying private contractors, maintaining the general payroll, servicing public debts and the like. In every money transaction

involving the fascist dictatorship, there is the inevitable cost that goes to graft and corruption.

There is no economic development whatsoever. Deterioration is the precise word for it. The gross national product is no gauge for economic growth. The transactions of the reactionary government, the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes compose the bulk of this gross national product. Also, this can be no basis for per capita income. More than 90% of the people live the lives of the exploited workers and peasants.

The broad masses of the people are suffering the worst kind of life since the end of World War II. They demand their democratic rights and the improvement of their livelihood. With the Marcos fascist dictatorship resorting to brutal methods to escape responsibility, the broad masses of the people have no choice but to engage in various forms of resistance.

The workers are clamoring for higher wages and their right to strike. They must lift themselves from the miserable life of extremely low wages and the rapidly rising prices of basic commodities. Benefits hard-earned through several decades of workers' struggle have been eliminated or drastically reduced. While opposing the workers' interests, the fascist regime subjects the workers' pay checks to withholding taxes and various kinds of special levies. There is no way out but to undertake the strike movement.

Despite the fascist prohibitions, the masses of workers have gone on strikes, slowdowns, sit-downs, delegations, trooping offices, demonstrations and other forms of mass protest. The more than 70 workers' strikes and four street demonstrations between October last year and June this year is a signal for far bigger storms to come in Manila-Rizal and other areas. The workers have proven that they can stand firm against fascist intimidation and in many cases have actually won some of their demands.

The peasant masses are opposed to the rapidly rising costs of their subsistence and production, the military operations against them and the people's army, the higher land rent and loss of tenancy rights under the bogus land reform, the onerous conditions of the supervised credit system (Masagana 99), the heavy levies exacted under the samahang nayon and the barangay, the depression of their real income, the loss of homestead rights and the expansion of corporate farming.

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The soil for the revolutionary antifeudal movement and armed struggle in the countryside is more fertile than ever before. Everywhere the peasant masses welcome the people's army. Without this condition, the small and weak people's army would not have grown in strength and would have been crushed by the enemy. Even in cases where the Red fighters were forced out from an area by extremely large enemy forces, they immediately come upon a favorable situation in the area to which they shift.

The urban petty bourgeoisie are also hard-pressed by the economic crisis and feel abused by the antidemocratic policies of the fascist dictatorship. Their limited and often fixed incomes are ravaged by inflation. Those who own some small enterprises or practice some profession resent the ever-increasing taxes. The intelligentsia resent the Marcos press monopoly and are steadily gaining courage to speak out their minds and act accordingly.

The student masses and some of their teachers are stirring. Being the most concentrated section of the intelligentsia, apart from those in the government service who have to act more cautiously, they are steadily manifesting their resistance not only against the repressive conditions in campuses but also the rampant evils of the fascist puppet dictatorship in society as a whole. They are an effective link of the urban petty bourgeoisie to the toiling masses.

The national bourgeoisie are discriminated against in favor of the foreign monopoly capitalists. They are being forced into bankruptcy or absorption by the foreign monopolies to which even retail trading has been given back. The fascist dictatorship keeps on increasing the tax burden on them. They resent the fact that while taxes are collected from them, there is no effective representation of their interests.

There are groups and groups among the national bourgeoisie opposed to the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They are steadily speaking out their minds in legal organizations, forums and pamphlets. Some of these groups are secret in nature and hanker for some solution like the assassination of Marcos and the convening of the interim national assembly and lay themselves open to manipulation by another set of puppets of US imperialism.

Though the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been put up avowedly in the interest of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, the economic crisis has become so serious that spoils are becoming more and more limited for division among them. There is a growing

split between those who are satisfied with the Marcos fascist dictatorship and those who are not. This is fertile soil for the maneuvers of Marcos' political rivals. A case in point is the disenchantment of the bloc of sugar landlords after being deprived of a direct hold on exports and dollar earnings.

The objective conditions for making revolution are excellent more than ever before. The basic contradictions in Philippine society are intensifying. Instead of saving the ruling system, the Marcos fascist dictatorship has further jeopardized its very existence. All that is needed is to resolutely strengthen such subjective forces of the revolution as the Party, the New People's Army, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power.

2. Further Strengthen the Party and Rectify Our Errors!

We must further strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We have made some modest achievements on the basis of which we can advance further. But we have also had certain errors and weaknesses which we must rectify so that we will not be weighed down and dragged down by these and so that we will win more and greater victories.

The reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought constitutes a victory of profound and far-reaching significance in the Philippine revolution. We have set down and clarified the correct ideological and political line of the Party.

To set the Philippine revolution on the correct course, we have studied and researched into the history and circumstances of the Filipino people and the Party and put out the necessary documents and writings for the edification of all Filipino revolutionaries. In the process, we have successfully criticized and repudiated the longstanding revisionist lines of the Lavas and Tarucs which polluted and suffocated the old merger party.

We have disseminated the works and propagated the scientific revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and we have successfully criticized and repudiated Soviet modern revisionism and social-imperialism. Chairman Mao's works have been widely circulated, because they not only deal correctly and elaborately with the problems of a people's democratic revolution in a semicolonial and

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semifeudal country but also because they contain the latest and most comprehensive summing-up of the experience of the world proletariat and people.

To propagate the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, we have undertaken study courses, put out analyses of current national and international events, promoted further researches of national and regional scope and required social investigations and criticism and self-criticism as methods for raising our ideological level and improving our practical work.

In our ideological rebuilding, we have had to lay stress on studying basic Marxist-Leninist principles and combating the modern revisionism of the Soviet and local renegades. We have had to rely considerably on books dealing with successful revolutions led by fraternal parties abroad. We ourselves have had to go through more revolutionary experience than what we started with in order to deepen our grasp of Marxism-Leninism. And quite a number of our Party cadres are of petty bourgeois background who definitely have more book learning than experience.

Under these circumstances, the dogmatist tendency more than the empiricist has been most prominent among those ideologically in error. Instead of making concrete investigations and analyses in linking with the masses, there are some of us who would rather rest content with parallelisms, analogies, quotations and phrasemongering. There is even the notion that we do not deserve to be called revolutionaries if we cannot copy a successful revolution abroad.

There are also those who seem to grasp the basic principles and lessons derived from our criticism and repudiation of the Lavas and Tarucs but fail to grasp our own course of development and the different concrete circumstances that we are in. They fail to understand that we can advance only step by step and that we cannot apply on ourselves completely the same course of thinking and action demanded of the Lavas and Tarucs on the basis of forces available to them and circumstances obtaining at the end of World War II.

While the dogmatist tendency prevails among those in error, there are also those who remain immersed in their own narrow and limited experience either because they are given no chance of developing ideologically or are merely browbeaten or they systematically react to the dogmatist tendency with their own avoidance of theoretical study.

After more than seven years, our reestablished Party has gained enough experience to be in a new stage of knowing clearly the specific characteristics and specific requirements of our revolutionary struggle in the whole country and in the various localities. It is in this spirit that we call for rectification of ideological errors.

Those who have an advantage in book learning must link themselves closely to and learn from the toiling masses of workers and peasants and from our comrades who have an advantage in experience. At the same time, comrades who are of worker and peasant status must not shirk the responsibility of relating their experience to theory and asking that theory must be disclosed in a language easy to understand.

There is paucity of exchanges of worthwhile experiences within the Party, especially between our several regional Party organizations. To promote these, the Central Committee is putting out *Rebolusyon* as an internal and theoretical bulletin, exclusively for Party members. We intend to publish here, apart from statements and directives from the Central Committee, mainly documents emanating from regional Party conferences and articles that are the result of the application of Marxist theory in the course of concrete revolutionary practice, social investigations, study courses and criticism and self-criticism sessions.

We also intend to undertake conferences among representatives of various regional Party organizations and encourage the attendance in regional Party conferences of representatives of other regional Party organizations. In this way, the most detailed yet discreet exchanges of experience are made possible.

We urge all Party members to contribute to the general effort of giving Marxism a national form. We should disabuse ourselves of the idea that only a few theoreticians know theory and know how to apply it. We can triumph only if the entire Party consistently applies Marxist-Leninist theory on the concrete conditions of the Philippines revolution.

The Party has established its political leadership of the proletariat in the revolution by laying down, clarifying and carrying out the general line of people's democratic revolution. This is a great victory. We have made clear the character, the motive forces, targets and perspective of this revolution.

The character of the revolution is determined by its essential task, which is to liberate the people from foreign and feudal domination and establish an independent and democratic Philippines. Such a task can

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be accomplished only by waging armed struggle as the main form among the motive forces to isolate and destroy the target or enemy.

At the helm of the motive forces is the proletariat. It takes as its main ally the peasantry whose demand for land is the main content of the people's democratic revolution and from which the main contingents of the people's army can be drawn. The basic alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants is the solid foundation for the united front which must win over the urban petty bourgeoisie firstly and the national bourgeoisie secondly.

The targets of the revolution are the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Our current revolutionary struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship is more than a struggle against the ruling clique. In the course of fighting this clique, we must develop the strength to weaken the entire ruling system and then topple it in the end.

The perspective of the people's democratic revolution is socialism. The socialist revolution must begin upon the completion of the people's democratic revolution. Though we are ready to give concessions to the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie in a period of transition, we shall no longer pass through a full stage of capitalist development as in the case of the old democratic revolutions before the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In line with the people's democratic revolution, we have established the New People's Army and launched the revolutionary armed struggle. Our strategic line is to encircle the cities from the countryside and through a protracted period of time develop rural bases from which to advance to seize political power.

Like the Party, the people's army started from scratch and immediately launched revolutionary armed struggle. The people's army has grown in strength step by step, won military victories against powerful odds and won the hearts and minds of millions by its heroic deeds.

The people's army has been the main instrument of the Party in organizing the peasant masses. Hundreds of thousands of people in the barrios have come directly under the barrio organizing committees organized by our guerrilla squads and armed propaganda teams. We have established small guerrilla bases and far more extensive guerrilla zones, carried out mass movements and initiated land reform.

In the face of the fascist enemy, we have continued to organize and lead large masses of people. Even when our barrio organizing

committees collapse in one area due to a massive and prolonged enemy campaign, those in other areas increase to more than make up for the losses and even these losses are temporary, still open to recovery.

In support of the mass movement and armed struggle in the countryside, great mass movements have also been raised by the Party in the cities. The first quarter storm of 1970 and succeeding mass actions in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas have broadcast our revolutionary propaganda all over the country and have yielded to us a considerable number of Party and non-Party activists who have been shifted to the countryside or who continue to develop the revolutionary mass movement in the cities.

It is a matter of necessity in the countryside to expand at a rate fast enough to have a wide area for maneuver for our guerrilla forces. For the purpose, we have been setting up the barrio organizing committees. While we have required the organization of these committees to follow the policy of the antifeudal united front, many of these are so haphazardly organized that unreliable elements creep in, prevail over the poor and middle peasants and flaunt their functions while the enemy is not yet around.

The error of haphazard organizing oftentimes characterized by lack or insufficiency of social investigation and by yielding membership in the barrio organizing committee to whomever are the initial contacts in a barrio, leads on to another error. The work of consolidation is not attended to. The basic mass organizations for peasants, workers, women, youth, children and cultural activists are not organized and mobilized to ensure sustained all-round mass support for the revolution. Thus, the surrounding waters may be wide but shallow.

When we cannot apply the principle of combining a few cadres from the outside with many local activists, it is even very likely that the scope of our political work is narrow. Thus, we must handle well the relationship of expansion and consolidation, of making the guerrilla zone and the guerrilla base a good fighting front for us.

In cases of errors with disastrous results, the principal tendency has been adventurism or "Left" opportunism. With mass support wide or narrow but shallow there are those who engage in military actions against enemy troops and then when enemy reaction rises, they do not know where to go or the enemy catches up with them. They fail to recognize that to support and ensure the success of any important action, military or otherwise, requires painstaking mass work.

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There are petty-bourgeois elements who are still unremolded and who think that it suffices to beat the drum—make sweeping propaganda but forget to do solid organizational work among the masses—and who also think that the military action of a few courageous men must precede solid organizational work among the masses.

Relying on a mere committee dominated by unreliable but prestigious personalities has also spawned commandism. The chairman and the chief of defense of the barrio organizing committee often neglect to have any collective life within the committee. And in the absence of militant mass organizations, the trend is to order people around and make them do what is beyond their level of consciousness and organization.

While we oppose “Left” opportunism as the principal tendency among those of us in error, we must also be on guard against Right opportunism. Our insistence on taking the mass line, establishing the basic mass organizations and laying the foundation for a truly people’s war should not be twisted to mean the indefinite postponement of tactical military offensives even when conditions for them are already ripe.

There have been manifestations of the Right opportunist tendency in the countryside. To consciously let in unreliable elements in barrio organizing committees and relax with the transitory advantages that they provide is one. To enjoy the conveniences of one barrio and fail to venture out and do mass work in another barrio is another. To remain fixed on going after local bad elements and fail to push forward land reform and the armed struggle is still another.

In the cities, there is the “Left” opportunist notion prevalent among those of us in error that there can be no revolutionary struggle when there are no strikes, demonstrations and other conspicuous mass protest actions. They fail to recognize that it is perfectly revolutionary struggle to lay down the foundation for these higher forms of political action by doing solid organizational work among the masses.

There is also the notion among those of us in error that sweeping propaganda work suffices to mobilize the people. There is still another notion that the economic struggle of the workers can be slurred over, whereas we must grasp it at its own level and steadily raise it to the level of the political struggle.

There have also been instances of Right opportunism in a certain region. One is the proposal to superimpose the slogan demanding general election in the country on other slogans asserting the democratic

rights and interests of the basic masses. Another is making flimsy demands to avoid even only basic trade union demands and the necessary preparations for pushing them forward.

While we have pointed out that sweeping propaganda does not suffice by itself in revolutionary work, we recognize that it is of great importance and that without it mass organizing is without an advance notice and also without direction. We need to step up our propaganda work if we are to enhance our all-round revolutionary work. Our capacity for propaganda and agitation will certainly rise as the basic masses are well organized and activists from their ranks increase.

The corrective measures that we need to undertake in our political work will be dealt with more thoroughly in succeeding sections of this statement.

The membership of the Party is drawn generally from the ranks of activists of the revolutionary mass organizations and Red fighters of the New People's Army. It is clear that our membership is closely linked with the masses and embedded in the revolutionary mass movement. But up to now, our Party is mainly a cadre party. We have thus remained a small Party.

The Party started with less than a score of Party members coming from the old merger party and 75 prospective members in late 1968. The membership increased to several scores in 1969, to a few hundreds in 1970 and close to a thousand in 1971. Since 1972, we have had a few thousand members. But since 1973, we have had a slower rate of growth.

Our Party has become nationwide. Directly under the Central Committee, there were groups of Party members in Manila-Rizal, Central Luzon, Cagayan Valley and Southern Luzon in 1969 and 1970 with most members in the first two regions mentioned. Following the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in 1971, we started to build the regional Party committees and organizations. Now, we have nine regional Party organizations covering the whole country.

The majority of Party members are now under the regional Party organizations outside Manila-Rizal. In turn, the majority of these are in the countryside developing the revolutionary armed struggle. But the Manila-Rizal Party organization still remains the single largest Party organization. Though this regional Party organization has been giving cadres to the other regions, it has continued to grow.

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We realize that the growth of the Party is quite slow if we relate it to the large numbers of masses being led by the Party. At first it looks flattering that so few could lead so many and that strict standards are being applied on recruitment. But there are unflattering reasons for the slow growth.

Sectarianism, poor tasking and checkups, irregular and ponderous study courses and lack of recruitment planning are problems both in the cities and in the countryside which have restricted the organizational growth of the Party. We must solve these.

The outstanding reason for the failure of regional Party organizations outside Manila-Rizal to outstrip the membership of the Manila-Rizal Party organization is the failure to build the mass organizations and the mass movement in the localities. Without these, there can be no sound basis for establishing local Party branches. The mass organizations, aside from the people's army, should be the vast reservoir of revolutionary activists and Party members.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization should not be flattered and should not remain complacent about being the biggest single regional Party organization. In the last two years, there has been a tendency here for the membership to stagnate and even decrease. Just as we demand that local Party branches be set up among the peasants in the countryside, we demand that local Party branches be set up among the workers.

The fascist martial rule cannot be used as the main reason for the slow growth of the Party. The strictures of this tyrannical rule has been more than compensated for by the intense hatred and growing resistance of the broad masses of the people. In no year has the enemy struck down more than five percent of the membership of the Party. The Party should be able to achieve a high rate of growth because it is small and composed mostly of cadres, so long as we grasp the necessity and importance of having mass members of the Party from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

The Manila-Rizal-based national bureaus served positively from 1971 to 1973 not only as administrators of the city-based national mass organizations but also as schools for a considerable number of new party recruits. In the first year of martial rule, it also served positively to direct the orderly retreat of the mass organizations suddenly forced to go underground. But in 1974, it became very clear that the national bureaus had outlived their purposes.

It is admitted that the period of one year after the first year of martial rule and before their dissolution in July 1974 constituted a big delay which unduly restricted the disposition of good cadres for various regional Party organizations eager and ready to get them.

It remains our policy to expand the Party boldly on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement and without letting in a single undesirable. We must follow the reasonable standards set by the Party constitution and we must increase the number of Party members who are of worker and peasant status. In this regard, we must keep in mind that we do not wish to be an exclusively cadre party.

We want a large mass of Party members who are of worker and peasant status because this is a measure of the effectiveness of our revolutionary work, because we want to accomplish gigantic tasks that mainly concern and involve them and because we want to counteract and dilute the negative influences that Party members coming from other classes are liable to bring into the Party.

The Party upholds democratic centralism as its basic organizational principle. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. By this principle, we can stand and act united and be well informed on any important matter. We must apply this principle consistently.

The committee system at every level of leadership, from the Central Committee down to the branch executive committee, is the most important tool of the principle of democratic centralism. The leading committee at a certain level is the point of concentration for an entire Party organization on that level and for lower organs and lower organizations; and within the collectivity of the committee democracy is carried over from the lower ranks.

With so few Party members taking on large tasks, there is a tendency for a far fewer Party leaders to take on large tasks. When the Party leaders are often attending to large tasks in different places and have difficulties in often coming together, there is always the danger that single Party leaders decide matters that should be taken up in a committee.

Thus, there are conditions for the phenomenon of one-man monopoly of affairs to arise. Indeed it has arisen in the Party and we have been combating this for a long time. Until now, it persists because the conditions for it to keep on arising persist.

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The standard organizational solution to this problem is to have a smaller standing committee more easily convened than the full and large committee to act and decide on matters under the guidance of standing policies. For instance, there is the Political Bureau of our Central Committee, then there is the Executive Committee and still there is the General Secretariat. There is the executive committee of the regional committee and then there is the secretariat.

It takes good judgment based on experience and full grasp of policies for a Party leader to make a prompt decision on an urgent matter. He could be like an army commander in an emergency military situation. But always as soon as possible he must submit his decision or action to a collective body.

Any Party leader can initiate or propose a draft or anything, though it is the chairman or the secretary who is expected to perform this leading role. But there must be some preparatory meeting in a smaller committee before presentation of matters before the plenary meeting of a larger committee. In this way, there is thoroughness in preparation and in the entire process of decision-making.

Bureaucratism is also an error contravening the spirit of democratic centralism. Our cadres should not limit themselves to merely receiving reports but they should go down for worthwhile periods of time to lower levels and to the grassroots to investigate for themselves the basis for policies, verify reports and study the correctness or incorrectness of policies.

Going down to the grassroots is good for the remolding of high and middle-level Party cadres. We do not mean to say that they abandon their functions in the leading organs but for them to perform these better. And we do not mean that they dissipate their efforts in going around to many places. But they must go down to investigate typical or critical situations (whatever is the main problem that needs close attention) and link themselves closely with the masses.

The central leadership no less has undertaken certain special projects requiring special detachment of personnel, heavy fixed investments and special methods of work that are not assured of effective or sufficient support by the masses in the vicinity of operation. These should no longer be undertaken because these easily meet failure and unduly preoccupy the leadership with matters of secondary importance to a self-reliant revolutionary movement.

At lower levels of the Party, there have also been instances of business and other projects that tend to distract Party leaders from their fundamental tasks. If these projects are beneficial to the revolution, they should be undertaken by trustworthy personnel without wasting the time of Party leaders and without risking the resources of the Party which are much needed for other purposes.

All leaders and members of the Party must be diligent and thrifty. Every moment must be seized to advance the revolution. Every centavo must be spent wisely. Upon our diligence and thrift, we can fruitfully carry out the policy of self-reliance.

In this period of fascist martial rule, the Party must not only be vigilant but also be extra vigilant. We must have contempt for the enemy strategically but we must take serious, meticulous account of him tactically. The fact that the Party has always been underground and involved in armed struggle since the very beginning shows that it has always been prepared and equipped to face the worst of eventualities. But there are vulnerabilities that we must be aware of so that we can guard against them.

In the cities, we must be aware that the open activists of legal progressive organizations before fascist martial rule have been used by the enemy as unwitting tracers of the Party underground. Many of these activists have been apprehended and some of them are proven or merely suspected Party members. We must apply the policy of shifting or reassigning those Party members who can no longer effectively work in their present urban assignment.

In the countryside, the Party members on the manhunt list of the enemy should adapt to the fluidity of our guerrilla activity. The risks are also high in the countryside because we have mere guerrilla squads and at the most guerrilla platoons. But certainly, here we can rely on mass support that is bigger over wider contiguous areas than in the cities. Party members who cannot work freely in the cities can work here far more freely.

In both cities and countryside, a number of comrades have sacrificed their lives and limbs or have fallen into the hands of the enemy and have suffered the most excruciating torture and the torment of incarceration. These include some members of the Central Committee and various regional Party committees.

We honor and emulate our martyrs and heroes. And we convey to our comrades in prison to steel themselves further while in prison and

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turn the prison into a school. We should learn from their experience. So long as our regional Party organizations keep on growing through revolutionary struggle, there is always a basis for cadres to come forward and replenish as well as reinforce the Central Committee and the regional Party committees.

Only so few among those who have fallen into the hands of the enemy have become traitors or betrayers. There are also those few who cannot stand the difficulties of the struggle and drop out or surrender themselves to the enemy. All these renegades are only a handful and do not make even two percent of those who have fallen into the hands of the enemy. We should learn from their negative examples.

The Party reflects the iniquitous society outside. Thus, there are errors and weaknesses. And there are the few who go overboard completely and become traitors. It is clear that within the Party the law of contradiction and the law of class struggle operate. But our Party members in general are certainly good. The Party stands united to strengthen further itself.

3. Build the Revolutionary Mass Movement in the Countryside!

We must build the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside; and we must build the basic mass organizations for the peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists to be able to generate it. Not much can be accomplished in mobilizing the great masses if our propaganda teams and guerrilla squads limit their organizing to the barrio organizing committees and small local armed groups.

The key point in our rural mass work is to arouse and organize the peasant masses in the shortest possible time and carry out the land reform movement step by step. In the course of focusing attention on the organization of the peasant association in a typical farming barrio, the other basic mass organizations can also be organized. The peasant activists can easily move the youth, women, children and cultural activists of their own class to accomplish their self-organization.

The farm workers' association, the union of nonagricultural workers and fishermen's association are also basic mass organizations that should be organized wherever there is a basis. In cases where there are already mass organizations positively working for the people's interests, all that we do is to adopt them and transform them further into revolutionary organizations.

There is really no point in feeling sorry that there is a paucity of party cadres to attend to rural mass work. A propaganda team or a guerrilla squad can rely on the local mass activists and can cover so many barrios, even as many as 20 within six months. It is even possible for one, two or three experienced cadres from the outside to work initially with the local mass activists and cover several barrios within a relatively short period.

The local mass activists emerging at every stage of the process of developing the revolutionary mass movement are themselves prospects for recruitment into the Party. Through this process, new Party members keep on arising and local Party branches can be established.

We must rely on and trust the masses. So long as we grasp their interests, needs and demands through social investigation and close contact with them, we can arouse and guide them to set themselves into motion. They can very well organize and mobilize themselves along the correct path. There are always enough activists arising from their own ranks to firm up the revolutionary direction of their movement.

There must be a series of careful steps in organizing the people in a barrio, especially under the present harsh conditions of fascist martial rule. There are four of these steps which culminate in the full organization of the basic mass organizations.

The first step is to get reliable contact men or liaison men in a barrio that we wish to organize. The number of these can range from three to ten. Within the shortest possible time, we should form them into what we may call the barrio liaison group. This has been called the "barrio organizing group" in Central Luzon and the "organized group of contacts" in Southern Tagalog.

Usually, we can get the contact men in a barrio because of our preceding mass work in an adjoining barrio. This is advancing wave upon wave. It is inevitable that the people in one barrio have relatives and friends in the next barrio. Sometimes too, we can reach a barrio where work must be done and get the contact men or liaison men because a Party member, a Red fighter or activist or any reliable person has relatives or friends in that barrio.

Preliminary social investigation can be done on a barrio in a day or a few days, depending on the reliability and knowledgeability of our initial contact men. The shortcomings of some of these contact men can be made up for by further contacts. We must gather all the general and specific information we need to start political work in the barrio.

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There is expediency in forming the barrio liaison group from out of the contact men that we initially come to know through reliable intermediaries. Although we try immediately to put the best available men in the group, it may not be possible all the time to get the best representatives of the people in the barrio. After all, it takes time to develop revolutionary activists. Sometimes, the contact men may all come from only one part of a sitio of a barrio or from only one section of the barrio population.

But we must make sure that the members of the barrio liaison group are desirous of revolution, are elements of the exploited classes, are known to be honest and good people, have extensive relations in the barrio, are intelligent and resourceful and are conscientious in performing the tasks that we give them.

The functions of the barrio liaison group include assisting us in social investigation, conducting initial propaganda among the people, putting us in touch with the positive forces and elements in the barrio gradually and secretly, and making sure that we are secure in our entry into, stay in and exit from the barrio. All these functions involve the smoothening of our initial relations with the people in the barrio.

The barrio liaison group replaces the barrio organizing committee. Some similarities between the two are apparent. But there are basic differences between them.

The barrio liaison group is no longer empowered nor expected to act as an embryo of people's government in the barrio. Its members do not have the unwritten vested privilege to becoming automatically the chief moving force behind the mass organizations to be established. We depart from the old pernicious practice of giving initial contact men this privilege and therefore we remove or drastically reduce the condition for unreliable elements to creep into the mass organizations.

The group is also under strict advice not to expose themselves as the organizers of mass meetings. At the same time, we take care that it does not know more than it should about the actual widening and deepening of organizational and political work being done in the barrio. Of course, the members of the group receive political education from us and are tested through work and at least some of them can advance from being mere contact men. But the group as a whole does not enjoy any automatic privilege of knowing details beyond its liaison work.

The second step is for our guerrilla squad, propaganda team or cadres to move from one part of the barrio to another or fan out to several parts at one time to conduct deeper social investigation and carry out study meetings among the people, especially the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants. We should do everything possible to link ourselves closely with the exploited masses.

Our mass work should bear fruit initially in the form of the people's organizing groups. These include the peasant organizing groups for the poor and lower-middle peasants, the youth organizing group, the women's organizing group and such organizing groups that have a basis. These are based on a division of territory (sitios and parts of the barrio center if much larger than the sitio).

The organizing groups should be able to win the majority of people in their respective fields and initiate activists to arouse and mobilize them. At this point, local activists should start to arise inside and outside the organizing groups. The cadres of the Party should make sure through propaganda and study meetings on the national democratic revolution that politics takes command of all activities.

We must grasp the antifeudal class struggle as the key link of our rural mass work and we must uphold the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants as the most reliable and resolute revolutionary force in a typical farming barrio. But we cannot go far in the antifeudal struggle if we fail to link it well with the antifascist and anti-imperialist struggle not only by way of providing the basic antifeudal forces with the most comprehensive political view but also by way of bringing into active play all other positive forces in the countryside for the revolutionary cause.

The third step can be taken soon after the establishment of the people's organizing group in all or most of the parts of the barrio. There is already a wide and deep basis for establishing the people's organizing committees barrio-wide.

We have already found out who is fit for what function within each committee. The basic functions to be apportioned are those that pertain to organization, education, economy, defense and health. The apportioning of functions should be settled well within the committee by the members upon our guidance. The committees should be capable of raising the enthusiasm of the majority of the people in their respective fields for the revolution and coming into coordination with struggles launched over areas that include several barrios.

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Like the organizing groups based on parts of the barrio, which must be retained as their support, the people's organizing committees should be an underground force. They must know how to cover their activities with whatever legal and traditional organizations there are in the barrio and must know how to dissemble, use revolutionary dual tactics, before the enemy or unreliable elements.

As early as the successful establishment of the peasant organizing committees over a large area in the countryside, even only some scores of barrios, it is possible to take such a simple and easy first step towards land reform as the reduction of land rent through the systematic withholding of a certain part of the crop without the landlords' knowledge. The campaign to reduce interest rates and eliminate usury; arrange fair prices with the merchants; promote savings, mutual aid and simple exchange of labor and nonpayment of debts under Masagana 99; raise production and productivity; and the like can be pushed.

In cases where the landlords have cunningly abandoned the old practice of sharecropping on the basis of the actual crop and resorted to the "leasehold" system (the system of high fixed land rent) promoted by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and by the Lava revisionist renegades, the tenant masses should deliver only a part of the rent and claim bad crop or some plausible reason for the nonpayment of the full rent. If all the peasants claim the same reason, the landlords will be at a loss; they cannot threaten so many with eviction and they might as well simply write into their records the undelivered part of the rent as "debts."

Harvest after harvest, the process of peaceably outmaneuvering the landlords can be done until they come to terms with the peasants. The landlords' threat to deprive the tenants of credit for subsistence or production will be rendered naught by the peasants' gains from land reform, their thrift, mutual aid and simple exchange of labor and alliance with the well-to-do peasants who come under persuasion not to engage in usury.

Any despotic landlord who abuses his tenants is liable to be punished by the people's army or secret groups of peasants. It would not pay for him to refuse to come to terms with the peasants. It would be difficult for his overseers and for scabs to show their faces before the peasant masses.

Depriving the landlord of a part of the land rent and demanding fair terms from merchants and moneylenders can be achieved only if the peasant masses are well organized, united and have a high level of political consciousness.

In a typical farming barrio, the majority of the population are poor and lower-middle peasants (most tenants belong to these strata). On this basis, the peasant organizing committee plus the other people's organizing committees can have their way through the barrio councils of the reactionary government. Using the tactics of the united front, peasant organizing committees can enhance their strength.

The peasant organizing committees can actually control the barangay councils or any legal organization for purposes of holding public meetings favorable to the peasant masses and for revolutionary dual tactics in the face of the enemy. In effect, they can function as the embryo of the people's governmental authority on their own strength, supplemented with cooperation of their allies who are often very much their own relatives and personal friends.

The fourth step in organizing the barrio people is to fully organize the basic mass organizations. It would seem as if the people's organizing committees and groups are a skeleton taking full flesh. All members are enlisted and they elect the leading committees of their respective mass organizations. The peasant association includes mainly the poor and middle peasants.

Of course, like the antecedent organizing committees, the basic mass organizations cannot be fully organized all at the same time, say in one day or one night. There is the law of uneven development and differences of conditions. But we must strive that in one definite period in a barrio or group of barrios, all the basic mass organizations are fully organized. This requires planning and consistent work.

The fascist enemy has been more alert to peasant associations and far more intolerant towards them than the other mass organizations. We must be flexible in adopting legal forms for the peasant associations. We must use different names for them in different barrios. In handling them for the revolutionary cause, we must be good at combining illegal and legal methods. There must be open legal activities and clandestine illegal activities.

We should be fully aware of our strength and we should not overstep it. It is understandable if, for a considerable period of time in a given group of barrios, the antifeudal movement is capable only of effecting

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rent reduction and other agrarian reforms in the manner that we have described in discussing the third step.

While experience has shown that mass organizations other than the peasant association are less suspected and less subjected to evil measures by the enemy, we must take the same precautions that we take in having the peasant association. Whenever the enemy comes to know that a mass organization is led by the Party, it is liable to be subjected to the most vicious attacks.

Even when we are still at the second step of organizing the people in a barrio, we should start to carry out Marxist ideological instruction and recruit into the Party the most advanced elements among the mass activists so that by the time we reach the third or fourth step, we shall have been able to establish the local party branch in the barrio, with a group in every sitio and major part of the barrio center. At the fourth step, we shall also have Party groups within the basic mass organizations.

Upon the establishment of the basic mass organizations and the local Party branch, it becomes possible to establish the barrio revolutionary committee as the organ of democratic political power. It shall simply be a matter of putting together the representatives of the Party, the basic masses and allied forces.

In our old areas where the barrio organizing committees are reliable and are of sound character, we should work as fast as possible for their dissolution by establishing the basic mass organizations, the local Party branch and the organ of democratic political power. We can speak of working fast here, at least faster than in new areas, because we have known the people and worked with them long enough.

When the basic mass organizations flourish, the revolutionary mass movement can make great strides. Revolutionary studies and propaganda become more widespread and vigorous than before. Land reform becomes firm. The able-bodied volunteers from every mass organization can be formed into the local militia and given military training and duties. The campaign for higher production becomes effective. Every mass organization has a special agricultural plot or cottage enterprise to support the revolution. Cultural activities blossom and raise the people's fighting spirit against the enemy. Health work is also attended to on a mass scale.

Under these circumstances, the foundation for greater military victories by the New People's Army is laid. The people's fighting spirit is

ever rising. There is abundant material support for the revolutionary armed struggle because of land reform, higher production and special production. The local militia are a powerful reserve and auxiliary force of the people's army. The Party becomes well-rooted in the localities by taking into its ranks the most advanced local activists.

4. Further Strengthen the People's Army and Carry Forward the Revolutionary Armed Struggle!

We must further strengthen the New People's Army as the main form of organization under the leadership of the Party and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of our people's struggle. We have established a good basis for the further strengthening of the New People's Army.

Our Red fighters have a high level of political consciousness and are closely linked with the masses. Every squad has a party group within it and oftentimes the majority of the Red fighters are Party members. The Party branch is based currently on the platoon.

The people's army has grown in rifle strength from early 1969 to the eve of fascist martial rule and from the latter time to the present. What it has now in armed strength is a far cry from the 35 rifles and handguns that it started with. The people's army now has guerrilla forces in all regions outside Manila-Rizal and has a total of 20 guerrilla fronts.

Each regional army organization is led by a regional Party committee. The nationwide expansion of the people's army under the direction of the Central Committee is a far cry from its beginnings in the second district of Tarlac.

Our army has gained invaluable experience and has become tempered. It has undergone the acid test of massive and prolonged enemy campaigns. We recall Tarlac of 1969-71, Isabela of 1972-73, Sorsogon of 1974-75 and Aurora of 1975. At the peak of its campaigns, the enemy always employs a number of troops more than a hundred times bigger than ours, with the support of paramilitary forces, heavy weapons and the most modern means of communications and air and land transport.

Our heroic Red fighters and party cadres together with the masses have overcome tremendous odds. Despite all the enemy campaigns, marked by the most wicked forms of "population control," the people's army has on the whole grown in armed strength. We have suffered

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some setbacks. There is not a single regional army organization which has not suffered serious setbacks at varying times. But the expansion, shifting and recoveries by our guerrilla forces have more than compensated for the losses.

Because of the nationwide expansion of the people's army, the enemy cannot concentrate its combat troops on one region without risking the advance of our forces in other regions. So far, it has not had the pleasure of inflicting a total or strategically decisive defeat on all our forces in any single region. Within a region, the existence of several guerrilla fronts tend to weaken the enemy campaign whether directed against all or any of these.

Despite all our achievements in building the people's army, our overall armed strength is still so small in comparison to that of the enemy who is several hundreds of times stronger. The course of historical development and the current balance of forces, particularly our level of armed strength, determine the mode of our warfare, which is guerrilla warfare.

There is no course for us but to grow in strength step by step. Our revolutionary armed struggle is just and enjoys abundant support from the people. So long as we adhere to a correct strategy and tactics, we shall grow from small and weak to big and strong. To repeat, we shall do so step by step.

Our people's war is protracted. It shall take a long period of time to change the balance of forces between us and the enemy. We must recognize further that at the back of the local reactionaries is US imperialism. This superpower will keep on supplying and assisting them at the least. It regards the Philippines as an important base for maintaining itself as a Pacific power and as a position of strength in Asia.

The worldwide decline of US imperialism, especially after its failed war of aggression in Indochina, is definitely favorable to our revolutionary armed struggle. But we must also recognize that US imperialism is at the moment hardening its position in the Philippines precisely as a result of its defeats elsewhere and, for a long time to come, only a deep-going people's war can strike effectively at its foothold.

Friendly forces abroad cannot extend military assistance to us as much as we may need or wish. We must reconcile ourselves to the irony that when we need such assistance most it is most difficult for us to get it. The single imperialist power dominating the country is not

yet an easy pushover in terms of the next few years, and his prior hold on our small archipelagic country is a serious factor to contend with.

We have to maintain a high degree of self-reliance in our people's war. We must rely on ourselves most certainly to a degree higher than many revolutionary armed movements abroad. There is no course for us but to always raise our determination to get all that we need for the armed struggle from our people and from the enemy itself in the battlefield.

Our strategic line in our people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside until such time that we become capable of moving on the cities from stable revolutionary bases in the countryside. For a long time, we have to develop guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale so as to convert into our advantage the disadvantage of fighting in a small archipelagic country, whose countryside is so vast in relation to the cities but fragmented into so many islands.

We are at the stage of the strategic defensive and we are precisely at its early substage of developing guerrilla warfare from almost nothing. From almost nothing because of the revisionist line of the Lavas and the Tarucs that threw away all previous revolutionary gains of the people.

We have only to look at how much armed strength we have in each of the eight regions outside Manila-Rizal to know the magnitude of hard work that we have to do to increase further our squads and platoons. Again it shall take another magnitude of hard work to advance from the present phase of squads and platoons.

In the whole country or in an entire region, we are on the strategic defensive in the face of the large enemy forces encircling us. But we are capable of tactical offensives. In parts and parts of the countryside, we can achieve local superiority. At a given moment and in a limited area, we can put a small enemy unit in the tightest bag and crush it.

We must launch tactical offensives as the most essential content of our strategic defense. We simply refuse to engage our small forces in any strategically decisive engagement with the far larger forces of the enemy. Not in any region or guerrilla front should this happen. Knowing that large forces of the enemy are divisible, as everything is from a Marxist viewpoint, we must take the initiative of maneuvering the enemy to divide its forces and then concentrating our small forces at only that part of the enemy which we are sure of wiping out at a given place and time.

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We should accumulate the small victories from our ambushes and raids. Over a period of time, such victories should give birth to more guerrilla squads and platoons. Then our capacity to destroy the enemy will increase. The highest mark of initiative in our guerrilla warfare is annihilating the enemy and capturing its weapons. We should not waste our precious limited ammunition and we should plan well the disposition and intensity of our lines of fire on a given target. There is no point in killing enemy troops if not in the course of depriving them of the weapons which they would refuse to yield.

We must learn well the rudimentary tactics of guerrilla warfare. We disperse to do propaganda and organizational work among the masses. We concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy. We shift or circle round to avoid a superior enemy force, learn more about it through the masses and through our own reconnaissance and move to an advantageous position politically and militarily.

We can apply our guerrilla tactics well only if we have the wide and deep organized support of the people and we have eliminated the enemy informers and bad elements who are incorrigible. With organized masses screening out the enemy, rendering it blind and deaf, we can foil its attempt to concentrate its forces on our small forces. Even when it is still preparing to attack us, we can learn through the masses its strength and movements and as a result we can act appropriately.

When the enemy is on some short-term offensive and wants to move in on us in superior force, we must deprive it of a target and we let it punch the air and thereby exhaust itself. We can remain on the active side either by laying an ambush on a weak part of the enemy disposition, attacking the enemy in an entirely different area or simply going elsewhere to do mass work. We should never accept or undertake any battle that we are not sure of winning. We may not be able to smash an enemy offensive but certainly we can frustrate it.

In all our experience, it is the massive and prolonged army campaigns, marked by forced mass evacuation and all kinds of barbarities, that have been our most outstanding problem in the battlefield. The enemy has launched such campaigns in areas where we are relatively strong over a wide area. At the early stage of such enemy campaigns, when enemy control is not yet tight, we must make it pay as much of a heavy price as we can exact from it, without prejudice to the prompt shifting of our main guerrilla forces to an alternative guerrilla front or area.

Enemy campaigns, whether short-term or protracted, are very costly to the enemy. That is why the military budget of the fascist dictatorship keeps on rising. Repeatedly frustrating them and depriving them of a target will undermine the resources of the reactionary government and also undermine the morale of enemy troops who also suffer some deprivations for nothing.

There is nothing wrong about shifting when faced with enemy forces ten or a hundred times stronger. This is neither accepting defeat nor flightism. This is preserving our forces to destroy the enemy another day. The areas that adjoin or are a short leap from the area being encircled by the enemy and under its heavy concentration are also fertile soil for revolution. Besides, we can always recover any "lost" area after some time.

So as not to be merely forced to shift to an uncertain destination by an enemy campaign, we should be prepared long beforehand for such an enemy campaign by developing alternate guerrilla fronts and by deploying propaganda teams in areas where guerrilla warfare is to be developed from scratch or is to arise upon the shifting of guerrilla forces from elsewhere.

The unpopulated forest areas are good passageways and offer good points for schooling and temporary retreats. But to simply wait out a massive and prolonged enemy campaign of about one year to two years in the forests is to fall for the siege tactics of the enemy. It is also artificial to bring a considerable number of unarmed masses with you in this kind of retreat. Movement will be hampered. Food will soon run out and isolated *kaingins* are easily detected by the enemy.

When the masses are being forced to evacuate, legal mass struggle should be launched to oppose and stop the evacuation. Even when the forced mass evacuation is already done, these legal mass struggles can go on for the restitution of damage to their crops and homes, for better treatment and rationing at evacuation centers and for their early return to their evacuated homes.

Some of the masses or selected families can also be directed by us to shift mainly on their own and by different ways to the area where we are shifting. There are many of those who might have relatives and friends there. Or there are public lands there which they can open like other people do.

Whenever the time comes for us to recover an area previously abandoned by us and then abandoned by the enemy, we must disarm

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the “home defense units” left by the enemy and increase the weaponry of the people’s army. We must clean up those who have blood debts. And we must be alert for spies planted in the midst of the masses.

We have insisted that for a start in every region we must develop our guerrilla fronts on favorable terrain, that is to say, forested, mountainous and hilly terrain with population. It is in this kind of terrain where enemy rule and influence are usually weak and where we can establish our guerrilla bases within the shortest possible time at this stage. Here we not only have a wide area for maneuver but also easily achieve depth in our maneuvers. Here we can best apply the tactics of “luring in” the enemy. It cannot come in without first exposing itself and alerting us. It would be easy for us to be on the lookout and prepare for its coming.

We have also directed that for a start in a region, two or three guerrilla fronts on such a terrain should be established. We have been concerned with the possible dissipation of our limited Party cadres and resources by a previous current that we should have a guerrilla force in every province. But any regional Party organization can have more than two or three guerrilla fronts, whenever development and conditions permit.

While we must take advantage of the most favorable terrain for our guerrilla warfare, we must strive to move forward from the mountain to the plains and coordinate the revolutionary forces in the mountains and the plains as well as those in the barrios and in the towns. In dealing with the islands, we should attend to the major islands first and then the minor ones.

This early, we must also pay attention to the coastal areas. This is important inasmuch as we are an archipelagic country.

Conditions are not yet ripe for having a well-known central revolutionary base, where the Central Committee of the Party and the general headquarter of the New People’s Army are seated. We should keep the enemy guessing and ignorant where our principal leaders are in the countryside. But certainly at this stage, we should be firmly taking the steps towards creating such a base in the best possible location.

The emergence of the central revolutionary base presupposes the achievement of a higher stage in our people’s war and takes into consideration the development of nationwide guerrilla warfare and international developments involving US imperialism. We still have a long road to traverse in this regard. Of all the regional Party and

army organizations, the most directly concerned in bringing about the conditions for the emergence of the central revolutionary base are northwest Luzon, northeast Luzon and Central Luzon.

It remains the long-term strategic task of the revolutionary forces of Luzon to destroy the main forces of the enemy. The day is certain to come when the forces from the north and south of Luzon will converge on Manila-Rizal in a general offensive. It also remains the long-term strategic task of the revolutionary forces of Mindanao and the Visayas to draw the forces of the enemy and disperse them. At certain times, the bulk of enemy forces can be drawn to Mindanao. The area for maneuver for us here is as wide as that in the three regions north of Manila-Rizal; and the people's army can either take advantage of or coordinate its efforts with the resistance of the Bangsa Moro Army, if integration of the latter is not possible.

We have repeatedly pointed to the present low level of armed strength of the New People's Army. To amplify this strength, we must give full play to the participation of the people in the revolutionary armed struggle. We should not limit this participation to merely providing for the material needs of the full-time Red fighters and watching out for the enemy.

We must give political-military training to as many able-bodied men and women from the mass organizations and from time to time get the required number of volunteers from them to participate in well-planned military actions where their inferior weapons can blend with more advanced weapons of the full-time Red fighters. In the hands of so many people, inferior weapons can prove to be superior and yet we make sure that at the core of such weapons as bolos, spears, bows and arrows and homemade explosives are good guns.

When the people's combative spirit is kept high by continuous political education and military training, they will make do with any weapon and will use every trick and ruse to disarm the enemy even with bare hands. The most important thing is the people's revolutionary determination and wisdom. In the future, popular uprisings or insurrections will arise over extensive areas.

5. Build the Revolutionary Mass Movement in the Cities!

We must build the revolutionary mass movement in the cities by developing the trade unions, the community organizations, school

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organizations and others and engaging them in a broad democratic movement that is distinctly antifascist and anti-imperialist, a movement sympathetic to and supportive of the distinctly antifeudal movement in the countryside.

We must pay principal attention to the masses of workers and other urban poor. We must get the workers mainly through their workplaces and trade unions and also through the communities, where they are linked with other urban poor. We must also pay attention to the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the student masses and their teachers.

In undertaking an open democratic movement in the cities, we can invoke the very laws of the reactionary state which contain hypocritical terms and reform concessions just to enable us to go into the midst of the masses. Among the masses, we can create a revolutionary underground and transform legal organizations or build new ones that can militantly yet legally carry forward the national democratic line step by step.

Combining legal and illegal methods, we can develop the revolutionary mass movement in the cities. Our main tactic is to turn the table against the enemy or to use another metaphor, to take the enemy's fortress from within by stratagem (but preparations for this are protracted and cannot be separated from the progress of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside).

The open and legal democratic mass movement cannot be firm, vigorous and well directed without the illegal party at the core. The Party as an underground force must be the backbone of this movement. It must be the guide, nurturing the movement at every step and seeing to it that the next step is taken upon the ripening of conditions for it.

As in the countryside, there is nothing discouraging about the smallness of the Party amidst the large masses in the cities. So long as the mass movement develops, activists emerge and make themselves available for recruitment into the Party. Thus, the Party is strengthened to achieve more and assume greater tasks.

It is only through a reinvigorated mass movement that we can raise the new forces to tackle the new situation created by fascist martial rule. There is no other way to solve such problems as the constrictions and unhealthy conspiratorial tendencies of a narrow underground and the enemy's cunning in looking out for the Party by merely tailing known activists of days before martial rule.

In this time of severe economic crisis, the masses of workers are stirring and pushing forward their economic struggle. We must get into this economic struggle and raise it to the level of the political struggle so that the entire working class will not only be able to fight most effectively for its own interests but also link itself fully with the rest of the people in the powerful flow of the of the people's democratic revolution.

There are immediate conditions and issues which make easy the transformation of the economic struggle into a political struggle. As previously pointed out, the wage and living conditions of the workers are extremely pushed down and benefits put into law by virtue of several decades of workers' struggle have been drastically reduced by the fascist dictator. And to top these all, the workers are prohibited from exercising their right to strike in most enterprises just because they are categorized as "vital industries" and "export industries" by the fascist dictatorship. In the main, these are enterprises owned by US and other monopoly capitalists and by the big comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords.

Whenever the employer gets wind of a plan among the workers to make a mass petition for the improvement of their conditions, the easiest thing for him to do is to make "preventive suspensions" and to call on the troops and police to show up and bully the workers. Of course, when the strike, slowdown, sit-down or any mass protest action is already on, the armed minions of fascism show up to make arrests and make all sound and fury about "subversives," "economic sabotage" and "national discipline."

The masses of workers have experienced the right to strike in times far better than the present. Their present experience of intensified oppression and exploitation is extremely intolerable to them. Thus, no amount of fascist intimidation has deterred them from mass protest actions. These have already developed into concerted strikes and street demonstrations.

We must promote the strike movement and must make it so widespread and so intense to demonstrate to the entire nation and people that the fascist ruling clique and big bourgeoisie are so puny and weak and so rotten to the core. We must promote the economic strikes and transform them into political strikes and political demonstrations. We must hit the big bourgeoisie (and foreign monopoly capitalists and the comprador big bourgeoisie) the hardest. The rate of exploitation is highest in their enterprises.

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We are presently at the stage of making the economic strikes more widespread. Even at this stage, the political dimension of such strikes is already coming to the force. We must make solid preparations to bring great multitudes of workers to the streets and plazas for political demonstrations.

In the face of fascist martial rule yellow labor leaders have become more discredited than ever. The top labor aristocrats of the country have blatantly placed themselves in the payroll of the fascist dictatorship under the so-called Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. Others have been so cowed and discouraged by anti-union restrictions that they have turned to other occupations.

The trade union movement has become more than ever a fertile ground for the revolutionary work of the Party. The masses of workers are already aware that when the Party is in their midst their economic struggle becomes resolute and militant and they become equipped with a profound political understanding of their situation and with a wide range of tactics.

Our propaganda has had some effects. Normally, it should outstrip our organizational work. But our propaganda and prestige have too far outstripped what solid results there should be for our organizational work. We should solve the problem not by reducing our propaganda. On the other hand, we should ceaselessly increase and amplify it. We should intensify not only our written propaganda of a general character but also all forms of verbal and nonverbal agitation suited to the most specific conditions. But we must harvest the crop of propaganda and agitation.

We must conduct organizational work among the workers more vigorously than ever before in conjunction with our propaganda and agitation. Since long before the fascist rule, the Party has devised the workers' organizing committee as an underground force for organizational expansion among the workers. But learning from experience in the countryside, specifically in connection with organizing a trade union where there is none yet, we do not immediately form this committee from out of those workers whom we meet at the beginning.

We can go through a process akin to that in organizing the peasant masses. First step is to organize as a matter of expediency the workers' liaison group from out of those workers with whom we can have relations at the beginning. Second step is for members of this secret group to introduce to us more workers, coming from every major part

of an enterprise, so that we can form a secret organizing group in every major part of the enterprise.

Third step is for us to draw representatives or the best elements from the organizing group to form the workers' organizing committee. At every step, we must deepen our social investigation and provide political education and appropriate instructions to the workers that we come into contact with and organize.

The workers' organizing committee retains the organizing groups as its subsidiaries and improves their composition whenever necessary. By the time that the committee is established, it shall have been ready to draw up the list of workers' demands to which the majority of the workers are to be won over before the employers and his agents get wind of it. It takes only one, two or three capable Party cadres to work with the committee.

The workers' organizing committee can be formed ahead of the workers' organizing group only in cases where we are certain right away that reliable and capable members are on hand at the beginning at least for honest trade union work. Such cases occur whether the objective is to form a trade union where there is none, to transform an already existing one or to put up one trade union against a thoroughly discredited one.

In any case, the workers' organizing committee and its organizing groups are a good means for giving way to the emergence of worker activists within them and outside them. The process of winning over the majority of workers to a list of union demands, creating the militant unity necessary to pursue such demands and developing the political consciousness of the worker masses are conditions for the emergence of a considerable number of worker activists.

Even only at the stage of the workers' organizing committee and organizing groups, our Party cadres should draw into the Party the advanced elements from the ranks of worker activists. Those who are through with the mass course on the trade union work and the national democratic revolution can be immediately introduced to Marxism, their very own class ideology to which they are very receptive.

The ideological, political and organizational work of the Party branch and the groups under it in the enterprise is the best guarantee that revolutionary politics is in command of trade union work. The Party branch forms and directs the party groups embedded in the leadership of the trade union.

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The workers' organizing committee and its organizing groups are dissolvable upon the establishment of the Party branch and groups within the enterprise and the absorption of all the worker activists into the structure of the trade union. The organizing groups can be converted into group stewards and certainly a number of their members can qualify to be members of the Party groups. More and more workers can be put into study circles organized by the Party.

It is necessary for some of our Party cadres to draw salaries and allowances from trade unions so as to devote their full time to trade union and political work. But Party members should not monopolize the high posts in the trade union; and the members of the secretariat of the Party branch should not necessarily become the highest leaders of the trade union. We must allow the democratic broadness of the trade union; there can be good union leaders who cannot yet comply with the requirements of Party membership. And moreover, we do not want to let the enemy cripple the Party branch by simply clamping down on the trade union or its open leadership.

In further consideration of tactics in the face of the fascist enemy, trade unions under the effective leadership of the Party should not be put under only one chosen legal labor federation. This is to prevent the enemy from singling out one nest for attack. Our trade unions can variably be independent or members of various labor federations. We must determine the best possible status of each trade union.

The Party secretly links and coordinates all our trade unions. Our "independent" unions can retain more income from membership dues and are somewhat saved from control by the reactionary trade union leaders. But when members of different labor federations, our unions have the advantage of enjoying close relations with other unions which the party can gradually get into.

The Party branch in an enterprise should see to it that Party members and other worker activists, with the help of the mass of their workers, do systematic revolutionary work in the communities. We must expand the workers' revolutionary movement by promoting contacts among workers of various enterprises not only within labor federations, along industrial lines or through factory areas but also through the communities.

In communities, workers from all kinds of enterprises reside. The workers already organized and politicized by us can form secret study circles and work closely in community work with other workers. The

result is that the latter will bring us to so many more enterprises. Our Party cadres should take firm hold of this possibility for expansion.

In community work, we must rely mainly on the masses of workers and other urban poor. They compose the majority of the people in most communities in the cities. If we place the focus on them in establishing the community organizing committees and either transforming the previously established mass organizations where they predominate or building new mass organizations, especially where there are none yet, it becomes relatively easy to strike roots in the community and reach the youth, women and other sections of the community.

We must consign to a secondary position the old pattern of sending youth activists, mainly student activists, into urban poor communities and then letting them deal mainly with the youth in the community. We must advance from that situation before fascist martial rule in which there were more youth and student youth organizations than workers' organizations under our direction. We do not wish to diminish youth organizing and discourage activists from schools from participating in local community work. But we wish to give full play to the workers' role not only in trade union affairs but also in community affairs.

The community organizing committee can be immediately formed when we rely on workers or a combination of workers and youth who are themselves residents of the community and have proven to be good activists elsewhere. Of course, we assume that they are led by Party cadres. Then, community organizing groups can be formed to cover the various parts of the community.

The community organizing committee should continuously conduct social investigation and expand its contacts to be able to do well its work at every step. Since there are mass organizations existing prior to our organizational work, the community organizing committee can draw activists from these to form the community organizing groups. These organizations usually include the neighborhood associations, youth clubs, women's associations, squatters' organizations, athletic clubs, groups of professionals, civic clubs, regional or provincial groups and the like.

The advantage in drawing activists from already existing organizations is that they are closely related to the people in the community and that we can cover effectively not only the parts of the community but also the already existing mass organizations. Though we can form new mass organizations with different names in different communities,

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there is a decided advantage, especially under conditions of fascist martial rule, to make use of the legality of already existing mass organizations and engage the soonest in activities by which we can go deep among the masses and gradually raise their political consciousness.

Because we rely mainly on the masses of workers and other urban poor and we take up their majority interests, it is not too difficult to transform certain already existing mass organizations. We develop a Party group within each of them and make political advances step by step. On this basis, we can maneuver or overwhelm even the “barangay councils” or “kabataang barangay” and other reactionary organs or institutions into becoming fora or channels for our revolutionary propaganda.

At every stage of the work of the community organizing committee and its organizing groups, we can draw into the Party the most advanced elements from the ranks of the revolutionary activists. In due time, the community organizing committee and its organizing groups can be dissolved because a Party branch has been established in the community and in the legal mass organizations. Mass work and party work can so advance in the communities that the Party branch will be based eventually on the street.

It is a matter of course that the Party should be vigilant and look after its security all the time and everywhere, especially in the cities where enemy control and surveillance are tighter than in the countryside. But the Party should pay special attention to securing itself from infiltration by antisocial lumpen-proletarian elements though this be covered by our political work.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is a social stratum whose members are usually self-centered and dispersed. But their children are concentrated in universities and high schools and here they are receptive to revolutionary propaganda. The schools therefore merit the conscientious attention of the Party. These are next in importance to the factories and the urban poor communities.

The student masses and their teachers are an important force in bringing the intelligentsia and the entire urban petty bourgeoisie to the side of the revolution. They are the section of the urban petty bourgeoisie which has the most revolutionary potential. This fact has been proven repeatedly in our history; and the first quarter storm of 1970 and succeeding developments prove it. Students continue to join today’s workers’ struggles.

Quite a number of students and their teachers have gone so far as to strive remolding their outlook, engage deeply in revolutionary work and join the Party. Other students do not go as far but they accept the general line of the Party and spread this to the ranks of the petty producers and the professionals. The revolutionary fervor of the student masses could be such that even some children of the exploiting classes who are their schoolmates become attracted to the revolutionary movement.

In the course of community work, the owners of small stores and shops, professionals and white-collar employees are reached by our propaganda. Though they can render some service to the revolutionary movement, they are not as important as the student masses and teachers who are concentrated in great numbers in schools, are very capable of propaganda work and mass actions and are willing to coordinate their activities with the masses of workers.

The national democratic organizations of the youth before fascist martial rule have done a great service to the revolutionary cause. Their work has been so fruitful in some schools and communities that there are now Party branches continuing revolutionary underground work here.

In schools where there are yet no party branch and no Party-led mass organization, Party cadres should establish school organizing committees and organizing groups to develop the initial activists from among the students, teachers and other school personnel, push for the establishment of genuine student governments and publications, promote revolutionary ideas in old student organizations or build new ones as means of promoting such ideas and help unions among teachers and other school personnel.

Student activists developed by the school organizing committee and organizing groups should be directed to create as many secret study circles as they can among friends and classmates; and teacher activists should do likewise among co-employees, students and friends. The efficacy of their ideological and propaganda work should in due time result in political mass actions.

The student masses, teachers and other school personnel should link the issues on the campus with the deteriorating conditions of society in general. The progressive students of the University of the Philippines are showing the way to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship, how to oppose anti-national, antidemocratic policies and actions.

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They have started to make mass protests of their own and join those of the workers.

Even only at the stage of the school organizing committee and organizing groups, we can start to draw into the Party the most advanced elements from the ranks of the school activists. Eventually the Party branch should emerge in the school, and Party groups in the various parts of the school as well as in the mass organizations there. In large universities, it is possible for a section committee of the Party to lead so many Party branches that are based in the colleges.

We should continue carrying out the policy of deploying student activists for social investigation and mass work in factories and communities accessible to them. We should promote the closest links between the worker and student activists in the cities so that concerted mass actions of the worker masses and student masses will become possible.

The development of the democratic movement in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas constitutes powerful political support to the revolutionary struggle in the countryside. The people in the entire country become aroused and the enemy is shaken within his fortress.

The people in the cities should realize that the long-term development of the underground there and the steady growth of political mass actions are a preparation for the final day of reckoning for the ruling system, when their general uprising will come into coordination with the general offensive of the people's army. The Party should promote this revolutionary thinking and dispel notions that the people's army should now send its small but growing forces to the cities for some spectacular actions.

There are other kinds of support from the cities for the revolutionary struggle in the countryside. The Party organization in the cities can systematically dispatch cadres who still have legal status or who no longer have this to the countryside. Cadres of worker status or of student background can be sent to their native areas or where they are most needed. Funds, medicine, military equipment, medical equipment, communications equipment, clothes, revolutionary publications and other useful materials can also be collected and sent.

It is inevitable at the moment for our communications to pass through certain cities. For instance, communications between the Visayas and Mindanao on the one hand and the central leadership of the Party cannot bypass Manila-Rizal. There should be a reliable

corps of couriers who can travel legally between the cities and the countryside and from one region to another.

There should be coordination between the revolutionary struggle in the cities and that in the countryside on so many things. The Party is the coordinator and should have special organs to attend to the requirements of coordination.

6. Realize a Broad Antifascist, Antifeudal and Anti-Imperialist United Front!

We must realize a broad antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist united front under the leadership of the working class through its political party. As earlier pointed out, the foundation of this united front policy is the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Upon this foundation, we win over the urban petty bourgeoisie principally and the national bourgeoisie secondarily as additional allies. At the same time, we note well and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries—the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlords who are now divided between the pro-Marcos and anti-Marcos sides.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants compose the overwhelming majority of the national population and, being the most oppressed and exploited, they are the most interested in a comprehensive antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement. They constitute the main force of the united front. Only with such a force can we implement the policy of uniting the many to oppose the few and isolate and destroy the enemy.

Going deep among the workers and also among the peasants, the Party links and coordinates both classes for a united revolutionary struggle. At the stage of the national democratic revolution, when armed struggle is the main form of struggle, it is of the highest importance that the Party in representation of the working class must do painstaking mass work among the peasants and build a peasant army.

It does not suffice to say that the peasantry is the closest and most reliable ally of the working class. Further analysis is required for the concrete application of the united front in the countryside. The peasantry is divided into three strata with various political attitudes on the basis of their economic status.

We must develop the antifeudal united front in the countryside. We must rely mainly on the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants

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and neutralize the rich peasants to oppose the evil landlord gentry. When we speak of the peasantry as the closest ally of the working class, we refer essentially to the poor peasants and middle peasants.

The barrio organizing committee was originally conceived as an organ of expansion and as the embryo of local people's government along the line of the united front. Now that we are laying it aside, it does not mean that we are dispensing with united front work in the barrios. We simply want to strengthen the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants together in their own mass organization and not simply mix them up with the rich peasants and other unstable elements in a committee.

Carrying out the united front policy and employing its tactics, we must deal properly with all those entities outside the peasant movement. We must step by step win over the entirety of the middle peasants into the association, we must deal with them properly as individuals or groups and still try to gain some support and cooperation from them.

The rich peasants are not so much interested in the antifeudal movement. But they resent the economic crisis, the arbitrariness of the fascist dictatorship and the increasing taxes and have some patriotic feelings. When the revolutionary peasant movement is strong and the people's army is around, they are quite a hospitable lot and may even offer to join the peasant association. It is upon the rise of reaction that their reactionary aspect comes to the fore.

There are usually traditional and legal organizations where peasants of all strata are mixed. We cannot summarily ban or ignore these. We must study these carefully and apply the united front policy to make them truly beneficial to the poor and lower-middle peasants or helpful to the revolutionary struggle.

There are such associations or groupings as the elders' councils, the usually informal mutual aid and labor exchange groups, irrigation associations, farm workers' groups cooperatives, youth clubs, athletic teams, carpenters' groups, the parents-teachers association, 4-H club, women's club, religious sects and so on and so forth.

Even such tools of the reactionary government as the barrio or "barangay council," "kabataang barangay," "samahang nayon" and at certain times the rural police, ronda or "home defense" unit may be neutralized, transformed or broken up, depending on the circumstances. The names of these associations can often be used for

revolutionary dual tactics specifically for covering up what is revolutionary.

In the countryside, there are many other kinds of possible allies. There are the teachers and other professionals, the small and middle merchants and entrepreneurs, certain relatively big businessmen and some enlightened landlords. The teachers and professionals are good medium for spreading propaganda in the towns. Doctors and nurses can give much needed medical services and medicine. The businessmen and enlightened landlords pay taxes or give contributions and sometimes provide facilities to us.

When conditions are ripe, we must establish the organ of democratic political power along the line of the united front. We have already pointed out that the full establishment of the basic mass organizations in the barrio is the precondition for the establishment of the barrio revolutionary committee. In the period before the establishment of the barrio revolutionary committee, the functions of local self-government can be performed with the peasant organizing committee or the leading committee of the fully-organized peasant association hewing to the party's united front policy. In the cities, we must continue the policy of winning the support of the student masses and their teachers by way of reaching and winning over the entire urban petty bourgeoisie. Upon the success of this policy, we can also win over the national bourgeoisie as they become aware that a strong anti-imperialist movement is advocating independence and national industrialization.

Elements of the national bourgeoisie in areas within the jurisdiction of the people's army have extended support to us. In the cities, there are also members of the national bourgeoisie who have extended support to us, especially through the student and youth movement.

In the principal conservative and reactionary organizations in the country, best exemplified by the political parties like the now dormant Nacionalista and Liberal parties, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie have been mere tails of the ruling classes—the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

This is true even in professional and civic organizations at the municipal, provincial and national levels. In the chambers of commerce and industry, the national bourgeoisie are also reduced to being mere tails of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. We must form groups within these associations to consolidate the ranks of the national bourgeoisie and promote the national and democratic line.

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The Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front and the regional united front commissions have projected and broadcast our united front policy; have succeeded in winning over groups and personalities who take the stand of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and have established progressive underground groups, called national democratic cells, within the most reactionary institutions and organizations. Some of these groups have helped us reach the basic masses that would otherwise be difficult to reach.

The aforesaid commissions have the special task of winning over the middle forces of the revolutionary cause and bringing to the main organization of the Party concrete assistance in reaching the basic forces of the revolution. Legal mass organizations and mass activities of a national democratic character should be well undertaken. Close attention must be paid to this urgent task.

The door continues to be open widely for cooperation with those who are against the Marcos fascist dictatorship who may vary in degree of anti-imperialism and antifeudalism. We must unite with them but we must maintain our independence and initiative and we struggle with them on just grounds and with restraint all for the purpose of winning the hearts and minds of the people and advancing the revolutionary struggle.

The Lava revisionist renegades have long excluded themselves from the united front. By surrendering to the Marcos fascist dictatorship and actively participating in vicious counterrevolutionary actions, this handful of revisionist fascist criminals have become totally discredited even in the few small areas which they once boasted of as their bailiwicks. The Manglapus group, fancying itself as the "social democratic party," has also excluded itself from the united front by being no more than a tool of the Central Intelligence Agency.

As it is now taking shape, the main split among the reactionaries is between the Marcos fascist gang and an alliance ostensibly led by Macapagal. Though Marcos has a sizeable number of agents within the interim national assembly and has limited its authority, especially under fascist martial rule, he refuses to convene it and intends to explicitly abolish it because he is afraid that it would become a forum for popular opposition.

Aware of Marcos' scheme, especially with Imelda already emerging as second-in-command and successor, Macapagal has called on the officers of the reactionary armed forces to make a counter coup and

rule for a short period to pave the way for the convening of the interim national assembly. Obviously, he has already gotten the assurance of US imperialism that he can openly lead the opposition loyal to the ruling system. The pushing out of certain inside men of the CIA from Marcos ranks bears watching.

US imperialism intends to be aggrandized, whichever direction events may take in the struggle between the Marcos and the Macapagal factions. This single dominant power in the country wants two dogs to compete for the same reactionary purposes. The only difference there is from reactionary competitions before martial rule is the increasingly conspicuous role of the reactionary armed forces.

Under the circumstances, with both reactionary factions competing for the good graces of US imperialism, it is clear that we become more determined to carry forward the national democratic line against fascism, feudalism and imperialism and carry out the armed struggle relentlessly. As revolutionaries, we do not want to get bogged down in debates whether the Marcos constitution or the 1935 constitution is to be promoted. The point is to fight well the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the forces behind it and in the process carry the revolution forward.

A coup d'état led by reactionary military officers can be as bad as or worse than the present Marcos fascist dictatorship even if it promises to pave the way for the interim national assembly. However, there is also the possibility that the coup d'état will bring to power a civilian faction and really allows it to reverse Marcos' fascist excesses. We must be prepared for every possibility.

We must always remember that our united front work is in support of the revolutionary armed struggle. We must have reliable and long-term allies and we must also have unreliable and short-term allies. The most important thing is that we have allies to be able to reach, arouse, organize and mobilize the millions upon millions of people who are under various influences for the revolutionary cause.

7. Relate the Philippine Revolution to the World Revolution!

We must relate the Philippine revolution to the world revolution. We are proletarian internationalists. We are carrying out the Philippine revolution to contribute our own share to the struggle of the world proletariat and people to defeat imperialism and bring about the dawn of communism.

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We recognize at the same time that all anti-imperialist struggles and revolutionary advances in other countries redound to the benefit of the Philippine revolution and favor its advance. These bring about conditions favorable to our revolutionary efforts. We receive powerful political support and boundless inspiration. We learn invaluable lessons. We see in the victorious national democratic revolutions and socialist revolutions abroad our bright future.

The astounding revolutionary victories of the Indochinese peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have signaled the irreversible decline of US imperialism in Southeast Asia, in the whole of Asia, in the whole world and in its very homegrounds. We are enthusiastic that the peoples of small countries can deal so stunning a blow to US imperialism and make so great a contribution to the world revolution.

The stable outposts of anti-imperialism in Southeast Asia have arisen and have raised the banner of socialist revolution and socialist construction. In all unliberated countries in the region, the people are more than ever determined to carry out revolutionary armed struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys.

We are witnessing today the abandonment of the ignominious Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, an outrightly US military instrument, and a retreat into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. This latter organization no longer flaunts the aggressive power of US imperialism and even denies being an instrument of this superpower. But it admits openly that the three main concerns of its reactionary member governments are to suppress "insurgencies"; promote "peace, freedom and neutrality" and develop "regional economic cooperation." We must not fail to recognize that the main and essential character of the ASEAN is counterrevolutionary even as we observe that this organization reflects a certain trend that is merely the result of the crisis of the world capitalist system, the US imperialist debacle in Indochina and the crisis plaguing each unliberated Southeast Asian country. Such a trend should remind us the more of our responsibilities as revolutionaries.

In our vicinity are the people of China surging forward in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and standing firmly against the two superpowers. The Korean people are engaged also in socialist revolution and socialist construction in the north and are facing up to US imperialism and its lackeys in the south.

Far and wide, revolutions are rapidly advancing. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to wage powerful revolutionary movements against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. In all other continents, including the homegrounds of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the people are engaged in revolutionary struggles. Revolution is still the main trend in the world today and Marxist-Leninist parties are steadily forging ahead.

The world revolution is advancing under conditions of intensifying superpower contention, grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the rise of the third world peoples and countries as the main force of the world anti-imperialist struggle. All basic contradictions are sharpening and all the ingredients of both revolution and war are increasing.

Despite their off-and-on “peace” and “detente” duets to lull the people of the world, the two superpowers are engaged in an ever-intensifying rivalry for world hegemony and are feverishly making arms expansion and war preparations. They are trying to push each other out and gain an advantage everywhere. It is clear that their imperialist rivalry is the source of the danger of war.

Though the two superpowers are overextending themselves all over the world, Europe is their main bone of contention. Their clashing interests are most concentrated here. War is likely to start here. Troubles are now increasingly erupting here and in its vicinity. Should war break out in that part of the world, the beasts can finish off or weaken each other while we push forward the revolution in our country and in our region.

But while war does not yet break out in Europe, Soviet social-imperialism is trying to penetrate even such a country like the Philippines which US imperialism considers a permanent preserve in this part of the world. Soviet social-imperialism calculates that it must make diplomatic and trade inroads to weaken US imperialism in as many places as possible and push hard its new tsarist ambitions of world hegemony.

US imperialist domination in the Philippines can be removed only by a powerful revolutionary movement. But the Soviet social-imperialists nurture the illusion that someday their long-discredited local agents, the Lava revisionist renegades, will be able to do turns for them and commit far more treachery and mischief than they presently can as shameless tools of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Even now, within their narrow circles, the Lava revisionist renegades do not tire of

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talking about getting more help from their imperialist master to do more mischief.

The reason is clear why Soviet social-imperialism even as enemy of US imperialism cannot be our friend in any way. While we must oppose US imperialism, we must be alert to Soviet social-imperialism and frustrate its scheme. We are well past the early sixties when Soviet modern revisionism could still deceive well-intentioned people.

The present crisis of the world capitalist system has been the worst since the end of World War II and continues to deepen and worsen. The inherent law of motion of capitalism, bringing about a crisis of overproduction; the monopolistic competition among capitalist countries, especially the leading imperialist powers; and the reduction of economic territory as a result of revolutions and the assertion of independence by hard-pressed countries have spelled the present world capitalist crisis.

The imperialists shift the burden of crisis to those whom they can. They do so through accelerated rates of profits on direct investments, usurious loans and unequal trade. The people resist. Even a reactionary government like that of the Philippines, while determined to remain a puppet of US imperialism, has to maneuver for its own sake.

The third world countries have increasingly asserted their independence and demanded a new international economic order in the face of the world capitalist crisis and superpower machinations. Underlying the phenomenon of even reactionary governments posing to assert the independence of their countries is the growth of the revolutionary movement and at the same time the concern of the reactionary leaders that they must lessen or palliate the crisis that threatens them.

It must be made clear to the people that the Marcos fascist dictatorship has broadened the diplomatic and trade relations of the Philippines out of desperation and weakness even as it still clings to US imperialism as its imperialist master. The circumstances in the emergence of better Philippine relations with the Middle East countries and China are clear.

As the fascist dictator claims credit for promoting the US line of "interdependence" in the third world, we must criticize and condemn him for acting as an inveterate agent of US imperialism within the third world and for putting a brake on the most meaningful participation of the Philippines in the anti-imperialist struggle of the third world. We

must make our own projection of the demands of the third world in the terms especially of its revolutionary people.

The facts show that under the Marcos fascist dictatorship the economic stranglehold of US imperialism on the Philippines has become tighter. Because of the Marcos constitution and the fascist decrees giving more privileges to foreign investors, there is practically no more need for any new economic treaty replacing the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

The fascist dictator has always asserted that US imperialism should keep its military bases in the Philippines, provide a "nuclear umbrella" and guard the skies and seas. Negotiations on the US-RP military treaties have been an old ritual repeatedly resorted to in a futile attempt to deflect the people's anti-imperialist struggle.

The only new thing in current negotiations on such treaties is that the Marcos fascist dictatorship wants some rent on the vast tracts of land occupied by the US military bases, relinquishment of some small sections of the land for Marcos' real estate speculation and assurances of more US financial and military assistance. The question of sovereignty over the US military bases has long been resolved; the point has always been to assert such sovereignty by deeds.

We must strive to have the Philippine revolution enjoy not only the political support of friendly forces abroad but also concrete assistance from them. US imperialism has not stopped but has even stepped up the giving of congressional and extracongressional military and other kinds of assistance to the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Remaining a puppet of US imperialism, the Marcos fascist dictatorship misappropriates such terms as "self-reliance" and "nonalignment" in the same fashion that he domestically misappropriates such a term as "democratic revolution" for the fascist counterrevolution. Snatching terms from the revolutionary movement is an old trick of the fascist thief. But reality speaks louder.

Unlike the reactionaries, we stand on the basic principles of independence and self-reliance. Foreign assistance should only be supplementary to our independent and self-reliant efforts. Even without any foreign assistance, we should be able to fight on and advance step by step. As already pointed out, practically everything that we need can come from the people and from the battlefield.

We should be able to draw support and assistance from as many foreign friends as possible, short of falling into any trap set by the US

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imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. We appreciate most the kind of assistance that enhances self-reliance, our armed struggle and our propaganda.

Aside from developing the closest and most fruitful relations with the Marxist-Leninist parties and other revolutionary organizations, we should pay attention to our own Filipino compatriots abroad. Associations of our compatriots should extend every possible kind of support to the revolutionary struggle in their motherland and should win the widest possible support from their host people.

The half-a-million Filipinos in the United States have a very important role of gathering support for the Philippine revolution not only from their own ranks but also from the American people. US intervention and the possibility of another US war of aggression in the Philippines must be effectively opposed with the support of the American people.

Overseas Filipinos are found in various parts of the world. Wherever they are, they should do what they can to help their people and should prepare themselves to join the ranks of the revolutionaries in the motherland. We assume that the most progressive among them study Marxism-Leninism and take appropriate interest in the revolutionary struggles in their host countries.

The conditions in the world which now favor the advance of the Philippine revolution are bound to become more excellent. The future for all revolutionary peoples is bright. That of the imperialists and the reactionaries is bleak.

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The People's Revolutionary Strength Shall Prevail⁶

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, September 11, 1976.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, as reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has gone through more than seven years of fierce revolutionary struggle and has in the process advanced ideologically, politically and organizationally.

On December 26, 1968, we could dare reestablish the Party and start from scratch. Now that there are thousands of Party members, who have stood the acid test of the struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique, it is certainly more than ever clear that the enemy's wish of decimating the ranks of our Party leadership is a mere pipe dream.

The leadership of the Party lies in its correct ideological and political line. So long as the masses are aroused, organized and mobilized for their own just revolutionary cause, we will continue to reap victories and we will never run short of capable Party leaders at every level. Party cadres continually emerge from the revolutionary masses and are tempered and developed in the course of revolutionary struggle.

The Party is capable of reinforcing or replenishing the ranks of its leadership as soon as the need arises. The nine regional Party organizations and the general offices of the Central Committee are a rich source of cadres for membership in the Central Committee.

There are several scores of Party cadres qualified for nomination to the Central Committee. They have the ideological, political and organizational qualifications. They have the advantage of experience and tempering that did not belong to the members of the Central Committee in 1968.

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee has made a thorough-going study of and ample provision for the sustainment of the Central

⁶ This statement was issued immediately after the capture of Commander Dante (Bernabe Buscayno), head of the New People's Army and, earlier in the year, of several members of the Executive Committee of the CPP Central Committee.

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Committee in the face of the increasingly vicious campaigns of the enemy. Despite the January and August events, the Central Committee as a whole is intact and is in a position to replenish and reinforce its ranks.

Like any revolutionary new thing, the reestablished party must undergo and overcome tremendous difficulties. Within the first two years after the reestablishment of the Party, when it was far smaller and far weaker than at present, the Central Committee deputy chairman was killed and its general secretary captured. But we have continued to forge ahead.

Now the enemy boasts of having captured similarly prominent leaders of the Party and of having accumulated in his hands quite a number of Central Committee members since 1970. The revolution will go on and the Party will continue to lead it. So long as there is oppression, the people's resistance will continue and the Party will have the conditions to thrive on.

As a revolutionary party of the proletariat, we should be moved to fight the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique more determinedly and more effectively whenever some setback occurs. We have an ever growing basis for raising our fighting spirit and fighting capacity. We sum up our experience, learn from our positive and negative experiences and perform our urgent tasks militantly.

The most important thing is to fight tenaciously for the national democratic interests of the people against the Marcos fascist dictatorship and US imperialism and arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the purpose. So long as we are determined to serve the people and we rely on them, we are ready to undergo any hardship or sacrifice.

We must not fear sacrifice, even as we avoid and prevent unnecessary sacrifices. There can be no revolutionary victory without sacrifice. We must not waver in the face of any kind of setback. We must uphold our just revolutionary cause, rely on the masses and strive harder to defeat the enemy.

The fascist dictatorship is rotten to the core and its outward strength is temporary. The political and economic crisis that has brought it about is worsening unabatedly. Conditions both in the country and in the world are excellent for making revolution. Inevitably, the people's revolutionary strength shall prevail in our country.

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The more enthusiastic we become over the people's growing resistance to the enemy, the more we should not let down our guard. While we hate and are contemptuous of the enemy, tactically we must always take account of it seriously and meticulously. We must always be vigilant and adept at developing the underground in both rural and urban areas, especially because our guerrilla fronts are still small and narrow and there are several things involving coordination between town and countryside.

We must be thoroughgoing in studying every piece of tactical information that the enemy comes to know about us. And we must act promptly to foil the evil that the enemy is cooking up; we must render this useless and make drastic changes in personnel, location and methods whenever necessary. We must do well our political work because more people militantly working with and supporting us means more strength, more ways and means to outwit and beat the enemy.

We go by the policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. Thus, whenever there are difficulties in our system of communication, we are firmly guided by the general line and standing policies of the central leadership; and regional organizations can take initiative and work arduously according to their respective situations.

After all, the regional organizations of the Party and the New People's Army; and the mass organizations and mass movements are the underpinnings of the policy of self-reliance set by the Central Committee. The people and the battlefield are our inexhaustible sources of strength and support.

We must grasp well the specific characteristics of our people's war and resolutely carry out "Our Urgent Tasks." If we fail to do so, we will fall badly from the level of revolutionary struggle that we have already reached. We must seize every moment to develop further the subjective forces of the revolution, take advantage of the excellent objective conditions and advance the people's democratic revolution.

Every Party member in the New People's Army, in the barrios, in the factories, in the schools, in the offices and even in the torture chambers and prison houses must perseveringly and vigorously do his share in advancing the Philippine revolution and the class leadership of the proletariat.

Resolutely carry out our urgent tasks!

Down with the Marcos fascist dictatorship and its US imperialist master!

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Revolutionary leaders always arise from the revolutionary mass movement!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army!

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Tribute to the Great Communist Mao Zedong

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, September 25, 1976.

Comrade Mao Zedong belongs to the immortal company of great communist leaders—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He has left to the proletariat and people of the world a legacy that will shine forever. His teachings and the fruits of his teachings are indispensable to the ultimate victory of communism.

Comrade Mao Zedong comprehensively and brilliantly inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. He integrated this universal theory of the revolutionary proletariat with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and won resounding victories of world historic significance against imperialism, opportunism and modern revisionism and all reaction. He made great contributions to the development of the fundamental scientific teachings of Marxism and Leninism in the course of triumphantly guiding and leading the new democratic and socialist revolutions in China.

His greatest and most unique achievement lies in putting forward the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship and in personally initiating and leading the first great proletarian cultural revolution to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism in socialist society and ensure the onward march of mankind towards communism in the historical epoch of socialism.

The revolutionary victories of the Chinese people under the proletarian revolutionary line of Comrade Mao Zedong up to the present means that at least one-fourth of humanity are steadfastly on the road of socialism, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated in a country as vast as China and that imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism have no future but doom.

Mao Zedong Thought sums up the proletarian revolutionary teachings and work of the great communist Mao Zedong and points to the latest peak in the unceasing development of the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletariat. It proceeds from the stages of Marxism

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and Leninism. And thus we speak today of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The New Democratic Revolution

Comrade Mao Zedong founded the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China on July 1, 1921 under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. And thus the Chinese revolution clearly entered the stage of the new democratic revolution, a bourgeois-democratic revolution under the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, and became linked with the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

The salvos of the October Revolution of 1917 led by the great Lenin had brought Marxism-Leninism to China. In the course of the May 4th Movement in 1919, the young revolutionaries of China had started to study and seek guidance from Marxism-Leninism as a way out of the defeats and humiliation suffered by the Chinese people in the hands of the imperialists and their local accomplices in the revolutionary struggles since the Opium War in 1840.

Comrade Mao Zedong used the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in examining the history and circumstances of China. Making a thoroughgoing analysis of what was then a semicolonial and semifeudal society, grasping the basic class contradictions therein, he was able to make clear the targets, tasks, motive forces, character and perspective of the Chinese revolution. In this regard, he wrote *Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society*, *Report on An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* and other works which were the result of concrete social investigation and study of historical forces in the course of revolutionary struggle.

He pointed out that the imperialists and their local running dogs—the warlords, big landlords and big compradors—were the targets of the revolution. He defined as the tasks of the revolution the armed overthrow of the reactionary state and the national liberation and social emancipation of the people, especially the peasant masses whose struggle for land was the main content of the democratic revolution.

Among the motive forces of the revolution, he pointed to the proletariat as the leading class, the peasantry as its closest and most reliable ally, the urban petty bourgeoisie as another reliable ally and the national bourgeoisie as still another ally with a dual character. He referred to the character of the revolution as new democratic because

it was no longer part of a world bourgeois-capitalist revolution but of the world proletarian-socialist revolution and sought to prepare for and bring about a socialist revolution in China.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the three basic weapons of the Chinese revolution in seizing political power were: a communist party using the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and the style of being closely linked with the masses; a people's army under the leadership of such a party; and a united front of all revolutionary classes under the leadership of such a party.

Through the twists and turns of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong always put forward the ideological and political line to put the Party on the correct road. Under his leadership, the Party defeated the Right opportunist line of Chen Duxiu, the "Left" opportunist lines of Chu Chiubai and Li Lisan, the "Left" and then Right opportunist line of Wang Ming and the splittist line of Zhang Guotao.

Chen Duxiu did not believe that the proletariat could lead the revolution and believed that a bourgeois republic must first be established under the Guomindang. He surrendered all independence and initiative of the Chinese Communist Party in the united front during the First Revolutionary Civil War, cast away the leadership of the Party over the revolutionary armed struggle and hankered for parliamentary struggle under a bourgeois republic. On the other hand, Chu Chiubai believed that by relying on the proletariat alone power could be seized through putschist methods. Both opportunists did not recognize the peasant masses as the main force behind the leadership of the proletariat and took every occasion to denigrate them.

During the Agrarian Revolutionary War, when they took turns at usurping the leadership of the Party, Li Lisan and Wang Ming considered the middle forces as "the most clever enemy" of the revolution and opposed the entire bourgeoisie. They did not recognize the necessity of a protracted people's war in the countryside and they acted according to the erroneous line that the faster they could take on the cities by armed force the better, without regard to base-building in the countryside. Later on, Wang Ming would swing to Chen Duxiu's line of surrendering all independence and initiative to the Guomindang during the War of Resistance against Japan.

After leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising in August 1927, Comrade Mao Zedong created the first revolutionary rural base and the first detachment of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants in the

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Jinggang Mountains and carried out agrarian revolution. The troops of the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927 that signaled the armed resistance to Jiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution came to merge with Comrade Mao Zedong's forces in April 1928.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Red Army of Workers and Peasants defeated the first, second and third counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the Goumindang reactionaries. Guerrilla warfare advanced in many other parts of China. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experience and wrote such important works as *Why Is It that Red Political Power Can Exist in China?*, *The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains*, *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* and *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*.

When Wang Ming usurped the leadership of the Party from 1931 to 1934, he caused the biggest damage to the Party, the people's army and the people's revolutionary cause. Ninety percent of the Party's forces in the Red areas were destroyed and almost 100% in the White Areas. The Red Army was compelled to make the Long March.

It was only in January 1935 at the Zhunyi Conference of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee that the correct line and leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong became established in the entire Party. Comrade Mao Zedong took full command of the Long March and successfully brought it to northern Shanxi, despite Zhang Goutao's splittism. The Red Army marched 25,000 li, conducted mobile warfare along the way and went through the most difficult obstacles to reach its destination.

Comrade Mao Zedong rebuilt the people's army into a powerful fighting and political force. He consistently applied the line of building rural bases, carrying out land reform and encircling the cities from the country side until such time that conditions are ripe to seize the former in a general offensive. He raised the armed leadership of the Party and repeatedly defeated the enemy in the countryside.

From his Jinggang days to the victorious conclusion of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a systematic body of military writings which proved him a great theoretician and great commander of people's war. His mastery of military science was inseparable from his mastery of materialist dialectics and Chinese society. Wang Ming and others made disastrous errors in China's armed revolution because of their ignorance of all these.

Tribute to the Great Communist Mao Zedong

Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the works *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War against Japan*, *On Protracted War* and *Problems of War and Strategy*, among others which included many directives of decisive importance.

From Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong was able to successfully call for a broad united front against the Japanese fascist invaders. The line was to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the diehard forces. This was also to take advantage of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and destroy the enemies one by one.

Unlike in the united front in the First Revolutionary Civil War, when Chen Duxiu committed the grave error of "all unity and no struggle" with the Guomindang, Comrade Mao Zedong advocated unity and struggle in the united front in the Revolutionary War of Resistance against Japan. He also admonished that "all struggle and no unity" would be erroneous and that the struggle would have to be launched on just grounds, to the advantage of the revolutionary forces and with restraint.

To guide the united front, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote *The Situation and our Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War after the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan*, his report to and concluding speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee, *On Policy and other important works*.

The entire Revolutionary War of Resistance against Japan was a great occasion for the Communist Party of China to take initiative in uniting the Chinese people in one revolutionary struggle and build a powerful people's army and rural bases independent of the Guomindang. But if the Guomindang reactionaries refused to join the united front, they would have thoroughly discredited and destroyed themselves too soon. And indeed, they became more isolated each time that they undertook an anticommunist onslaught, instead of fighting the common enemy.

Comrade Mao Zedong did not only concern himself with laying down the timely practical policies that created and built up the political, military economic and cultural forces and bulwarks of the revolution but he also wrote works which constitute significant new contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism as a theory and which laid stress on the ideological building of the Party.

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We refer to his philosophical works, *On Practice and On Contradiction*; Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art; and the works *Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party's Style of Work and Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing* which served as materials in the great rectification movement in Yen-an that strengthened the Party on the eve of the Seventh Party Congress, the Japanese defeat and the civil war launched by the US-Jiang clique.

At the Seventh Party Congress in April 1945, Comrade Mao Zedong made his report *On Coalition Government* and set the political line of boldly mobilizing the masses and expanding the people's forces so that under the leadership of the Party the aggressors would be defeated and New China would be established. The congress was a congress of victory and unity, inspiring the hundreds of millions of Chinese people. Upon the victory of the war of resistance, the army led by the Party was already one-million strong and the liberated areas had expanded to include a population of 100 million.

US imperialism wanted to put one over the Chinese people and thus plotted to rig up a government which would temporarily include the Communist Party but which would be nothing more than a government of the Guomindang reactionaries. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that under the circumstances then it was necessary to counter counterrevolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual tactics and that to go to the Chongqing negotiations was tit-for-tat struggle. Not to give the imperialists and the local reactionaries an advantage, he directed the revolutionary forces to prepare themselves and went to the negotiations to expose to the entire nation the true character and intentions of the US-Jiang clique.

At this time, Liu Shaochi harped on the capitulationist line that China had entered "a new stage of peace and democracy." He prated that the main form of struggle of the Chinese people would have to change from armed struggle to nonarmed parliamentary struggle. He wanted to surrender the people's army and the revolutionary bases to Jiang Kai-shek and become an official of the reactionary government.

When the Guomindang reactionaries proceeded to unleash the counterrevolutionary civil war, the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army and the broad masses of the people were fully prepared. Jiang Kai-shek's eight million troops were wiped out and defeated in the People's War of Liberation. The entirety of China was liberated, with the exception of Taiwan and other small islands.

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The Chinese people won the new democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism under the revolutionary line and leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. This was a victory not only of the Chinese people. It was a victory of the entire people of the world. A full quarter of humanity in an immense territory freed itself from the imperialist ambit of oppression and exploitation. Not only was the imperialist front in the East greatly breached but imperialist domination throughout the world was also severely undermined and weakened.

The liberation of the Chinese people was not merely an objective fact favorable to the world revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary teachings spread throughout the world, among the revolutionaries and oppressed peoples and nations. China's example as well as militant acts and pronouncements against US imperialism and all reaction aroused the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the rest of the world to expand and intensify their revolutionary struggles.

On the consideration alone that he victoriously led a quarter of humanity towards liberation in a new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong easily stood out even then as a great communist leader and as a great revolutionary figure in the history of mankind. New China is the monument to his greatness and nothing can ever efface this fact.

The Socialist Revolution

Comrade Mao Zedong founded the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The new democratic revolution had been basically completed upon the seizure of political power. And the socialist revolution began. The dictatorship of the proletariat, taking the form of the people's democratic state, was established.

On the eve of nationwide victory, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong had clearly stated that the principal contradiction in socialist China would be the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and had warned that after wiping out the enemies with guns there would still be the enemies without guns who should never be lightly regarded. He put forward the basic socialist line of the proletariat. Opposed to this line, Liu Shaochi went around saying that there was "merit in exploitation."

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The People's Liberation Army with its several millions of troops, following the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, promoted the line and policies of the Party among the masses, suppressed the counterrevolutionaries and became an ever more effective fighting, political and work force.

All bureaucrat capital, which comprised most of modern industry, was confiscated and turned into state-owned socialist enterprises. The land reform movement fully deprived the landlord class of its feudal property, mobilized hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants and laid the basis for the growth of cooperative relations. Concessions with clear limits, in the interest of the toiling masses, were given to the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

The first trial of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie occurred in 1951-52. The movement was launched against the three evils of corruption, waste and bureaucracy within the Party and government organizations, and another related one against the five evils of bribery of government workers by the bourgeoisie, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for private speculation.

These movements, together with the movement to suppress the counterrevolutionaries, once more put the proletariat on top of the bourgeoisie, guaranteed the victory of the struggle to resist US aggression and aid Korea and ensured the rapid rehabilitation of the national economy.

Under Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people proceeded to smash in 1954 the Gao Gang and Yao Shi anti-Party alliance and in 1959 the counterrevolutionary clique of Hu Feng who had come out with an antisocialist program for art and literature. Starting with the exposure of certain reactionary films promoted by the bourgeois Rightists, a series of struggles was launched against bourgeois ideas.

Comrade Mao Zedong laid down the general line in the period of transition. Its essence was to solve the system of ownership of the means of production so that the socialist system of ownership or the system of ownership by the state and system of collective ownership by the working people would become the economic base of China. This was a necessary and important step to consolidate further the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In agriculture, mutual aid teams with some elements of socialism and initial cooperatives with semisocialist character up to advanced socialist cooperatives were promoted. In capitalist industry and commerce, the state ordered the private enterprises to process and produce goods and bought and sold all their products; it also used private enterprises to buy and sell commodities for the state. Eventually, the private enterprises were transformed into joint state-private enterprises and payments of fixed interest on the estimated value of property were made to the private owners in accordance with the policy of redemption.

The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry was carried out step by step and was coordinated with the suppression of the counterrevolutionaries as well as bourgeois Rightists who had sneaked into the Party and with the patient education of "Left" elements who wished the transformation to be accomplished at one blow.

The hidden traitor Liu Shaochi raised the slogan that "the new democratic order should be consolidated" during the early fifties. He also went around reducing the number of cooperatives and prating about "mechanization before cooperation." Comrade Mao Zedong promptly opposed Liu's Right deviation by writing a series of works, including *On the Problem of Agricultural Cooperation*, to set the correct line.

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in 1956, Liu Shaochi and his gang loudly pushed the revisionist theory of the "dying out of class struggle" by claiming that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically resolved" and that the "contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces" was the principal contradiction. They meant to say that the relations of production were no longer a problem, that class struggle had become finished and that all that needed to be done was to develop the productive forces.

Their revisionist line was but a restatement of the "theory of productive forces" of Bernstein and Kautsky and they smuggled it into the decision of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. They acted as representatives of the bourgeoisie and local agents of the Soviet modern revisionists within the Communist Party.

Comrade Mao Zedong wrote his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*. This debunked the revisionist

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fallacies and set the correct line for the entire historical period of socialism in China. This became the basis of his theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He pointed out that although in the main socialist transformation had been completed with respect to the system of ownership, there were still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there was still a bourgeoisie and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie had just started. He clearly stated that the class struggle was by no means over and that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would continue to be long and tortuous and at times would even become very acute.

He pointed out that the basic contradictions in socialist society were still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. He stated that though socialist relations of production had been established and were in harmony with the growth of productive forces they were still far from perfect, and this imperfection stood in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. He added that apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces there was harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base.

In 1957, a great mass struggle was launched against the bourgeois Rightists who had taken advantage of the Party's rectification campaign. This clearly proved that the class struggle was a continuing process in socialist society.

Comrade Mao Zedong set the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and launched the great leap forward and the people's commune movement in 1958. Under this line, the principle of making agriculture the basis and industry the leading factor was set and a series of principles of "walking on two legs" was laid down.

The initiative of both the central government and the localities was given full play. While using the industry on the coastline, industrial construction in the interior was accelerated. Agriculture and industry; light industry and heavy industry; and big, medium-size and small enterprises were developed simultaneously. And, of course, the

organization of the people's commune was enthusiastically undertaken by the revolutionary masses.

At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in August 1959, Peng Dehuai rabidly opened up against the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune. He was promptly repulsed and defeated. Subsequently, Liu Shaochi and his gang also opposed the line when they thought that they could take advantage of economic difficulties resulting from three consecutive years of natural calamities and the Soviet revisionist clique's perfidious acts of tearing up contracts and withdrawing its experts.

They pushed for the extension of plots for private use, the expansion of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own. They also pushed for the liquidation of the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries and for reduction of support and assistance for the world revolution. This was at a time that the US imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the Indian reactionaries were intensifying their anti-China activities.

Comrade Mao Zedong's line, the great leap forward and the people's commune overcame all difficulties, pushed forward socialist construction in a big and all-round way and debunked everything that the bourgeois Rightists and the imperialists and revisionists had claimed. The Chinese people demonstrated to the entire world that they could continue to forge ahead precisely because they maintained their independence and initiative and gave full play to self-reliance and hard struggle as they did in the revolutionary base areas during their new democratic revolution.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the entire Party never to forget class struggle. He pointed out that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period and that in this long historical period there are still classes, class contradiction and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.

After the plenary session, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* to criticize the bourgeois idealism and metaphysics of Liu Shaochi. The mass movement to study and apply the works of Comrade Mao Zedong advanced rapidly. Following the

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call of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Party launched an attack in the ideological field, particularly in the areas of the Beijing Opera, ballet and symphonic music, and as a result the heroic forms of the workers, peasants and soldiers emerged on the stage.

Comrade Mao Zedong once more warned the whole Party in 1963 that if classes and class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its political color.

When the massive socialist education movement was launched in 1964, Liu Shaochi tried to confuse and derail the class struggle, so as to promote his own revisionist line, by babbling that the principal contradiction was the “contradiction between the ‘four cleans’ and the ‘four uncleans’” and “the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party.”

Stressing the correct thesis that the principal contradiction in the socialist period is between the two classes and the two roads, Comrade Mao Zedong sharply pointed out that the target of the socialist education movement was those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

In 1965, he launched the criticism of the play *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office*. This signaled the great counterattack of the proletariat on the bourgeoisie whose representatives within the Party had usurped portions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and had resorted to all sorts of tricks to attack Comrade Mao Zedong’s proletarian revolutionary line and prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

The Soviet revisionist renegades were already completing a decade of openly restoring capitalism in the homeland of the great Lenin since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The first half of the sixties was marked by intense open struggle between the Marxist-Leninists led by Comrade Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party and the modern revisionist renegades headed by the Soviet revisionist renegades. This further served to shed light on the danger of capitalist restoration in China.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Comrade Mao Zedong personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—a political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. The objective was to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism by revolutionizing the superstructure of the socialist society in line with what emerged fully as Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As this great revolution started, Liu Shaochi and his gang tried to turn it into a "pure academic discussion." But the Circular of May 16, 1966, prepared under Comrade Mao Zedong's direction, called on the entire Party to beware of people like Khrushchov nestling within the Party. The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee approved in August 1966 the Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which again pointed to Party persons in power taking the capitalist road; and Comrade Mao Zedong issued his big-character poster, "Bombard the Headquarters!" Liu Shaochi's bourgeois headquarters was shaken from the base to the rafters and eventually collapsed under the crushing blows of the masses. Portions of the proletarian dictatorship usurped by the capitalist roaders were wrested back.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the great toiling masses, youth and soldiers of China gained profound revolutionary experience and became tempered as successors to the proletarian revolution. Every aspect of the superstructure was revolutionized and the broad masses of the people learned the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and how to deal with the affairs of the state and specific problems in every sphere of social activity. China became one great school of hundreds of millions of people studying and applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Under the impetus of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they created many socialist new things and made great strides in production and preparedness against war, natural calamities and other possible disasters. It was not only the bourgeoisie in China which suffered an unprecedentedly grave defeat but also the imperialists and social-imperialists who had hoped that China would someday change her color.

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In 1969 the Soviet social-imperialists ran berserk and made violent incursions into China's territory. These were quickly repulsed on the spot and came to nothing but a futile attempt to divert attention from the great historic significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. US imperialism, which was bogged down in its war of aggression in Vietnam, could also see no further than defeat in the face of this great revolution.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Ninth Party Congress summed up the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and called on the broad masses of the people to unite to win ever greater victories. Lin Biao tried to sabotage the congress when he, together with his sidekick Chen Boda, made a draft of a political report stating that the main task after the congress was to promote production. Of course, this draft was rejected by the Central Committee because it was opposed to Comrade Mao Zedong's line of putting revolutionary politics in command of production and other things.

Lin Biao was consistently rebuffed by the movement to criticize revisionism, rectify the style of work and study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. At the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, he launched a counterrevolutionary coup d'état. Failing in this, he plotted an armed counterrevolutionary coup d'état in an attempt to assassinate Comrade Mao Zedong. Failing again, he came to no good end in his attempt to escape to the Soviet Union.

Comrade Mao Zedong led the Party and the people in continuous class struggle after the victory over the Lin Biao armed conspiracy and assassination attempt. He directed the Tenth Party Congress to sum up the struggle against the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and reaffirm the Party's basic line. He successively directed the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify the style of work, the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, the movement to criticize the novel of capitulationism *Water Margin* and the movement to grasp the principle of restricting bourgeois right. He also started the great debate on the revolution in education which eventually uncovered the revisionist line and maneuvers of the unrepentant Deng Xiaoping.

On the eve of his demise, Comrade Mao Zedong was still able to lead the movement to repulse the Right deviationist wind whipped up by Deng Xiaoping to reverse the correct decisions of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He presided over the overthrow of this unrepentant and incorrigible revisionist who sought to discredit the

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and seize power on behalf of the bourgeoisie. The Party and the broad masses of the people rose up to assert the supremacy of the proletariat and made clear that class struggle is the key link which should be grasped to promote unity and stability as well as production and modernization and which should not be subordinated to or put at par with any of these.

Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is bound to repeatedly and progressively consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism in China. This is an invincible weapon in the hands of the Party, proletariat and the rest of the working people in China.

It is obvious that among the great communists Comrade Mao Zedong had the advantage of studying and summing up the latest historical experience of the international proletariat and several socialist countries, including those that turned revisionist. There is nothing surprising at all why it was possible for him to see clearly the content of the whole historical epoch of socialism and to arrive at and develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism the theory and practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a champion of proletarian internationalism. He stood and worked for unity and close cooperation among the socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist parties and gave unselfish support to the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations. His overriding concern in firmly pushing forward the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China was to serve not only the Chinese people but also the people of the world and thereby uphold the great cause of communism.

Comrade Mao Zedong courageously opposed the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the rise of Soviet social-imperialism. He consistently fought for the revolutionary interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the rest of the world against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all forms of reaction. He vigorously supported the outstanding struggles of the Korean and Indochinese peoples against the bitterest wars of aggression launched by US imperialism in the period after China's own liberation.

Under Comrade Mao Zedong's great statesmanship, New China won resounding diplomatic victories. In his time, she established diplomatic

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relations with the overwhelming majority of countries under the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. Her legitimate rights in the United Nations were restored. Within and outside the United Nations, she counted herself among the developing countries of the third world and conjoined with them in common struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism in a deliberate effort to help develop the third world peoples and countries as the main force of the international united front.

So long as the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people of various nationalities continue to unite in upholding and applying the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong, they will not only continue to advance in their own socialist revolution and socialist construction but will continue to make ever greater contributions to the advance of the world revolution.

Mao Zedong and the Philippine Revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We draw guidance from the progressively continuous teachings of the great communists Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Learning from Comrade Mao Zedong is indispensable to us as a Marxist-Leninist party, especially because we are waging a new democratic revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. His teachings guide us in our new democratic revolution and will further guide us in the ensuing socialist revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the microscope and telescope of the Philippine revolution.

Mao Zedong Thought is not simply the integration of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is a further development of Marxism-Leninism as a universal theory. We as a Marxist-Leninist party will always strive to integrate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution.

On several occasions, Comrade Mao Zedong personally expressed and demonstrated his concern for the advance of the Philippine revolution. He had the best wishes for the revolutionary victory of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party of the Philippines. His memory and teachings will

Tribute to the Great Communist Mao Zedong

forever be treasured by our people. He will always live in our minds and hearts.

We have already conveyed to all our Chinese comrades and to the Chinese people through the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China our deepest grief over Comrade Mao Zedong's demise and we have also expressed to them our determination to continue drawing strength from his teachings.

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the proletariat and people's of the world!

Long live the world proletarian-socialist revolution!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Eternal glory to Comrade Mao Zedong!

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Third World Countries Oppose US Monopoly of IMF-WB Affairs

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The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) held their 31st joint annual meeting in Manila last October 4 to 9. Attending the meeting were 1,288 delegates including the boards of directors of the two banks, the finance ministers and central bank governors of 128 member countries and representatives of several international organizations and observer countries.

Since their establishment under the auspices of the United Nations soon after World War II, the IMF and the World Bank have been under the firm control of US imperialism which holds the controlling shares. Both banks have always been used to promote US political and economic hegemony not only over other capitalist countries but mainly over the developing countries now collectively called the third world.

Under the pressure of the third world people and countries, this year's meeting focused on the problem of poverty which has worsened as a result of the protracted and deep-going crisis of the world capitalist system. Except for a handful of developed countries, the members of the two banks are developing countries to which the developed countries shift their crisis.

To shift the crisis, characterized by inflation and recession, the US and other developed countries have deliberately caused currency devaluations in developing countries, reduced imports and set up tariff barriers, hiked prices of manufactured goods, pressed down prices of raw materials and used "aid" to promote foreign investments, unequal trade and debt slavery.

As a result, the economies of third world countries tied to the world capitalist system are in chaos. Their total outstanding debt from the imperialist banks has reached the astronomical sum of \$230 billion. The total balance of payments deficits of non-oil producing developing countries came to \$34 billion in 1975. These are expected to increase further this year.

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The intensification of imperialist plunder and exploitation has produced the third world countries to unite in defense of their state sovereignty and economic rights against US imperialism and the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism. Since 1974, when they adopted at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly the *Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order* and at another meeting the *Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States*, the developing countries have rapidly strengthened their unity and determination to fight for their legitimate interests.

The just-concluded conference inevitably became an occasion for the confrontation between the representatives of US imperialism and those of developing countries.

Imperialist Threats

Delivering the IMF annual address, Johannes Witteveen as IMF managing director did not even pay lip service to the plight of the developing countries. He tried to place in a good light the monetary and financial policies and techniques by which the developed countries have not been able to solve their own economic crisis but which they have used to exploit the developing countries further. Worst of all, he threatened the developing countries with stiffer terms of borrowing and urged them to concentrate on raw-material production for the developed countries.

The IMF takes the guise of looking after the monetary and financial stability of its member countries and providing immediate and temporary relief from balance of payments deficits in order to keep foreign trade going. The facilities available for the purpose are the gold tranche, the four ordinary credit tranches, the facility for compensatory financing, the buffer stock financing facility and the oil facility.

In extending "aid" to developing countries, the IMF imposes such requirements as a "favorable climate" for foreign investments, removal of restrictions on profit remittances by foreign investors, liberalization of imports from the United States and other developed countries, acceptance of onerous foreign loans not only from the IMF but also from the World Bank and the private imperialist banks and adoption of a policy of raising the local tax burden.

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IMF resources are mostly used and manipulated by US imperialism to maintain its economic and financial supremacy. Capitalist countries, like Italy and Great Britain, have also made large drawings to meet their balance of payments problems. The developing countries come last in the extension of IMF resources and get loans at the most onerous terms.

Burdened by accelerated profit remittances, increasingly lopsided trade of raw-material exports and manufacture imports and increasingly heavy debt servicing, the developing countries continuously suffer from balance of payments deficits that put them into deeper indebtedness and heavier impositions of the IMF.

Delivering the World Bank annual address, Robert S. McNamara as World Bank president spewed a lot of rhetoric and data about the poverty of developing countries but went no further than asking the developed countries for more "development assistance" for the developing countries. Of course, he did not touch on the fact that foreign loans from the imperialists are precisely the cause of underdevelopment. Speaking on the scarcity of funds in his bank, he merely wanted to justify its increasingly onerous terms for loans.

The World Bank and its affiliate the International Development Association (IDA) are supposed to extend "soft loans" (long-term at low interest rates) to the developing countries upon recommendation of the IMF. But in fact these loans are onerous because of the excessive payments required for administration costs, feasibility studies, foreign experts, technical services, personnel training abroad and commodities that have to be purchased from the United States and other developed countries belonging to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The basic scheme of the IDA is to orient the developing countries towards US investments and trade policies, limit the governments of these countries to infrastructure and other nonindustrial projects (including an expensive birth-control campaign), stimulate a climate for US and other foreign investments and demand counterpart funds, which together with foreign loans, divert local resources from genuine development of a self-reliant national economy.

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) is the affiliate of the World Bank which specializes in barefaced financing for US-owned and US-approved business projects. It extends loans at commercial rates. A comparison of the lending capital of IFC with that of IDA will

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show that the interest of US imperialism lies not in the genuine development of the developing countries but in their exploitation and plunder.

Aside from making possible loans from the IDA and IFC, the World Bank arranges for larger and more burdensome loans for its developing client-states mainly from US commercial banks. To cover up the chief role of US commercial banks, the World Bank mixes them up in ostensibly multilateral groups of banks called "aid consortia." For instance, there is the "aid consortium" for the Philippines, supposedly Paris-based but composed mainly of US and Japanese banks, with the former as the largest creditor.

US finance secretary William E. Simon, who headed the US delegation, echoed the speech of Witteveen and threatened a tighter credit situation for the third world countries. Engaging in a sham debate with McNamara, he rebuffed the idea that the lending capital of the World Bank be increased and in that regard the developed countries increase their contributions to the bank. Instead, he demanded that the bank should operate and make profits on its present capital base and raise its interest rates.

Simon made a political diatribe against the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in a futile attempt to drive a wedge between it and the other third world countries. He tried to blame the oil producing countries of the third world for the world inflation and demanded that they give more assistance to the oil-importing developing countries.

The Third World Stand

Mohammed Yeganeh, Iranian state minister and chairman of the OPEC governing committee, took up the cudgels for the oil-producing countries. He pointed out that Simon exaggerated the income of the oil-producing countries and that many of these countries are suffering balance of payments problems. He pointed to the OPEC special fund of \$800 million to assist oil-importing countries of the third world.

The oil price increases since the oil embargo that followed the October war in 1973 have been necessitated in the first place by the spiraling prices of manufactures and food imported by the oil-producing countries of the third world. Until now, oil prices like those of other raw materials from the developing countries keep on falling behind the prices of imports from the developed countries. Thus, the

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oil-producing countries together with other third world countries have called for a system of price indexation.

The oil-producing countries are rightly asserting their sovereign rights over their natural resources. An increasing number of them are trying to wrest back ownership of their oil resources and to control production so as to conserve these against wastage and profit-making by the giant US cartels. To promote their independence, they are trying to build national industries, develop agriculture and strengthen their national defense.

The anti-imperialist stand of the OPEC gave impetus in 1974 to the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly that put out the declaration and program of action on the establishment of a new international economic order. Instead of being taken in by the continuous anti-OPEC propaganda of US imperialism, many developing countries have organized raw-material producers' organizations patterned after the OPEC in an effort to protect themselves from the world capitalist crisis and from impositions of the imperialists.

Marie-Christiane Gbokou, finance minister of the Central African Republic, spoke for the African delegations. She charged that the debilitating effects of inflation and recession in recent years have caused a progressive deterioration in the terms of trade of the poorest among the poor countries. She also charged that the United Nations, the IMF and World Bank are veritably exclusive clubs of the rich countries because the poor countries are excluded from decision-making.

It is the longstanding demand of the third world countries that reform in the international financial and monetary system be tackled on an equal footing among all countries and that monopoly of decision-making in restricted boards must come to an end.

A.H. Jamal, Tanzanian finance and planning minister, derided the second amendments to the articles of agreement of the IMF as a tragedy. He said that there was no guarantee of protection for developing countries from the floating rate policy of the IMF and that the second amendments grant the prerogative to developed countries to make further amendments.

The second amendments deal with exchange arrangements, reduction in the role of gold, changes in the characteristics and expansion of the special drawing right, expansion of the IMF financial operations and transactions, the possible establishment of a council of governors,

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and minor changes in a number of organizational aspects. Not a single one of these is of any benefit to the developing countries.

It was the fascist dictator Marcos who was most enthusiastic about these as he in his keynote address uncritically announced his full approval and even urged other countries to also approve them. Cesar Virata, Philippine finance secretary, also abused the role of the Philippines as host to the IMF-World Bank meeting as he maneuvered the "Group of 24," a section of the third world, to issue a communiqué that went no further than echo McNamara's line.

The main demand of the communiqué was one for the replenishment of World Bank funds by the developed countries, aside from merely expressing disappointment over the fact that balance of payments deficits of non-oil producing countries of the third world are rising fast, that lending rates are becoming tougher and that access of the raw material exports to the developed countries is more difficult than ever.

The Philippine fascist authorities have consistently played the role of US imperialist agents and of trying to dilute the demands of the third world at every turn. At the third ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, now composed of 110 member countries, in Manila last January, they maneuvered to push aside such demands of the third world as nationalization of foreign assets, control of US multinational corporations, cancellation of debts, price indexation and the like.

At any rate, US imperialism has become so bankrupt that it vigorously opposed the demands in the Manila Declaration and Program of Action at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Nairobi, Kenya. The demands included: (1) adoption of an integrated program for commodities; (2) debt relief through rescheduling of payments; (3) preferential treatment for semimanufactures and manufactures; and (4) a revised patent system and a code of conduct in technology to ensure efficient transfer.

On the main question of integrated program of commodities, the US counterproposed a system of individual commodity agreements and an international resources bank. By these, the developing countries can still be played off against each other but all of them would be tied to a bank similar to the IMF and World Bank.

While pretending to support the integrated program for commodities, the other superpower counterproposed a system of medium and long-term commodity agreements by which it could first bait in the

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developing countries and then subsequently make obnoxious impositions. Its relations with India and Egypt are instructive.

The IMF-World Bank meeting ended with the third world countries unsatisfied and determined to make ever stronger demands in forthcoming forums. US imperialism found itself more isolated than ever before within the two financial institutions that had long been its bulwark.

So exasperated was Rama Mohammed Hanif Khan, finance minister of Pakistan, that at one point in the meeting he presented a resolution calling for a conference of all the third world countries at the highest level to take stock of the situation with the view of devising an appropriate strategy for looking after their own interests in the struggle between the poor and rich countries.

The Pakistani representatives, together with a big number of representatives from other third world countries, called for the ouster of those agents of the Jiang clique impersonating China in the IMF. The representatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam also took the occasion to denounce the United States for reneging on its pledge to help in the healing of the wounds of war in Vietnam and demanded the release of frozen Vietnamese accounts and assets in US banks.

While the third world people and countries are determined to oppose US imperialism, they are wary of the other superpower and are ever determined to promote their own national independence and self-reliant efforts rather than become subservient to either of the two superpowers. The third world is developing rapidly as the main force against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

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IMF and World Bank Denounced as Tools of US Imperialism

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The IMF-World Bank joint annual meeting became an occasion for popular education on the workings of US imperialism as well as on the puppetry and bankruptcy of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Both the IMF and World Bank were subjected to scrutiny and denounced as tools of US imperialism in statements issued by progressive organizations, in symposia held in colleges and universities and in discussions within progressive circles in Manila and throughout the country a full month before and during the IMF-World Bank meeting.

Marcos' claim to "self-reliance" became thoroughly exposed as a big lie to more people. Attention became focused on the fact that as a result of "aid" by the IMF and World Bank, the broad masses of the Filipino people have undergone increasingly severe suffering.

US imperialism made use of the IMF in 1961 to "advise" the Macapagal administration to adopt the decontrol policy, devaluing the peso from the level of ₱2.00 to ₱3.90 per US dollar; reverse the policy of promoting "new and necessary industries"; allow the unhindered remittance of profits by foreign investors; push the takeover of Filipino enterprises by US multinational firms; encourage an economy of raw-material production for export; and push forward a comprehensive foreign investment incentives law.

At the same time, the World Bank came in as partner of the IMF in making recommendations on a large-scale infrastructure program and a program for "stabilizing" finances (increasing tax burden, accelerated foreign borrowing and tight credit for national businessmen) and promoting foreign investments and raw-material production for export.

Before decontrol, foreign debt was only \$174 million. When Macapagal was booted out in 1965, because he could not push through congress a foreign investment incentives law satisfactory to the US imperialists, the foreign debt reached \$541 million.

The Marcos regime pushed through the foreign investment incentives law demanded by the US imperialists in anticipation of the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement

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and carried out the recommendations of the IMF and the World Bank more vigorously than the Macapagal regime ever did. At the end of his first four-year term, Marcos had already incurred the grand debt of \$1.8 billion, composed mostly of short-term loans on which a repayment obligation of \$700 million was due.

Once more pretending concern over the financial stability of the Philippines, the IMF directed Marcos to adopt the “floating rate” in 1970 which further devalued the peso to the level of ₱6.00 per US dollar. This put the peso on a career of continuous devaluation.

The broad masses of the people found their incomes automatically cut down. An economy dependent on imported manufactures and even food products imposed higher prices on the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The national businessmen were squeezed by the tight credit situation. The US imperialists and the big comprador-landlords made more hay than ever before.

Satisfied with Marcos’ national betrayal, the IMF and the World Bank worked together to help the Philippines convert the old foreign loans into medium and long-term ones and get new loans. The World Bank organized a “consortium” of foreign banks, mainly US and Japanese, to extend further loans to the Philippines.

As early as 1969, the US imperialists had pushed the idea of a constitutional convention through the Manglapus group to firm up or even exceed their gains already in the foreign investment incentives law. Marcos accepted the idea and saw his personal advantage in the making of a new constitution.

Grabbing unlimited powers within the ruling system in 1972, the fascist dictator Marcos wrote out the constitution in the way his imperialist masters and he himself wanted, revoked the Supreme Court decisions on the Quasha and Luzteveco cases and issued a series of orders and decrees trampling on the democratic rights of the people, especially the toiling masses, and expanding the privileges of foreign investors with regard to profit remittances and investments in banking, oil exploration, agriculture, shipping, domestic trade and many other businesses.

Philippine foreign debt is now more than \$5.0 billion, a long way from the \$2.1 billion at the beginning of fascist rule. This is the result of compliance with US imperialist dictation through the IMF and the World Bank.

IMF and World Bank Denounced as Tools of US Imperialism

Foreign loans are depleted so fast because of the accelerated remittance of superprofits by US and other foreign investors, the worsening of the unequal exchange of raw-material exports and manufacture imports and the heavy burden of debt repayment. All the major raw-material exports of the Philippines are in a bad fix today in the world capitalist market.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has reached the point of being driven to get foreign loans at whatever cost. It has recently resorted to getting large short-term loans from the Euro-dollar market at high commercial interest rates. Within the first six months this year, it borrowed from this market \$765 million in addition to \$253 million last year.

These loans from the Euro-dollar market have in the main been the artificial prop for the retention of the peso value at around ₱7.40 per US dollar. The international reserve of \$1.1 billion is composed entirely of loans in the process of being spent, with the exception of a \$45-million gold hoard and a marginal amount of net foreign exchange in Philippine commercial banks.

The Philippines is in the clutches of debt slavery, thanks to the IMF and the World Bank. To go on being able to get foreign loans, with increasingly onerous terms because of the world capitalist crisis, the Marcos fascist dictatorship is bound to accede to the most obnoxious wishes of US imperialism.

The country is laid open to the plunder of its human and natural resources by foreign investors, especially US multinational corporations. Raw-material production for export continues to be stressed, even while the imperialists are doing everything to press down the prices of raw-material exports. Inflation rides high on the kind of trade carried on with the imperialists and on unbridled deficit public spending required by foreign investments and foreign loans. And yet the tax burden is rapidly becoming heavier.

The exploitation of the Filipino people has its limits. Resistance to the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is steadily growing. The people recognize clearly that while the Marcos fascist dictatorship is outwardly pompous, it is inwardly rotten. Its economic crisis and political isolation is daily worsening. Under these circumstances, the people's revolutionary movement for national independence and democracy is advancing.





Marcos Hypocrisy Exposed during IMF-WB Meeting

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Issue, October 20, 1976.

In his keynote speech before the 31st joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the fascist dictator Marcos harped on the theme of poverty and the “global rebellion of the poor.” He said, “Unless we conquer poverty in our time, we shall forever continue to move from problems caused by poverty to problems that cause more poverty.”

His words were clearly demagogic and hypocritical in view of the financial resources his fascist regime wasted on the preparations for the five-day conference. These cost the Filipino people the whopping sum of ₱3.5 billion, exceeding the 1976 budget of any department of the reactionary government, except the department of national defense.

The construction of 14 new hotels cost ₱2.5 billion and the Philippine International Convention Center, ₱1.0 billion. More than \$440 borrowed abroad were poured into these nonproductive, inflationary constructions, almost twice the \$268 million lent by the World Bank to the Philippines in fiscal year 1976. And yet millions upon millions of the people are jobless and have no decent dwellings.

The new hotels are owned by the Marcoses, Romualdezses and their cronies. The construction contracts, including that on the convention center, went to a host of US-Marcos corporations headed by the Construction Development Corporation of the Philippines. Knowledgeable sources say that the building projects actually cost less than half the officially declared cost. In brief, these have been used as quick devices of the fascist dictatorship for robbing the people.

The construction projects show in the most glaring way the essence of “aid” that the Philippines is getting under the auspices of the IMF and the World Bank. There is no scarcity of loans from the imperialists so long as these are drawn at onerous terms and used to divert resources from genuine development, thereby laying the country prostrate to imperialist plunder generation after generation.

In preparation for the conference, the fascist dictator Marcos ordered the ejection of some 10,000 urban poor families. Entire

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communities were razed without prior notice while Metrocom troops and police stood guard. Many displaced families were dumped at garbage sites and far-flung areas while others were left to fend for themselves. This clean-up operation was supervised by the National Housing Authority which now specializes in demolishing communities to clear the way for imperialist-sponsored projects and Marcos' real estate speculation.

Wanting to push further his scheme to use the IMF-World Bank meeting as a change to grab favorable publicity, Marcos called the foreign press correspondents gathered in Manila to a televised press conference last October 7. Instead of being able to make a flurry of boasts, he was cut down to size and roasted by pointed questions on his autocracy and profligacy by a number of correspondents.

Repeatedly giving their official guides the slip, the foreign correspondents were also able to witness the October 3 and 10 mass protest actions against the "referendum-plebiscite" and against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Both mass actions demonstrated the people's growing open resistance to fascist tyranny and the Marcos fascist regime's utter hypocrisy in calling for "free and open discussions" while resorting to all sorts of tricks and threats to suppress the people's protests.

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Inflationary and Counterproductive Budget for 1977 Announced

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Issue, October 20, 1976.

The annual budget of the Marcos fascist dictatorship continues to zoom up. A ₱27.4 billion budget for 1977 was unfolded by the fascist dictator himself before his clique, the “*batasang bayan*,” which promptly applauded and rubber stamped it last September 22.

The project budget is a far cry from the ₱7.9 billion for the fiscal year 1972-73, the last budget approved by Congress. Since then, the budget has increased by leaps and bounds. The budget for the current year is supposed to be ₱23.2 billion and is being overshot. Without any check on him within the reactionary government, the fascist dictator is bound to overshoot the budget projected for 1977.

Revenues are expected to fall below expenditures by ₱3.5 billion next year despite new tax measures designed to yield ₱1.0 billion. The fascist dictator announced that the deficit would be covered by borrowings. In the same breath, he described in self-contradiction that his budget is one of “self-reliance.”

The tax burden rose from ₱6.6 billion in 1972 to ₱20.2 billion in 1976 and is estimated to reach ₱23.9 billion in 1977. The fascist dictator now is so hard put at increasing the tax burden that he intends to increase further local and foreign borrowings.

The local public debt now stands at ₱40 billion, a long way from ₱9.7 billion in 1972. The foreign public debt now stands at more than \$5.0 billion, also a long way from \$2.1 billion in 1972.

Debt amortization and interest payments on long-term loans this current year is already beyond the level of \$500 million. Next year it will rise further, what with the rapid borrowing from the Euro-dollar market. But the appropriation for debt service in the 1977 budget is only ₱1.9 billion. This obvious understatement of one item alone proves beforehand that the projected 1977 budget will be overshot.

In handling its budget, the Marcos fascist dictatorship is carrying out a policy of bankruptcy, inflationary spending and selling the country down the river to the international loan sharks headed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

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The reactionary government under the fascist dictatorship is an unbridled parasitic machine wasting the financial resources of the country. It gives the highest priority to and allots the biggest funds for military build-up, support of Marcos' private business schemes and his infrastructure program.

The 1977 appropriation for the military and police is ₱5.0 billion, with the former gobbling up ₱4.7 billion. This is the biggest single item in the fascist budget. And yet this does not include the separate intelligence fund directly handled by the fascist dictator, which was ₱1.0 billion in 1975, and the construction of military installations and military roads which could be concealed in the appropriations for public works and public highways.

The last budgetary appropriation made by congress for the military before the fascist martial rule was ₱1.2 billion. The quadrupling of military expenditures is due to an accelerated build-up of military personnel, equipment and installations and the increases in salary and allowances for military officers. This is indicative of the increasing resistance of the people to the fascist regime.

To obscure the extremely large appropriation for the department of national defense, the fascist dictator claims that ₱11.0 billion of the 1977 budget is allotted for "economic development." This includes the following items:

- ₱3.5 billion comprising the "corporate equity investment fund"

- ₱3.3 billion for the department of public works, transportation and communications

- ₱2.7 billion for the department of public highways.

The "corporate equity investment fund," excluding service payments on past foreign debts incurred by government banks, is largely for supporting Marcos' private business schemes like the Manila Bay reclamation project, the Tondo Foreshore and Dagat-dagatan urban development project, Mariveles free trade zone, PHIVIDEC industrial estate and the Morong nuclear plant, to mention a few. Marcos also uses public funds to muscle his way into lucrative private enterprises of long standing.

The large outlays for the department of public works, transportation and communications and department of public highways do not result in economic development. Roads, bridges, airports, harbors, dams, irrigation works and electric lines are so laid out as to enhance the semifeudal pattern of the economy, foreign investments and the

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colonial pattern of trade. Construction projects are grossly overpriced and are designed to overload the country with onerous foreign loans that quickly go back to the foreign contractors and suppliers.

Aside from overburdening the people with mounting obligations to imperialist banks, local public borrowing is accelerated to raise counterpart peso funds. Infrastructure projects are being undertaken so fast and in so many places, without genuine economic planning and correlation to genuine development. Resources are squandered and inflation is also generated.

Some of the big projects slated for 1977 are the construction of national government buildings in Quezon City, in the Manila Bay reclamation area and in some regional capitals; energy development projects, including infrastructure support for the nuclear power plant, geothermal units and oil exploration; electrification and waterworks projects; and communications and transportation facilities in the Visayas and Mindanao.

The Marcos fascist dictator jacks up the budgetary appropriations for public constructions in the belief of building monuments and making propaganda for himself and, of course, with the practical purpose of drawing large kickbacks from these projects, aggrandizing corporations owned or controlled by him and enhancing his land speculation schemes.

The Construction Development Corporation of the Philippines, which is the largest firm of its kind in the Philippines, has a monopoly of the biggest construction projects funded by the imperialist banks. It is owned and controlled by the fascist dictator through dummies and has strong links with US and Japanese contractors and suppliers of construction equipment and materials.

While the department of national defense gets at least 18 percent of the 1977 budget, the department of education and culture gets only about 7 percent or ₱2.0 billion; the department of health, 3.6 percent or ₱990 million; the department of agrarian reform, not even one percent or ₱203 million; and the department of social services and development, not even one-third of one percent or ₱79.3 million.

These comparisons further show the perverse sense of priority of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The facilities and personnel for elementary education are no longer being expanded at a rate sufficient to accommodate the yearly increase of school children; and the fair demands of the public school teachers for better salaries are being

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refused. Public health is utterly neglected especially in the rural areas, where the expensive "medicare program" is out of the question.

The fascist dictatorship gives low rating to "agrarian reform" even only as a propaganda gimmick and prefers to spend more for things like the Miss Universe contest, the Ali-Frazier fight, Imelda's heart center, overseas publicity, the foreign trips of Marcos and his wife, international conferences and the Philippine International Conference Center which together cost the reactionary government several billions of pesos.

The measly yearly amount extended to the department of social services and development show the fascist dictatorship's absolutely antagonistic attitude towards the great numbers of people who are its victims in large-scale forced evacuations during its military operations in the countryside, in the evictions of the national minorities and poor settlers from areas of land speculation and in slum clearance operations in cities again to allow the Marcos fascist gang to grab land.

The government reorganization announced by the fascist dictator as soon as he made his coup, has not resulted in any "rationalization" of government organization and operations. Names of departments have been merely changed. The bureaucracy is still bloated with desk-bound people with no productive work.

There is gross disparity between the high salaries, allowances and privileges of the high bureaucrats and technocrats on the one hand and the low depressed income of the mass of lowly employees on the other. Purchases of vehicles and office equipment, on which Marcos and his close subalterns monopolize the kickbacks, have been accelerated.

Under the title of "lump-sum funds" in the 1977 budget, there is a number of queer items subject to the most arbitrary handling by the fascist dictator. The queerest of all is the "national priorities support" for which the huge amount of ₱1.4 billion is appropriated. This is obviously the personal allowance of the fascist dictator for just about anything, including unaccounted intelligence funds.

Another queer item is the "international commitment fund" of ₱48.9 million. This is apart from the ₱93.4 million for the department of foreign affairs. This could be for the joint and separate international affairs of the dictatorial couple and for propaganda gimmicks abroad.

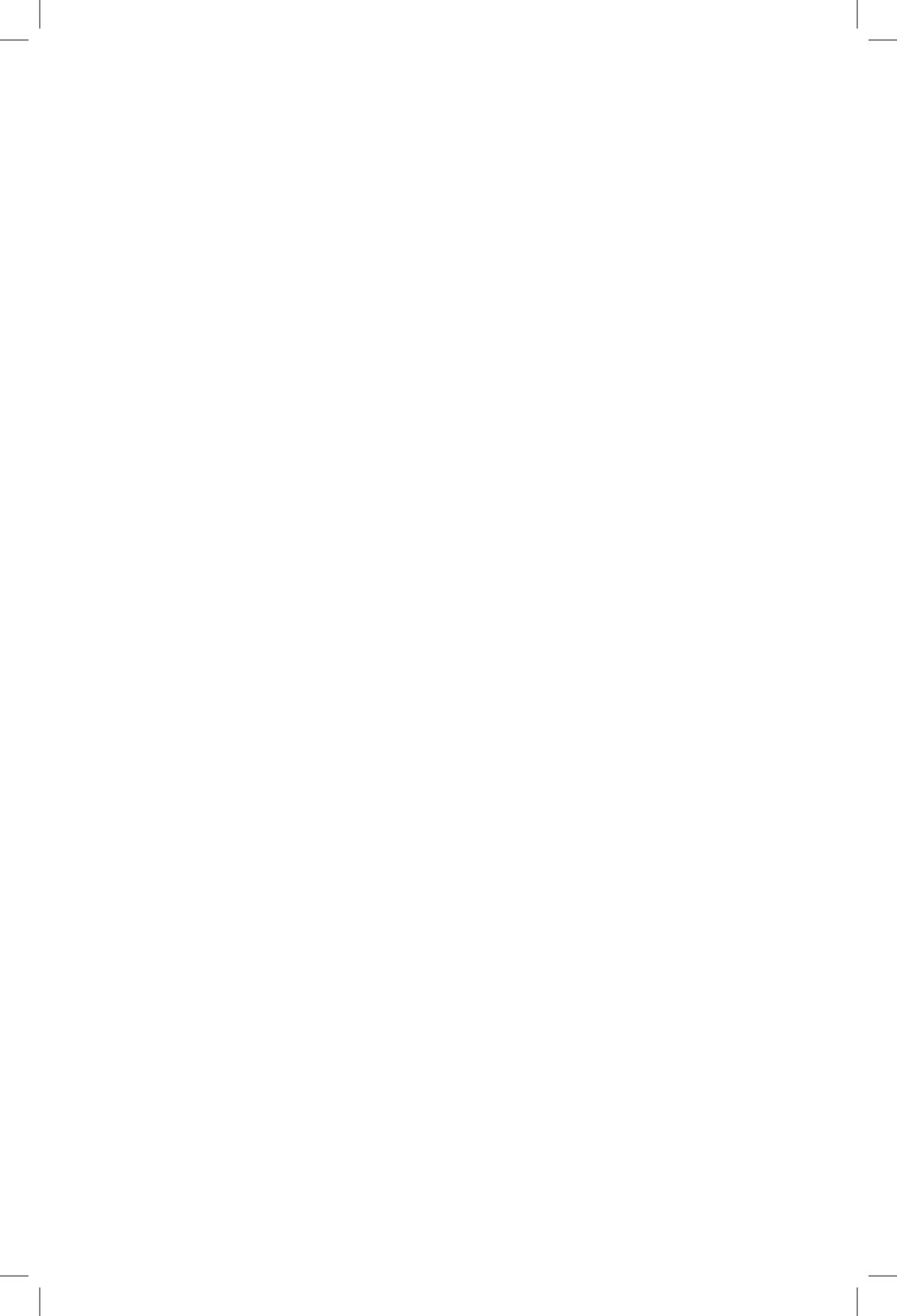
Also subject to arbitrary handling are the "calamity fund" of ₱553 million; "social pricing adjustments" of ₱827.1 million; "personnel benefits fund" of ₱430 million; "general adjustments funds" of ₱100

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million; and the miscellaneous funds of ₱30 million. The fascist dictator can actually pocket public funds as much as he pleases under the flimsiest pretext.

The 1977 budget is in line with all previous budgets of the fascist dictator. Government expenditures are kept high for payroll, office and transport facilities, nonproductive and blatantly counterproductive projects and the like so as to produce figures that enlarge the basis for an artificial annual growth rate of the economy. The rate of “growth” in “gross national product” from 1976 to 1977 is targeted at seven percent.

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On the Eighth Anniversary of our Party

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Today we celebrate with boundless joy the eighth anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. On this occasion, we sum up and draw lessons from our experience, consolidate our ranks and raise our determination to carry out our urgent revolutionary tasks.

The last eight years easily comprise a great part of the formative stage of the Party. In the course of fierce revolutionary struggle, we have acquired rich experience and become tempered. On the whole, the Party has won substantial victories ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The road of revolution is tortuous, with many twists and turns. Since the beginning, we have been subjected to the most vicious enemy military campaigns. But we have withstood all. More than four years of fascist martial rule by the US-Marcos clique have failed to turn back the people's democratic revolution. We have moved forward from one significant victory to another.

The Communist Party of the Philippines

The mass of Party members are deeply aware that the ideological building of the Party consists of applying the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The study of the basic scientific principles of revolution found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao is being creatively linked to the specific characteristics of the country and to the details of our experience and current work.

We remain firm in opposing modern revisionism promoted by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades. At the same time, we are alert to and combat dogmatist and empiricist trends within the Party. We realize that there are no ready-made and complete solutions to our specific problems from books or from abroad. At the same time, we maintain the proletarian internationalist spirit of

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learning from the successful revolutionary experience of others. We also persevere in raising our experience to the level of theory.

The correctness of our ideological line is verified by our success in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the Filipino people along the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist political line. Our organizational efforts have directly embraced several hundreds of thousands of people and our influence has positively reached the people in their millions. We have kept to the armed struggle as the main form of our struggle and have developed the united front to promote it. In the handling of these two weapons, we have surged forward and at the same time identified "Left" and Right opportunist trends that we have had to rectify.

At every level of the Party, there should be an accurate accounting of our strength. We should be able to state the number of people encompassed by our mass organizations and organs of political power; the kind and results of mass movements; the kind and extent of mass support that we are receiving; the number of armed propaganda, guerrilla and militia squads that we have organized; the armed strength that these have and the kind and extent of political and military training that they have acquired; and the number and quality of Party branches, groups, committees and members arising from every field of work. On the basis of the revolutionary mass movement, we have gradually increased our Party membership.

Under the Central Committee are the nine regional Party organizations and a few central offices, streamlined since mid-1974. Properly, the bulk of revolutionary work is carried out by the regional Party organizations which now cover the entire country and are well-rooted in their respective areas. In relation to the Central Committee, the regional Party organizations follow the policy of centralized leadership and decentralized operations.

Each regional Party organization outside Manila-Rizal is leading mass organizations (workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists) in rural and urban areas and the armed propaganda, guerrilla and militia units within the framework of the New People's Army. The focus of our work is in developing the armed struggle and carrying out agrarian reforms, particularly the reduction of land rent, the elimination of usury (with due attention to inflationary trends) and the promotion of mutual aid and labor exchange.

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There are now wide guerrilla fronts (including guerrilla bases and zones) under every regional Party organization outside Manila-Rizal. The revolutionary armed struggle during the year just ending has been characterized by successful seizures of arms through ambushes, raids and ruses in a number of regions, thus raising the level of our armed strength on a national scale.

Units of the Party and the people's army and the mass organizations are learning to frustrate, if they cannot smash, large enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." The time between military actions is being vigorously used to expand and consolidate mass work, undertake agrarian reforms, train the troops and build the Party.

Aside from giving first place to work in rural areas where there are units of the New People's Army, the Party is also attending to work in rural areas where there are yet no units of the people's army and also in the urban areas. Underground work among the masses is seriously being undertaken over widening areas.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization is leading an increasing number of trade unions, community and school organizations. It has focused its attention on the working class, while giving sufficient attention to other sections of the population. Strikes and demonstrations have surfaced during the past year, manifesting the effectiveness of the underground work of the Party among the masses. These inspired the worker masses to strike in other parts of the country.

As a result of the rapidly growing revolutionary mass movement, the US Central Intelligence Agency and a composite group of Marcos intelligence agencies are furiously working in coordination against us and are engaged in trying to trace the links between the Central Committee and the regional Party organizations, especially Manila-Rizal. We are already alert to this threat and we must further raise our vigilance.

All regional Party organizations have achieved self-reliance. Only four of these are receiving from the Central Committee small financial assistance that is virtually only for liaison purposes. The stage has been reached for the regional Party organizations to send up to the Central Committee surplus cash income for purposes of centralized propaganda and other work.

In the context of the overall achievements of the Party, especially the growth of the regional Party organizations, the enemy is daydreaming when he boasts of being able to wipe out our Party or to decimate its leadership. The new Central Committee that will emerge in due time

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will be composed of Party cadres most representative of the ideological, political and organizational strength of the Party and will certainly include in the main those who worked the hardest in the growth of the revolutionary movement in various regions.

The National Situation

The objective situation in the country is more than ever favorable for the growth of the subjective or organized forces of the revolution. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has rapidly worsened under fascist martial rule.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has abolished the “interim national assembly” and has replaced it with a mere “legislative advisory council,” the “*batasang pambansa*,” in one more fake referendum-plebiscite. By this stressing of the autocratic powers of the fascist dictator, all doors are closed to the bourgeois democrats except to the most exceptionally shameless capitulationists.

The necessity of armed revolution is more than ever affirmed. The New People’s Army led by the Party enjoys exceedingly high prestige among the broad masses of the people who urge it to expand and strengthen itself. In Mindanao, the masses of Moro and non-Moro minority peoples and their armed contingents are determined to fight to the end for self-determination and democracy.

So abusive has been the fascist dictatorship that it has aroused some significant sections of the Catholic Church to become antifascist and take a line more progressive than that of Manglapus and his ilk. The reaction of the fascist dictatorship to this development is to use armed force against the democratic forces in the clergy and laity. This has only served to broaden the ranks of the antifascist opposition.

Realizing that the key to the power of the Marcos fascist dictatorship is the reactionary armed forces, the political rivals of Marcos within the ruling system are systematically calling on the reactionary officers and troops to overthrow him. The word is being spread that US imperialism does not mind Marcos being dumped.

The economic crisis has worsened to the point that it has thrown the fascist dictatorship into a state of panic. Marcos and his top henchmen now acknowledge that the economic crisis, which they ascribe only to external factors, is liable to make conditions for the intensification of armed resistance.

This crisis is relentlessly generated by the fascist dictatorship's own domestic excesses and by its puppetry to US imperialism which has been shifting the burden of the world capitalist crisis to economic appendages like the Philippines. Resources have been poured into and wasted on a colonial pattern of trade, investments and borrowing; superprofit remittances by foreign monopolies; and government deficit spending on a rapid military build-up, purchases of nonproductive equipment and uneconomic and graft-ridden construction projects.

The foreign indebtedness of the Philippines is now admitted by the fascist authorities to be \$5.3 billion as of three months ago. In 1972, the debt was only \$1.9 billion and was accumulated in a period of about eight years. The local public debt has also soared to ₱40 billion from the 1972 level of ₱9.0 billion, despite the rapidly increased tax burden passed on to the people by the ruling classes.

The prices of all major export products, accounting for more than 95 percent of the dollar earnings of the country, are depressed. At the same time, the imperialists inflate the prices of imported commodities and services, load up the country with more debts at more onerous terms and remit superprofits at an accelerated rate from their direct investments, loans and trade.

To meet the demands of the foreign and domestic big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, the Marcos fascist dictatorship is raising the prices even of locally produced commodities to make up for the depression in prices of these commodities abroad. Yet the crisis has come to the point that a severe split is developing within the ruling classes as Marcos himself and his narrow faction of upstart big compradors and big landlords, including an increasing number of high military officers, are grabbing what are up for grabs.

Inflation and unemployment are becoming more severe everyday. It is the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, that suffer these already deprived as they are of basic democratic rights. Under these conditions, the revolutionary movement cannot but develop vigorously.

The masses of workers are justly seething with indignation as they are reduced to starvation wages and deprived of the right to strike and other trade union rights. A total of more than 400 strikes occurred in 1976 throughout the country despite fascist repression. The strike movement is bound to widen in scope and reach new and higher levels of militance.

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The peasant masses condemn Masagana 99 as camouflaged usury and the Marcos promise of land reform as false and stale. They are actually being deprived of their tenancy and resettlement rights as foreign and local monopolists grab the land. They are increasingly being victimized by military operations calculated to evict them from the land. They have no recourse but to fight back and support the people's army.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is not spared from the ravages of inflation and the arbitrariness of fascist rule. The national bourgeoisie is being rendered bankrupt by pro-imperialist policies. Under these conditions, the polarization of Philippine society continues to sharpen and the toiling masses can easily gain allies against the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

All that the Party needs is to grasp the objective situation in the country and in the localities and work tenaciously to build the revolutionary organizations—the mass organizations, the armed detachments and the Party itself.

The World Situation

The world situation is more than ever favorable to the growth of the revolutionary movement in the country. The general crisis of capitalism is worsening. The two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are being steadily isolated by the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world.

The third world people and countries are steadily developing as the main force of the international united front against imperialism, especially the superpower wanting to play the role of Hitlerite Germany. While US imperialism is on the decline, Soviet social-imperialism is frantically pushing its hegemonic ambitions and bellicose schemes.

The Philippines as a third world country is being encouraged to join the anti-imperialist front by other third world countries. But the Marcos fascist dictatorship is interested more in making pretenses and pushing the line of US imperialism and, moreover, in maneuvering to use "third world" diplomacy to cut off and isolate the antifascist and revolutionary forces in the country from friendly forces abroad. We are confident though that the powerful anti-imperialist trend of history, created by revolutionary movements, prevails over the machinations of a puny fascist dictatorship.

Under the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the reactionary governments are interested more in unleashing fascist terror against their respective peoples, making bilateral “counterinsurgency” agreements and accommodating business schemes subordinated to US and Japanese monopolists than in asserting their independence or even only in truly promoting any organization for the protection of their raw-material exports.

The revolutionary struggles of the Southeast Asian peoples continue to advance, especially as a result of the defeat of US imperialism and its lackeys in Indochina. Revolution is definitely the main trend in Southeast Asia. Soviet social-imperialism is trying to do everything it can to dominate the region. But US imperialism is still dominant in the countries outside of Indochina. Only the people’s revolutionary struggles can in the end put out US imperialism and avert its replacement by Soviet social-imperialism.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship remains a puppet of US imperialism. Even if one slurs over US economic domination, the US military bases are undeniable proof of this puppetry. The rejection of the Marcos fascist dictator’s attempt to sneak into the ranks of the non-aligned countries is therefore an appropriate act against international demagoguery.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship has so far taken only a sham posture of independence. It openly acknowledges that the US military bases can stay in the country for so long as US imperialism pay some rent and give a few more concession. The question of sovereignty over these bases is not negotiable. The point is to assert it. The US military bases have no right under any signboard or monetary consideration to infringe on Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity.

At the world strategic level, we consider Soviet social-imperialism the rising main enemy of the people of the world and main source of the danger of war. We must be alert to its every machination, therefore. But we are still in the backwaters of US imperialist domination and there are yet no conditions to regard Soviet social-imperialism as the No. 1 foreign oppressor or exploiter of the Filipino.

We are currently fighting the Marcos fascist dictatorship propped up by US imperialism, the No. 1 foreign enemy of the Filipino people in the Philippines. There are yet no conditions to warrant a drastic realignment of forces in the country comparable to that which occurred

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before and during the Japanese invasion of the Philippines during World War II.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we express our solidarity with all Marxist-Leninist parties, revolutionary organizations and the people of other countries in their revolutionary struggles. And we also appeal to them to extend political and other possible and appropriate support to the Philippine revolutionary struggle. In the era of imperialism, no people in a semicolonial and semifeudal country fighting for genuine national independence and democracy can dispense with international support.

Our Urgent Tasks

At every level and in every unit of the Party, our comrades should set forth specific tasks at every turn and carry them out creatively, thoroughly and indefatigably. They must be able to link these with “Our Urgent Tasks” issued by the Central Committee on June 25 of this year.

We reiterate hereunder these urgent tasks:

1. Carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement!

This is the current combative expression of the general line of carrying out the people’s democratic revolution. We must give the Marcos fascist dictatorship the hardest and most deadly blows. And we must link this antifascist struggle necessarily to the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. The “new society” is but the worsening of the semicolonial and semifeudal society, with the Marcos fascist gang acting as the chief puppet of US imperialism and the general agent of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class.

2. Further strengthen the Party and rectify our errors!

We are still in the formative stage of the Party if we consider the protractedness of the struggle and look forward to the stage of socialist revolution. We have made some accomplishments and gained experience which should serve as the basis for further progress in ideological, political and organizational work. To guarantee our progress, we must be able to analyze not only our positive experiences

but also our negative experiences so as to most effectively overcome the difficulties and rectify errors and weaknesses.

3. Build the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside!

We must put the focus of our mass work on the peasant masses and on the land question and comprehensively build mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural activists in the countryside. The steps for doing so, starting with the barrio liaison group, have been made clear. We must develop a great number of mass activists even as we resort to underground methods. From the ranks of these activists, we can build the Party and train the able-bodied for the militia and full-time guerrilla units of the New People's Army.

4. Further strengthen the people's army and carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

The armed struggle is the main form of our revolutionary struggle. On the basis of the revolutionary mass movement, we can organize a larger and more effective armed force. We can increase our armed strength by seizing arms from the enemy through ambushes, raids and ruses wherein we have complete initiative. At the same time, we must be good at frustrating, if not smashing, enemy campaigns of "encirclement and suppression." We must be adept at employing tactics of dispersion, shifting and concentration, depending on the circumstances. Between battles, units of the people's army must militantly engage in mass work.

5. Build the revolutionary mass movement in the cities!

We must put the focus of our mass work on the worker masses and comprehensively build mass organizations for workers and all other progressive sections, especially the intelligentsia, in the cities. We must conscientiously build the revolutionary underground in factories, communities, schools and offices and make it the deep and wide basis of open mass struggles. At the core of this underground should be the Party. We must continuously develop a great number of mass activists and draw from their ranks our Party members.

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6. Realize a broad antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist united front!

By doing well our revolutionary work among the basic masses, we have a base from which to win over allies in the countryside and in the cities. Our policy is to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and split the ranks of the reactionaries to isolate and destroy the enemy. The united front serves to facilitate our reaching the masses in their millions and to present a wide and solid phalanx against enemy attacks. In the most difficult situations, we must be able to utilize even some conservative and nonrevolutionary organizations to serve the revolutionary cause.

7. Relate the Philippine revolution to the world revolution!

The Philippine revolution is part of the world revolution. Just as the revolutionary struggles of other peoples support our people's struggle, we must work and fight hard in our revolutionary struggle to support them so that ultimately the whole of mankind can emancipate itself from imperialism and make possible the dawning of communism. It is our view that the development of the third world peoples and countries as the main force of the international united front against the two superpowers serves the cause of proletarian internationalism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

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Our Policy on the Moro People's Struggle⁷

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 1, March 15, 1977.

We remain steadfast in our support for the Moro people's struggle for national self-determination. In recognizing their right to national self-determination, we necessarily recognize their right to secede from the present reactionary state that has for so long oppressed them as a nation. In this regard, we are firmly guided by Leninist teachings on national self-determination against national oppression.

We recognize the right of the Moro people to secede with as much conviction as the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are striving to create political power independent of and opposed to the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the ruling system. Are we not also breaking off from the present reactionary state and fighting it to be able to replace it with a people's democratic state?

The Moro people (Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tausogs, Samals, Yankans, Badjaos, etc.) can properly opt for regional autonomy only within the framework of a Philippine state that guarantees equality among all its nationalities and takes special care that the national minorities are no longer subjected to chauvinism, oppression and discrimination. The present reactionary state by its very nature cannot provide the conditions for the equality of nations in the country.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship which has been the worst form of administration so far to represent the present reactionary state is all the more in no position to provide satisfactory conditions for the acceptance of regional autonomy by the Moro people. This administration is entirely the one to blame for provoking civil war in Mindanao and in

⁷ A longer and more penetrating analysis, "Critique of the GRP-MNLF Tripoli Agreement—an Internal Analysis" dated February 15, 1977 was written, intended to be sent to the MNLF leadership for their consideration in upholding the rights of the Moro people against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The document was based on the final draft of the agreement which was provided to the CPP leadership. However, our fairly extensive search in archives and libraries did not yield us a copy. We continue our search with the intention, when found, of including the document in a subsequent edition.-Editor

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the entire country. It is absolutely just for the Moro people to persevere in revolutionary armed struggle against this evil regime.

Even before the declaration of fascist martial rule, the Marcos regime was already engaged in the most wanton anti-national and antidemocratic crimes against the Moro people. All these were done in the service of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Intensified national oppression has been the concomitant of the intensified exploitation of the Moro people and the plunder of natural resources in Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan.

In the very proclamation imposing fascist martial rule on the Filipino people of various nationalities, the suppression of the Moro people's struggle for national self-determination is a declared objective. Since the proclamation, the Marcos fascist dictatorship has intensified the perpetration of mass murders and torture, the destruction of communities, the desecration of places of worship and the abuses to the honor and dignity of women among the Moro people.

It is necessary for us to recognize the truth that at the back of the brutality and viciousness of the Marcos fascist dictatorship is the scheme of US imperialism, the domestic big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class to remove every obstacle to the accelerated exploitation of the Moro people, seizure of vast tracts of land and plunder of natural resources in the Minsupala area. Silence on this point amounts to obscuring the roots of the problem.

What is needed to solve the problem is nothing less than the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the ruling system and the carrying out of a democratic revolution of a new type by the entire Filipino people, including the Moro people. Only in this way can the Moro people give full democratic substance to their struggle for national self-determination and put aright the gross injustices inflicted on them. Only in this way can conditions arise for the realization of the equality of nations within the framework of a Philippine state, a people's democratic state.

Even when there shall be a people's democratic state in which the Moro people as a nation are in a position to enjoy regional autonomy, they shall still retain the right to secede as a safeguard against national oppression. At the same time, they shall be responsible as they are today for opposing imperialism and reaction and guarding against sheer localism and sectarianism.

Our Policy on the Moro People's Struggle

It is malicious for the Marcos fascist dictatorship to regard the Moro people's struggle for national self-determination as merely a struggle for "cultural autonomy" (or even more narrowly "religious autonomy") and then try to isolate them from the rest of the people in the Philippines. The Moro people's struggle is clearly an all-round revolutionary struggle for national democracy and is connected to the revolutionary struggle of the entire Filipino people. Moreover, it is a struggle that can be well connected not only with the Islamic states but also with the proletariat and people of the world.

We support every organization that fights for the revolutionary cause of the Moro people. Thus, we have always expressed support to the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) and wanted the development of the closest of relations with them as they fight for the Moro people's right to national self-determination. We are always ready to discuss and arrive at common goals, exchange experiences and lessons and lend strength to each other against the common enemy

As matter stand, our forces and the MNLF's have so far helped each other by fighting the same enemy in their respective territories. In this regard, there are those who take the view that the party should let alone the MNLF, the Moro people and the areas where they predominate. But now, according to the Tripoli Agreement, the MNLF leadership no less is willing to concede to the principle and possibility of regional autonomy even within the framework of the incumbent Philippine state.

It is our duty to do everything we can to promote unity and cooperation with all elements and forces genuinely fighting for the national and democratic interests of the Moro People. Especially with the breakdown of the Tripoli negotiations, we continue to hope for the most militant and fruitful relations between the MNLF and other antifascist forces not only in Mindanao but also elsewhere in the country. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the MNLF can certainly work hand in hand to hasten the downfall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and achieve their respective purposes.

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Going on the Ninth Year of Armed Revolution

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, March 29, 1977.

We are exceedingly happy to have finished eight years of armed struggle since the establishment of the New People's Army by the Communist Party of the Philippines. We are now militantly going on the ninth year of our protracted people's war against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We are also going on the fifth year of fierce struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

We have advanced so far from that point of establishing the New People's Army within the context of criticizing and repudiating the Lava-Taruc revisionist renegades and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and learning from the long history of the Philippine revolution as well as from victorious people's wars abroad.

We have accumulated so much experience of our own, both positive and negative, and on a nationwide scale we have continuously won victories, despite setbacks in particular areas at different times, through the twists and turns of the revolution.

Towards a New and Higher Level of Struggle

Following the correct ideological and political line of the Party, the New People's Army is steadfastly moving towards a new and higher level of revolutionary struggle from that level achieved at the holding of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee.

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, especially in the light of Our Urgent Tasks, the progress of our revolutionary work is accelerating. We are about to move past that stage of concentrating on the development of a few guerrilla zones because of limited Party personnel and resources to a stage of more and more guerrilla zones in every region on the basis of previous guerrilla zones.

Since last year, we have expanded the rural mass base for the people's army at a rate faster than ever before. We are rapidly extending our operational areas with the use of the barrio liaison group. In this

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regard, we have flexibly used various methods for effecting initial linkage with the masses and for social investigation.

In the old and new operational areas, we have busied ourselves with forming the secret organizing groups and organizing committees by way of relying on the masses and letting the mass activists or mass organizers do their work. In some areas, the mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women, children and cultural enthusiasts are coming into full existence. In other areas, there are appropriate as well as inappropriate delays.

But even at the stage of organizing groups and organizing committees, we launch mass campaigns to support the people's army, develop the people's political power and improve the people's conditions in many respects. Among the several kinds of campaigns that we have launched, the campaign to reduce land rent and eliminate usury has been given the highest priority.

Under conditions that our revolutionary mass work is faring well, we have been able to form more armed or unarmed propaganda teams and full-fledged guerrilla squads as well as train militia units. From the ranks of the mass activists, we have been able to select the advanced elements to form local Party branches.

Of the eight regions where the people's army has guerrilla zones, six regions have registered significant increases in armed strength. Percentage increases are enormous but these proceed from small base figures. Of the two regions which have not registered any significant increase, one suffered a slight decrease of rifles and considerable decrease in ammunitions.

We continue to increase our armed strength through ambushes and raids on enemy units and confiscation of weapons from counter-revolutionary elements. The heroic feats of our Red fighters have glowed ever brighter from year to year. We have also gotten a number of arms without firing a single shot by developing comrades and friends in the course of political work.

In general, the units of the New People's Army are keenly aware of the relationship between mass base and military action. In this regard, they always try to avoid the pitfalls of either conservatism or adventurism. They are determined to undertake military actions only when they are sure of beating the enemy and capturing arms, aside from relatively easier actions such as those necessary for eliminating local tyrants, spies, traitors and incorrigible bad elements.

The New People's Army is more than ever conscious that a guerrilla force suffers stagnation or defeat when it ensconces itself in what may be called a fixed military base or in a large permanent camp or formation. The point is to expand and consolidate the mass base and create more guerrilla zones so as to frustrate the enemy whenever it launches massive and prolonged "base-denial" operations.

When we speak of guerrilla bases, therefore, we refer to those guerrilla areas which are relatively the most reliable and most consolidated. Mass work is what saves guerrilla forces from being "roving rebels." But our guerrilla forces must always maintain a high degree of mobility, especially in the face of enemy offensives. Even consolidation work should be accomplished in a relatively short period of time lest we become complacent in a limited area.

The Party's grip on the gun has never been more firm. Under the overall leadership of the Central Committee, regional Party organizations are in effective command of regional army organizations. The purely military viewpoint, adventurism, commandism and sectarianism are being overcome while opposite extreme tendencies are being combated.

Excellent Conditions for the Revolutionary Struggle

The conditions for advancing the revolutionary armed struggle are excellent. These are more favorable than ever before for the growth of the subjective forces of the revolution. The worsening of the political and economic crisis is quite rapid.

The fascist dictatorship is the result of crisis and at the same time is the cause of further crisis. There is no way out of the situation but to overthrow the Marcos fascist gang by armed force. The correctness of this line is clear to the broad masses of the people and even to the political rivals of the fascist gang within the ruling system.

It is under conditions of fascist martial law that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have expanded throughout the country and linked themselves closely with the masses. There is no place in the countryside where the people do not welcome the Party and the people's army. It is all up to us to move correctly.

If not for the fascist dictatorship, the tremendous armed resistance of the Moro people would not have broken out. Whatever is the outcome of current negotiations between Marcos and the Moro National

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Liberation Front, the Moro people are bound to continue the struggle for national self-determination and sap the strength of the fascist dictatorship and the ruling system. Marcos is in no position to satisfy the demands of the Moro people.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is increasingly becoming ill at east. Among the reactionaries, maneuvers and countermoves are bound to accelerate and become more bitter as the fascist gang continues to privately monopolize power and the spoils of puppetry and receives harder blows from the revolutionary movement.

US imperialism, which is the mastermind of the fascist dictatorship, is manipulating and squeezing Marcos for all that he is worth and is openly indicating that he can be dispensed with anytime. Going too far in abusiveness, he has incurred the formidable opposition of the Catholic Church, an institution which now reflects the serious split among the reactionaries under the pressure of progressive currents.

Just as conditions for the armed revolution are excellent, so are those for a coup d'état. Were the political rivals of Marcos more aggressive, they could actually force the issue on US imperialism now by getting arms for their followers from various sources.

The economic crisis is constantly undermining the fascist dictatorship. Parts and parts of the population directly suffer from the terrorist acts of the fascist dictatorship. But the economic crisis makes the broad masses of the people suffer. It has become so intolerable that despite all intimidations and repressive measures, mass protest actions and mass disobedience are developing.

The masses of workers have conducted widespread strikes and slowdowns. These are bound to become more extensive and more effective. The masses of peasants resent the emptiness of Marcos' claims to land reform and curse Masagana 99 as camouflaged usury. They vigorously oppose all the landgrabbing schemes of the fascist dictatorship. The ground for the armed revolution has never been more fertile.

Inflation and unemployment, which victimize the toiling masses of workers and peasants mainly, have not spared the urban petty bourgeoisie. Even the national bourgeoisie are finding themselves bankrupted by pro-imperialist economic policies. Public debts and taxes are simultaneously soaring to the detriment of the entire people. A broad antifascist united front is developing fast under these conditions.

All the traditional raw-material exports on which the Philippines is dependent are depressed. In all the areas where these are produced, so many people have been put out of work or forced to receive starvation wages. Even the big comprador-landlords who are being elbowed out by the Marcos fascist gangs are griping aloud. In these circumstances, the revolutionary armed struggle prospers.

US imperialism has been propping the Marcos dictatorship with loans through the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and private monopoly banks. These loans are used only to pay for old loans; to facilitate US direct investments; to allow superprofits remittances; to import uneconomic goods; to cover trade and budgetary deficits; to beef up the reactionary armed forces; to build uneconomic infrastructure projects; and to finance anything else but never for genuine development beneficial to the people.

The Philippines remains a military ward of US imperialism. The negotiations on the US military bases are a charade, a wornout trick, calculated to prolong US transgression of Philippine sovereignty. The Marcos fascist dictatorship continues to receive US military assistance far higher than the 1971-72 level. US military hold on the Philippines is a concomitant of its economic hold.

The local crisis and the world capitalist crisis have become so bad that the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been compelled to widen the diplomatic and trade relations of the Philippines. Marcos brags that he is being clever in this regard. But the broad masses of the people know that the ruling system no less, the Marcos fascist dictatorship especially, is floundering in a sea of troubles.

In the long run, it will become more and more obvious that Marcos' pretenses in the third world are self-defeating. The struggle of the third world people and countries is essentially one against the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and so it aids the world revolution in the final analysis.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is long overdrawn. There is no internal or external force capable of salvaging it. Every day that it continues to operate, the revolutionary antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement spreads and becomes stronger.

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Carry Out Our Urgent Tasks

We must consistently, militantly and thoroughly respond to all the seven calls of Our Urgent Tasks. We have been guided by this document for only a short while. But we have made significant advances as a result. We are certain that we shall reap more victories by resolutely and creatively carrying out the broad and specific lines of the seven urgent tasks.

On the basis of our revolutionary mass work, we are determined to develop the armed struggle as the main form of our struggle and the New People's Army as the main form of organization for carrying it out. We must continue to understand though that offensive military operations are not yet the main preoccupation of our full-fledged guerrilla units. It is mass work for the purpose of successfully launching tactical military offensives and coping with enemy retaliation. We are still in the strategic stage of the defensive and, to be more precise, at its early substage.

Even only at the stage of the secret organizing groups and organizing committees, we can start to mobilize the masses for certain campaigns and develop revolutionary mass activities by giving full play to their initiative. On the basis of continuous social investigation, we in the Party should know how to guide and trust the masses.

Several mass campaigns of a directly political character can be launched, like pushing further the degree of mass organizing, social investigation and mass education on the national democratic revolution and on specific subjects of practical interest to various organizing groups; looking out for the enemy and putting unreliable elements under watch; and eliminating local tyrants, informers and incorrigible bad elements. Thus, the groundwork for the people's political power can be laid.

Several mass campaigns of an economic character have a political character. These include effecting the reduction of land rent and the elimination of usury; promoting thrift for production through mutual exchange of labor and simple forms of cooperation; fixing prices of products in favor of the peasants; adjusting wage rates in favor of farm and other workers; and raising productivity to improve the livelihood of the masses. The masses are then able to give abundant material support to the people's army.

Several mass campaigns of a military character have a political character. These include military-political training of militia units; carrying out courier work, reconnaissance and intelligence; letting militia units participate in combat operations in the manner that they are capable of; finding out who the gun owners are and persuading those who can be persuaded to give their arms to the people's army; and raising special funds for purposes of acquiring arms.

Several mass campaigns of a cultural character have a political character. These include all forms of propaganda on the entirety or any aspect of the national democratic revolution; combating illiteracy with the use of simple revolutionary reading materials; undertaking cultural activities (choral and dramatic performances) that have revolutionary orientation; and promoting sports and improving health and sanitation conditions. Through these activities, the fighting spirit and physical fitness of the masses can be raised.

The different forms of mass organizations that we wish to establish in the countryside can gain life and vigor only through launching mass campaigns. These campaigns develop the masses as the foundation of our people's war. Only by relying on the masses and their activities and by getting their support through campaigns can we become self-reliant and advance from victory to victory.

The revolutionary forces now developing in the rural areas are basically, though slowly at present, capable of strengthening themselves by simply relying on the local people. But development of these forces—their expansion and consolidation—can be enhanced and hastened if the revolutionary forces in the urban areas strengthen themselves. Under the leadership of regional Party committees, the revolutionary forces in the rural and urban areas should be coordinated through effective underground methods.

The New People's Army can expand and multiply its guerrilla zones in two ways. One is to advance wave upon wave (expansion on the basis of consolidation over contiguous areas). Another is to leapfrog propaganda teams or expansion teams in new priority areas.

In connection with the expansion or multiplication of guerrilla zones, the revolutionary forces in the urban areas can help in a systematic manner. Party cadres and mass activists of worker, student or other social backgrounds can be sent to the guerrilla fronts for some brief training. Then they can be assigned to where they are most suitable or most needed. Sending Party members and mass activists to their

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native towns and barrios is in general an effective method of expansion.

The revolutionary forces in the urban areas may also find ways of creating legal mass organizations on a wide scale. Our Party cadres and mass activists can thus spread out to poblaciones or reach down immediately to the barrios. By developing Party groups within mass organizations, local Party branches may be created in the barrios even before the arrival or emergence of any unit of the people's army. Then it would be easier to push the revolutionary armed struggle forward on the basis of mass work.

We are keenly interested in the expansion of the revolutionary forces not only for the purpose of promoting the revolutionary armed struggle but also for the purpose of preparing for the event that the Marcos fascist dictatorship is overthrown by a coup d'etat. We do not wish to leave too many vacant places where the agents of anti-Marcos big comprador-landlords would simply replace the agents of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

As the advance detachment of the proletariat, we must have foresight. Such foresight should move us to work harder and accomplish our tasks faster. The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is a passing phases in the downward course of the ruling system. We must take full advantage of the ever rising spontaneous hatred of the people for the fascist dictatorship everywhere in the country.

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Central Bank Acknowledges Foreign Debt of \$5.6 Billion; Heavier Burdens Ahead for Filipino Masses

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The Central Bank acknowledged at the end of March that the foreign debt of the Philippines had reached \$5.613 billion from the end-1976 level of \$5.517 billion.

During the first three months of 1977, the fascist dictatorship borrowed a total of \$745 million from abroad but had to make debt service payments amounting to \$676 million.

The measly \$96 million difference between new debts and service on old debts clearly shows that the Philippines is now incurring new debts only to pay old debts.

At the rate the fascist dictatorship is incurring foreign debts, it will soon reach the 20 percent ceiling on the debt-service ratio to foreign exchange receipts. Reaching this ceiling would result in difficulties in borrowing and new impositions by the International Monetary Fund favorable to the foreign monopoly capitalists.

The debt-service ratio is now running 17 percent as a result of heavy borrowings from foreign private commercial banks which issue short-term loans and demand high interest rates, aside from other onerous terms amounting to dictation on the use of the loans.

Earnings on all major exports of the Philippines have decreased. Trade deficits alone demand bigger foreign borrowings.

Estimates show that every one of the 43 million Filipinos is now indebted to the international usurers (IMF, World Bank, ADB and foreign monopoly banks) by \$130 or ₱962 at the official rate.

The average debt of every Filipino could even be higher. The absolute size of the Philippine foreign debt could in fact be already beyond \$6.0 billion.

The fascist authorities always manipulate the books of accounts to show a large international reserve fund and understate the balance of payments deficit from period to period.

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The international reserves now stand at \$1.4 billion. These are composed mainly of loans deposited in foreign banks and in the process of being rapidly spent but replenished by new and bigger loans.

The props of the Philippine peso are completely artificial. Though this stands officially at ₱7.4 to the US dollar, it is only a matter of time that an abrupt fall in the value of the peso will occur.

Despite the critical level of foreign borrowings, some agents of US imperialism continue to assure the Philippines that it could easily borrow \$1.0 billion more without making any major adjustment in the external value of the peso.

This is a paradox if we recall 1970 when the Philippine foreign debt was only \$900 million and was already considered critical by the IMF.

It turned out that the Philippines could borrow even bigger amounts after adopting the “floating rate” and other policies calculated to create “a more favorable climate” for foreign investors and allowing them to bring out foreign exchange as fast as it is credited to the country.

While the US and other foreign monopoly capitalists accelerate their remittance of superprofits on trade and direct investments, the Philippines is further weighed down by foreign debt obligations which also yield superprofits.

In the practice of international usury, the foreign monopoly capitalists gain a mortgage on the human and natural resources of a dependent country in this generation and in succeeding ones.

Addressing a recent Central Bank-sponsored seminar on access to international capital markets, US Ambassador William H. Sullivan demanded that the Philippines conform with American business procedures and methods, and gloated over the fact that the IMF would soon raise the alarm signal as the Philippines hits the 20 percent ceiling in debt-service ratio.

In an obvious maneuver to gain more investment privileges for US imperialism, Sullivan complained of “restrictions” on foreign investments and warned that the Philippines’ financial sources abroad could be “drying up.”

He cited the newly drawn up Central Bank rules which limit the borrowings of multinationals (mainly US-controlled firms) from local banks. He also referred to the Board of Investments’ decision which allows a Filipino firm to compete with a British-American combine manufacturing cigarette filters.

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Sullivan asserted that foreign direct investments should be further attracted since the Philippines would encounter increasing difficulties in borrowing from international financial institutions, floating bonds and issuing shares of stocks in the world capitalist market, and borrowing from foreign private banks.

The foreign monopoly companies, especially US, have not been satisfied with making foreign loans revert to them through purchase, management, technical and service contracts.

They borrow funds in local banks for their local operations. Even without bringing a single cent into the country, US companies simply rely on their big names and make the biggest local borrowings at the expense of Filipino businessmen.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is so bogged down in foreign indebtedness that its agencies cannot even make a minor adjustment in rules and regulations that are already extremely anti-national and favorable to foreign investors.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is so dependent on US imperialism, its main creditor, that it can be so easily pushed around and cannot make even a sham posture of looking after national interests.

The foreign debt of the Philippines was \$500 million at the beginning of the Marcos term in 1966. In six years this reached the level of \$1.1 billion. In only four years and a half of fascist martial rule, the foreign debt skyrocketed by more than 400 percent to \$5.6 billion at the end of March 1977.

The infrastructure projects and military buildup of the Marcos fascist dictatorship continue without letup. All these are inflationary and graft-ridden. Like an opium addict, the Philippine reactionary government keeps on begging for foreign loans to tide itself over from one moment of euphoria to another only to increasingly undermine and destroy its body.

The broad masses of the people are bound to suffer more under the fascist regime. In his riposte to Sullivan, NEDA director-general Gerardo Sicat announced that the regime would dip deeper into local sources of financing even as it would continue to kowtow to foreign creditors.

The broad masses of the people would be forced to carry an increasing tax burden despite depressed incomes. Local public borrowing would accelerate to cover the huge deficit spending of the reactionary

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government. The Philippine peso is indeed becoming more and more worthless.

The excesses of the fascist regime coincide with the crisis of the world capitalist system. Under these circumstances, US imperialism is shifting the burden of its crisis to the Philippines and, like a drug pusher, is mercilessly extracting profits from its victims and undermining the very ruling system it wants to keep as a dependent.

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Two Major Responsibilities

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Release, May 1, 1977.

We take this year's festival of the workers of the world as the occasion to address a message to the Manila-Rizal Party organization. We also take the occasion to inform the other regions on how to relate themselves to this regional Party organization and to some extent on how to carry out their own urban revolutionary struggles.

The Manila-Rizal organization of the Communist Party of the Philippines plays a key role in the entire antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement. As a matter of fact, it plays the most important role when we speak only of the city-based struggles of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The overwhelming majority of the industrial and other nonfarm workers are in Manila-Rizal. The urban petty bourgeoisie are also most concentrated here. The people's democratic revolution cannot win final victory if these basic revolutionary forces in the urban areas are not developed and do not complement and coordinate with those basic revolutionary forces in the rural areas.

To appreciate the role of the Manila-Rizal Party organization, let us consider its two major responsibilities. Firstly, it must develop the revolutionary forces within its territory. Secondly, it must extend support to the revolutionary forces outside its territory.

The First Major Responsibility

Let us take the first major responsibility. The Party must develop the revolutionary mass movement firstly among the workers and other urban poor and secondly among the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students and other sections of the intelligentsia. Mass organizations must be built in factories, schools and communities and mass campaigns launched here.

The leading force at the core of these mass organizations and campaigns must be the Party. On the basis of the revolutionary mass movement, the Party must boldly expand its ranks without letting a single undesirable in. With more members of an activist quality, the Party can lead more trade unions, student organizations and other

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mass organizations, and launch more campaigns to advance the people's democratic revolution.

Even if only at the stage of secret organizing groups and committees, the Party should select the most advanced activists from among the masses, entrust responsibilities to them, take them in as candidate members of the Party and give them the basic Party course immediately and elevate them to full Party membership according to standards set by the Party constitution. We should not hesitate to bring Marxism-Leninism to the masses, especially the workers.

Reflecting the progress of revolutionary work in Manila-Rizal, the number of Party members of worker status is rapidly growing and their percentage in the total membership is unprecedented. In due time, the overwhelming majority of Party members in the region should be workers. However, this should not signify a reduction of efforts among the intelligentsia and other sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie but the acceleration of efforts among the worker masses.

In contrast to our guerrilla zones in the countryside, the main form of struggle in Manila-Rizal as well as other white areas is clearly non-armed and legal. We must make use of every possible legal means to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. In this regard, we should not be carried away by enemy provocations but instead frustrate these.

We must carry forward the political and economic struggle of the worker masses. Legal struggles intended to improve their working and living conditions and raise the level of their political struggle must be carried out vigorously. Trade unions, cooperative societies, educational associations and various forms of legal organizations can be formed among them. These should serve as cover for the revolutionary underground movement.

We must support the struggle of the urban poor communities, composed mainly of proletarians and semiproletarians, especially those threatened or already victimized by ejection and demolition of their homes. We must oppose the imperialist and fascist scheme in the Manila Bay projects.

We must also encourage the students to organize themselves and speak out on issues pertaining to their own plight and that of the people. We must encourage the progressive groupings and undertakings of various sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie as well as those of the national bourgeoisie in accordance with the aims of the united front.

In developing the mass movement among the workers, there should be an alternation of indoor meetings and outdoor mass actions, with the number of participants always on the rise. This method should also be applied among the student masses or combined masses of workers, urban poor and others. The most important thing for us at the moment is to progressively enlarge the mass actions.

While carrying out legal struggles, we must steadfastly build such components of the revolutionary underground as the Party leading organs, Party branches and groups, Party cadres' teams, organizing groups and committees, united front cells, alliance groups, propaganda staffs, support groups, communication units, self-defense committees, armed city partisans and many other forms of secret and illegal organizations.

In connection with the armed struggle in the countryside, the Manila-Rizal Party organization must bide its time and accumulate strength. The time will certainly come when the revolutionary forces in the cities and in the countryside will closely coordinate their efforts to undertake offensive actions or at the very end to effect the total defeat of the enemy.

At every turn in the urban revolutionary struggle, we should be clear about what stage the Party is in so that tasks can be carried out well in preparation for a new and higher stage of the struggle. We must avoid overstepping the conditions.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization has the signal role of demonstrating to the other regions how the urban revolutionary struggle should be carried out. All Party members in Manila-Rizal should therefore do their best in study and social investigation, agitation and propaganda, organizational work and mass mobilization.

The Second Major Responsibility

Let us take the second major responsibility. The Manila-Rizal Party organization must remember that in developing the revolutionary forces within its own territory it increases its capability for extending support to the revolutionary forces in other regions.

Since early 1975, this Party organization has been working hard at taking roots at the basic level. There is still a great deal of work to do to strengthen the revolutionary movement in every district. But by this

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time, the Party leadership of the region should include in its orientation extending support to the other regions and should start doing so.

If we were to trace how the Party and the people's army expanded on a nationwide scale, we would see that Party cadres from Manila-Rizal and national democratic organizations based here played a major role. With this in mind, the Manila-Rizal Party organization can easily grasp that its growth is of national significance.

The proletarians, semiproletarians and urban petty bourgeoisie in Manila-Rizal come from various parts of the country. Many of the workers and other urban poor have fresh natural links and come from peasant families in other regions. The majority of students are also practically transients in the big city.

Under the direction of the Central Committee, the Manila-Rizal Party organization should systematically encourage Party members and mass activists from the ranks of the workers and the urban petty bourgeoisie to go back permanently or for significant periods to their native towns and barrios to do social investigation, propaganda and organizational work.

Those who can stay permanently or temporarily to do revolutionary work in the other regions should be turned over to the regional Party organization concerned. Those who will do some temporary work should make it a point to turn over some substantial results, the least of which is initial mass work and recruitment of mass activists.

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, the Manila-Rizal Party organization can help the other regional Party organizations by directing some of the mass organizations in Manila-Rizal to develop relations and common understanding with their counterparts in other regions through conferences and seminars, secret or otherwise.

It must be recalled that in prefascist days, national democratic organizations based in Manila-Rizal were able to make initial contacts and establish chapters in this manner. The National Democratic Front can also initiate interregional contacts among mass organizations, especially because it is comprehensively organized for this purpose.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization can launch campaigns to gather material support for the other regions, especially for the armed struggle. This support can include funds, revolutionary reading materials, some military materiel, medicine and medical facilities, communications equipment and so many others.

The Manila-Rizal Party organization plays an important role in the national communications of the Party. Having played an important role in the national expansion of the Party, it has created so many links with other regions.

Of course, as earlier pointed out, the Manila-Rizal Party organization also supports the other regions by showing them how the revolutionary forces in the urban areas develop their strength and how they complement, coordinate with and give support to the revolutionary forces in the rural areas.

The contact of Party members and mass activists from Manila-Rizal and those from other regions would result in fruitful exchange of experiences and learning from each other.

Conditions and Prospects

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is worsening. The broad masses of the people in Manila-Rizal increasingly suffer. With the Party assiduously performing its urgent tasks, the revolutionary mood of the masses, their spontaneous resistance, is steadily fashioned into a powerful revolutionary force.

The worker masses have shown their determination in strikes, slowdowns and other mass actions to demand their right to strike and other trade union rights and the improvement of their working and living conditions. The strike movement which surfaced from October 1975 to June 1976 is bound to spread and deepen when in the alternation of upsurges and calms we consistently perform our agitation-propaganda and organizational work.

The worker masses are increasingly recognizing that behind the Marcos fascist dictatorship is US imperialism. They are repressed so that more superprofits could be extracted from them.

The urban poor communities are resisting the US-masterminded Manila Bay projects and the concomitant scheme to render them homeless and jobless. The poor fishermen of Manila Bay and Laguna Bay are also opposing the big foreign fishing capitalists.

The urban petty bourgeoisie, including the intelligentsia and small businessmen, are adversely affected by the crisis and tend to side with the oppressed toiling masses against the fascist dictatorship and its foreign masters.

Building Strength through Struggle

The student masses are stirring. They are increasingly speaking out on a wide range of issues. They are steadily relating themselves to the workers and other urban poor. In concert with these oppressed people, they are bound to raise storms larger than the first quarter storm of 1970. The mass actions of October 1976 are a beginning in this direction.

The medium entrepreneurs and merchants who compose the bulk of the national bourgeoisie continue to fall into bankruptcy as a result of pro-imperialist policies. Their spokesmen are clamoring for the overthrow of the pro-imperialist fascist dictatorship.

The crisis has reached the point that even within the reactionary ranks of the big compradors and big landlords the Marcos fascist gang is increasingly being bitterly opposed. The isolation of this gang is proceeding rapidly.

The signals are clear. US imperialism no less is compelled by circumstances to engage in doubletalk about the fascist dictatorship, its own creation. Even the conservative hierarchy of the Catholic Church has been speaking out against the Marcos fascist gang.

We must be prepared for any kind of coup d'état to occur within the next few years. One kind could take the posture of restoring civil liberties. Another kind could simply install another set of fascists.

In any case, the Party must link itself closely with other democratic forces and perform its revolutionary tasks with more militancy than ever before. Together with our allies, we work for the nullification of the unequal treaties and arrangements with US imperialism and for the repeal of all fascist and antidemocratic laws, including the Antisubversion Law (Republic Act 1700).

The downward course of the Marcos fascist dictatorship cannot be reversed but will only accelerate. The wanton foreign borrowing, the accelerated remittance of superprofits and the depression of major Philippine traditional exports are undermining the fascist dictatorship.

Inflation and unemployment are wreaking havoc on the lives of the people in both cities and countryside. In many areas, where traditional exports are produced, farm and mine workers have been laid off in great numbers. Despite the depressed income of the people, the Marcos fascist gang resorts to increasing the tax burden, while rapidly increasing the local public debt and foreign debt, only to waste public finances on uneconomic infrastructure projects and military build-up—all attended by graft and corruption.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship is maneuvering to quench the flames of armed resistance by the Moro people. This is a pipe dream. The Moro people are determined to hold and increase their arms. The bulk of the reactionary armed forces will continue to be tied down in Mindanao, whatever is the outcome of negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front. The recent fake plebiscite in Mindanao has only served to expose the chicanery of the fascist dictatorship in its dealings with the MNLF and its foreign friends.

The New People's Army is steadily growing among the peasant masses. The Party is determined to push further the consistent advance of the people's army and apply well the lessons learned in more than eight years of revolutionary struggle. Faster than ever we are widening and deepening the mass foundation for a self-reliant people's war.

No external force can be availed of by the Marcos fascist dictatorship to save itself. US imperialism itself is bogged down in its own internal and external crisis in a turbulent capitalist world. By shifting the burden of crisis to the Philippines, this superpower can only aggravate the local crisis generated by the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Neither can the pretenses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in the third world be of any avail. In the final analysis, the struggle of the third world peoples and countries is one directed against the superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and is helpful to the advance of the world revolution.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, representing the proletariat and people of the Philippines, is closely linked with other Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionary movements under the great principle of proletarian internationalism. Workers of all countries, unite!

Long live the party of the Filipino workers, the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the New People's Army!

Victory to the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the Philippine and world proletariat!

★ ★ ★



May 1: Workers Lead Oppressed in Biggest Rally against US-Marcos Dictatorship

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 5, May 15, 1977.

In solidarity with other workers throughout the world, Filipino workers observed May Day by turning out in record numbers in Manila to call for the downfall of the oppressive and corrupt US-Marcos dictatorship.

The workers were joined by urban poor, students and other intellectuals, and church people and other oppressed people in staging the biggest demonstration since the imposition of martial law.

They defied fascist repression as they courageously asserted their democratic rights to assemble and speak out against exploitation and oppression which have been intensified by the US-Marcos dictatorship over the last four years and a half.

Elsewhere, workers commemorated May Day in massive demonstrations. They celebrated the victories of their class and upheld their leading role in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction as well as in socialist revolution and construction transitory to communism.

In the People's Republic of China, iron bastion of socialism, the Communist Party, vanguard of the working class, took the lead in the day-long commemorations.

The Party's Central Committee, under the chairmanship of Comrade Hua Guofeng, rallied the entire Party, the People's Liberation Army and the masses of all nationalities of China to carry proletarian internationalism forward.

In this connection, the Central Committee called upon the masses of China to diligently study and apply the teachings of the great socialist teachers—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Zedong.

Manila-Rizal was the center of May Day observance in the Philippines. Fascist repression failed to stop the working class from demonstrating its growing ability to unite more sectors of society in militantly exposing the evils of the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Building Strength through Struggle

In the afternoon of that day, 15,000 to 20,000 workers and their allies grouped and regrouped over a wide area encompassing the Luneta Park and surrounding streets, as fascist troops repeatedly attacked their formations and arrested hundreds of rallyists.

Courageously upholding the people's right to speak, three workers addressed a few thousands gathered near the Rizal monument.

They appealed for the people's united opposition to the oppressive martial law regime which has increased oil prices, demolished urban poor communities, depressed workers' real wages and aggravated unemployment.

Before this, at about 5 p.m., a very large group gathered at the Agrifina Circle bearing a streamer and placards reading "Down with Martial Law!," "Marcos, Hitler, diktador, tuta!," "Stop demolition!," "Long live the workers!," "Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!" and "Long live the New People's Army!"

Immediately, the demonstrators were surrounded by fascist troops whose ranks were bolstered by goons paid to make trouble. As the rallyists chanted "Marcos, Hitler, diktador, tuta!" fire trucks sprayed powerful jets of water against them, and many were beaten up and arrested.

Following this, more than 100 demonstrators gathered before a restaurant at the park to chant revolutionary slogans.

Even strollers and bystanders were beaten up and molested by the fascists. Buildings in the area were occupied by military agents.

More than 1,000 people were arrested and detained. Eight persons were confirmed injured.

In the face of fascist brutality, the demonstrators defiantly shouted "Babalik kami! Babalik kami!" (We will return! We will return!). They pledged even bigger mass actions in the coming days.

The rally was sponsored by Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino (Alliance of Filipino Workers) as the workers' protest against oppression and exploitation under the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Fearing the growing strength of the workers, the regime began arresting mass activists among the workers and urban poor communities in the two weeks preceding May Day.

However, this did not stop big delegations from showing up at the designated assembly points on May 1, according to BMP.

Raids were conducted on workers' communities in Baryo Boulevard, Navotas, Rizal; Baryo Escopa, Quezon City; and Tatalon, Quezon City,

Workers Lead Oppressed in Biggest Rally

where 23 women belonging to the mothers' association were arrested and detained at Camp Aguinaldo.

In addition, arrests were made at the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City. A total of 88 persons were confirmed arrested.

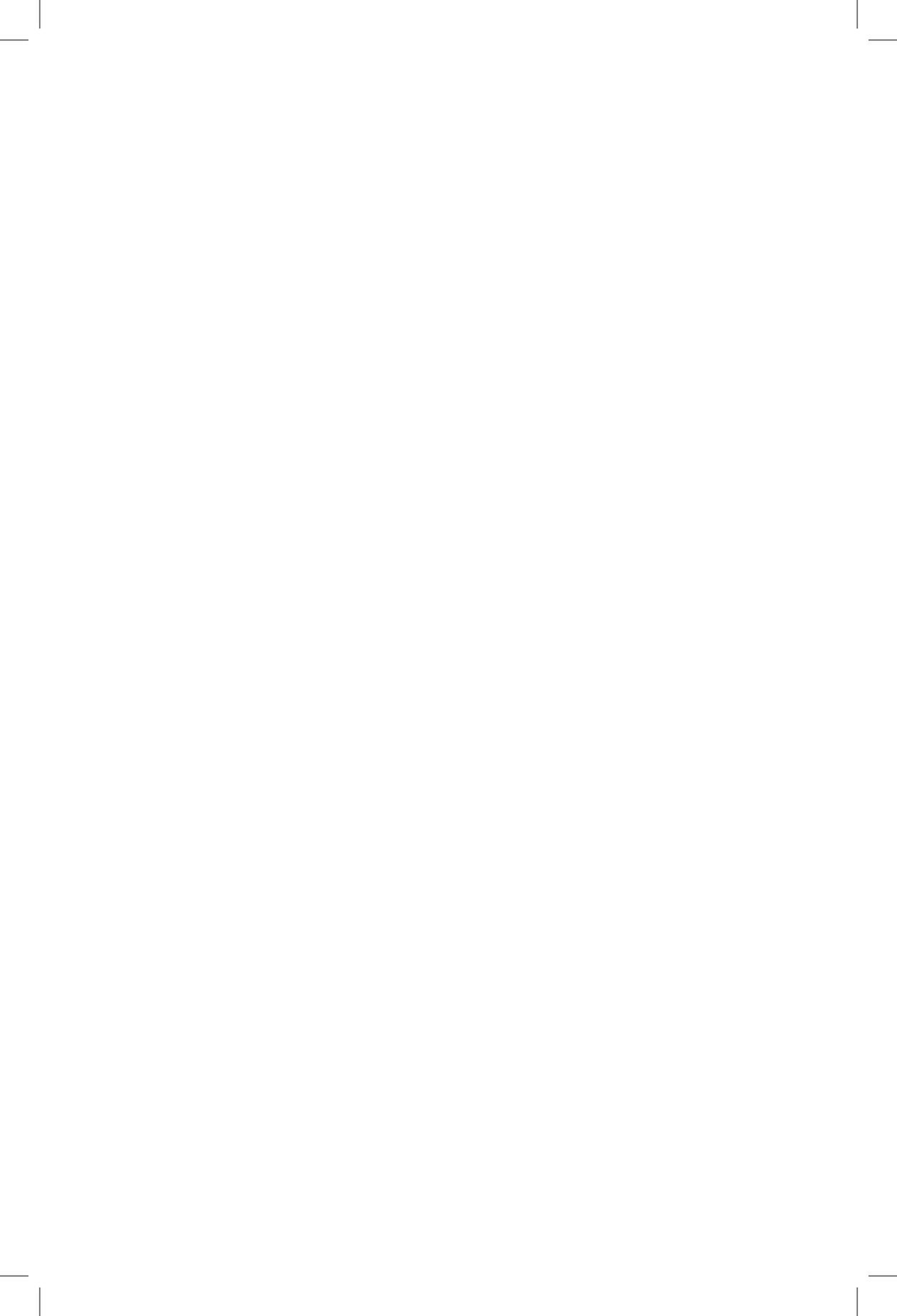
Meanwhile, workers on their second month of strike at Engineering Equipment Industries in Mandaluyong, Rizal, continued to receive fraternal support from workers in nearby factories.

The strikers have acknowledged gifts of rice and foodstuff, as well as tremendous moral support, from fellow workers showing class love and solidarity.

On the other hand, the big bourgeois owners of EEI continue to withhold ₱36,000 in union funds and refuse to pay the wages of hundreds of workers.

The resolute struggle of the EEI workers has encouraged their class brothers to dare to struggle, dare to win.

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ASEAN—Still Another Military Alliance

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 9, July 15, 1977.

The long-rotten corpse of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was finally buried last June 30. But the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has emerged as its more clever replacement.

ASEAN leaders always make it a point to insist that the regional association of the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore is not a military alliance and is not an instrument of US imperialism.

But in the same breath, they express as their main concern the suppression of the people's revolutionary movement in their respective countries. When they talk of military "self-reliance," they mean dependence on US military supplies and the continued presence of US military bases in the region, especially in the Philippines.

The Declaration of ASEAN Concord, put out at the Bali conference in February 1976, explicitly gave first place to the call for security, stability and counterinsurgency over the question of regional economic cooperation and the catchphrase of "peace and neutrality."

Within the framework of the ASEAN, there is open common agreement for the member-governments to exchange military expertise and intelligence and to carry out joint military undertakings on the basis of bilateral agreements.

The Philippine government has sought to isolate and crush the Moro people's struggle for national self-determination through bilateral agreements with Malaysia and also with Indonesia. The Marcos fascist regime is eager to succeed in this regard so that it can use more manpower and supplies against the entire Filipino people and the New People's Army led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Malaysia has actually helped the Philippine government in reducing if not cutting off supplies from abroad for the Bangsa Moro Army headed by the Moro National Liberation Front. Moreover, both Malaysia and Indonesia have helped the Philippine government in anti-MNLF diplomatic maneuvers among member-governments of the Islamic Conference.

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The Philippine and Indonesian reactionary navies coordinate their patrols in the border waters of the Philippines and Indonesia, with the express intention of guarding against the revolutionaries.

Currently, the Philippine and Indonesian reactionary armed forces are conducting joint military exercises which involve amphibious landings, land maneuvers and reconnaissance under the cover of "civic action." The site for the current joint exercises is Unidos, Aklan and that for the next will be Surabaya, Java. These sites are already quite far from the Philippine-Indonesian borders.

Very much in the news for quite some time are the repeated joint military campaigns of the Malaysian and Thai reactionary armed forces against the revolutionary forces in the border provinces of Malaysia and Thailand. Malaysia and Singapore have also continuously cooperated to suppress the Malayan revolutionaries of various nationalities.

In every ASEAN member-state, there is an intensification of anti-communist and antipeople campaigns of suppression. There is the obvious agreement within the ASEAN that these are a concomitant of diplomatic and trade relations, including relations with China and the Indochinese countries.

ASEAN has definitely taken the place of SEATO. The former may even prove to be more effective as a military instrument of US imperialism than the latter if the revolutionary forces do not join up to at least expose and condemn its character as a counterrevolutionary instrument.

Unlike ASEAN, SEATO failed to make use of bilateral military agreements among Southeast Asian countries. It was hamstrung by conflicts between the United States and other member-states. US imperialism had to undertake aggressive military actions solely or mainly on its own.

As developing countries still bound to US imperialism, the ASEAN states cannot truly be self-reliant militarily. Their rapidly increasing expenditures for military personnel, materiel and operations are bound to undermine their respective governments.

US imperialism may consider itself smart for being able to pass on to ASEAN states the burden of facing up to the people's revolutionary armed struggles. But only for the time being. Eventually, the people's war will win in the unliberated parts of Southeast Asia.

ASEAN has been in a frenzy of activities as a result of the decline of US imperialism in Southeast Asia, particularly its defeat in Indochina;

the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system; the intensifying contention between US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism; and the rise of the third world countries and peoples as the main force against the superpowers.

ASEAN is a holding-out instrument for US imperialism in Southeast Asia as the struggle of the two superpowers intensifies and both are drawn to a head-on collision in Europe and its periphery.

At the same time, the revolutionary people of Southeast Asia are taking the initiative under conditions that are increasingly favorable to them. From the Philippine revolutionary standpoint, the anticommunist and antipeople military aspect of ASEAN must be opposed.

However, one foreseeable cause for an adjustment of policy in this regard would be the actual or impending outbreak of a world war between the two superpowers. Should Soviet social-imperialism provoke or initiate the war, there would be a clear need to broaden further the united front against it.

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Can ASEAN Be an Instrument for Economic Independence and Development?

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The member-states of ASEAN are economic appendages of the world capitalist system. It will take a revolution to emancipate and properly develop the economy of any of the ASEAN states.

The Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia are basically producers and exporters of raw materials and importers of finished products from the capitalist countries. Singapore is practically only a trading post.

All the member-states of ASEAN are controlled by the foreign monopoly capitalists through direct investments and loans. US imperialism lords over all of them.

There are a few important agricultural and mineral raw materials which are exported by one or more of the ASEAN states and imported by the other ASEAN states from elsewhere. These are petroleum, rice, corn, sugar, tin and copper.

But the exchange of these products among the ASEAN members cannot be made to their common advantage because these are controlled by foreign investors and traders who profit more by keeping the pattern of exchanging them with finished products from the capitalist countries.

There are a number of manufactured products exportable from one or more of the ASEAN states and imported by the other ASEAN states from elsewhere. These are cement, specific pharmaceuticals, metal fabrications, agricultural equipment and tools, processed food, paper, rubber products, chemical products, ceramic and glass wares and even reassembled cars.

It is in this kind of trading that the foreign investors and traders are interested so long as it does not tend to remove the pattern of raw-material exports to and finished-product imports from the capitalist countries. As a matter of fact, it is one of the motives of US imperialism

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in having ASEAN organized in 1967 to promote regional “free trade” and “complementation.”

It can be added that US imperialism is also interested in exchanging some goods manufactured in one ASEAN state for raw materials from another. The point is for US imperialism to derive superprofits from the cheap raw materials and cheap labor power available in ASEAN states,

In line with the call for ASEAN industrial projects in the 1976 Declaration of ASEAN Concord, the economic ministers of ASEAN have agreed to establish five regional industrial projects, one in each member-state. Each project would fulfil not only the national requirements of the host country but also a portion of the requirements of the other member-states.

The five ASEAN industrial projects are: urea for Indonesia, another urea for Malaysia, soda ash for Thailand, diesel engines for Singapore, and phosphate fertilizer for the Philippines. These are assigned according to the availability of raw materials in each country,

The capital cost of each project is estimated at over \$800 million. The host country is responsible for 60 percent and the other countries, 10 percent each.

Each country is obliged to own 30 percent of the equity assigned to it but is also allowed to sell 70 percent to the private sector. In this manner, the foreign investors, especially US and Japanese, can control the ASEAN industrial projects. The board of directors of each project would be composed of the representatives of the owners of shares of stocks.

The foreign monopoly capitalists, especially US and Japanese, are also expected to provide loan capital for the equipment and services that have to be obtained from outside the region. This is one more way for the foreign monopolies to tighten their control over the projects.

Of course, in the first place, the raw materials that are the base for the various projects are already under the control of foreign capital. These are natural gas for urea; rock salt for soda ash; and sulfuric acid (as a byproduct of copper smelting) for phosphate fertilizer. Singapore for its part will merely assemble the knocked-down parts of diesel engines from outside the region.

Despite the advantages made available to the foreign monopoly capitalists, the proposed ASEAN industrial projects have run into a snag and have not gone beyond the stage of “prefeasibility” studies.

ASEAN: Instrument for Economic Independence and Development?

Although they have another list of industrial projects to recommend for establishment, the ASEAN foreign ministers are preoccupied mainly in their Singapore meeting this month with the difficulties of the traditional exports from ASEAN states as a result of trade restrictions by their capitalist trading partners.

ASEAN states are troubled by increasing trade deficits and balance of payments problems. Thus, they frantically push for talks with Japan, Australia and New Zealand next month and then with the United States in September.

Their previous talks on trade with the European Economic Community in Brussels last April has not at all diminished ASEAN trade worries.

The crisis of the world capitalist system has compelled the ASEAN states to broaden their diplomatic and trade relations in order to dispose of their raw-material exports.

For several years already, the prices of these exports have been pressed down too hard in their traditional markets. And worse, the traditional trading partners have cut down on their purchases from ASEAN states, except in the case of oil from Indonesia and Malaysia.

In trying to widen the market for their exports, the ASEAN states have gone so far as to develop relations with countries that they would otherwise avoid, such as socialist China and the social-imperialist Soviet Union.

While their grave situation drives them to have relations with Soviet social-imperialism, the ASEAN states can find common cause with the rest of the third world countries. The third world demands a new international economic order and looks for a way out from the dilemma of getting off the US imperialist pan only to fall into the Soviet social-imperialist fire.

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Communique of the Central Luzon Regional Party Conference⁸

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 10, July 31, 1977.

The Regional Conference of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Central Luzon was held last June 1977. Leading Party cadres from the various territorial organs, regional departments and bureaus, and Party organs within the people's army in the subregional and district guerrilla zones attended the Conference. The Central Committee, the Party committees of two adjacent regions, and two national organs under the Central Committee sent their representatives.

The historic meeting was formally opened by Comrade Amado Guerrero, chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In his speech, he cited the glorious revolutionary history of the region, where the Party was reestablished and the New People's Army founded, and where the Party first took root among the peasant masses.

"It was here that the Party gained experience and the necessities for expanding armed struggle to other regions," he said. "Even when we had only one guerrilla zone in Central Luzon, the region already played a very big role not only in expanding our revolutionary work in the countryside but also in developing the Party's national propaganda and strengthening the urban mass struggle."

Even as the Party and the people's army have overcome the difficulties in advancing the revolutionary movement, Comrade Amado Guerrero issued the call:

Now that we are stronger than at any time in the past, let us not relax our enthusiasm, perseverance and vigilance. To grow even stronger, we must keep to the style of closely uniting with the masses, criticism and self-criticism, and hard work and simple living.

⁸ Amado Guerrero gave the opening address to this regional conference. No copy of that address, which was reproduced only in limited number, has been located so far. For historical purposes, we reprint the communique.-
Editor

Building Strength through Struggle

The delegates and representatives of other Party organs engaged in a lively exchange of ideas in summing up nine years of revolutionary struggle in the region under the leadership of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines, assessing present conditions of society and of the revolutionary forces, and defining the tasks to be fulfilled.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was the beacon light for the Conference in the study of experience, examination of specific questions or problems, and drawing up of plans and decisions. The document "Our Urgent Tasks," issued by the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, concretely and effectively defined the present conditions of our revolutionary work, as well as the immediate tasks and trends of revolution in the coming years.

The Conference arrived at a deeper understanding and a firmer grasp of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and its living application in the Philippine revolution. Our experience has shown that a poor grasp of, or deviation from, fundamental proletarian principles results in failure, while a firm and creative grasp of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by the Party, the people's army and the organized masses ensures the advance of the revolution.

Objective conditions are excellent, both inside and outside the country, for the advance and victory of the people's revolutionary struggle. Internally, the economic crisis will continue and worsen in the years to come. The ruling classes are imposing heavier burdens on the people. While the worker and peasant masses sink deeper into poverty and the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie are going bankrupt, the foreign capitalists, comprador big bourgeoisie, big landlords and bureaucrat capitalists in cahoots with the Marcos dictatorship gorge on ill-gotten wealth.

The US-Marcos dictatorship's political power is rapidly crumbling, and the hour will soon strike when the people's fierce blows send it to its final destruction. Workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois and other progressive sectors and associations—all are opposing or defying the oppressive decrees promulgated by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The people realize more clearly than ever that only armed revolution can change this social system and bring about genuine democracy and national independence. In the cities and the countryside, millions of people all over the Philippines participate in advancing the

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revolutionary armed struggle. At the end of the current decade and more so in the next, the revolution will rush onward even faster and nothing can stop it: not the local ruling classes nor US imperialism, and certainly not the meddling of the Soviet social-imperialists.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the leading force that has upheld and will uphold the basic demands of the people. It has provided and will provide correct and steadfast leadership to the people's revolutionary struggle. Upon the declaration of martial law by the US-Marcos regime, the Lava revisionist clique completely turned traitor and entered into an unholy alliance with the reactionary government, while Marcos' reactionary rivals such as Macapagal and other bogus leaders either retreated into silence, took flight or made peace with the US-Marcos dictatorship. But the Communist Party of the Philippines remained on its course, steadily persevering in the revolutionary struggle. It is this that has won us the support and the ever more enthusiastic participation of the people in the revolution.

The ideological, political and organizational strengthening of the Party is the decisive link in the further advance of the revolutionary struggle to victory. It will guarantee the spread and growth of the people's revolutionary struggle, and sweep aside the obstacles put up by the reactionary puppets of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people in revolutionary struggle lays the basis for the development of armed struggle and the steady advance of the revolution to final victory. The history of Central Luzon proves that when the people grasp and support the Party's correct program, they are a decisive force in toppling the power of the exploiting classes.

Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in the national democratic revolution. Only people's war can smash the reactionary state and established the people's democratic dictatorship. We are presently in the stage of preparing and developing the revolutionary forces for people's war.

By waging and promoting different forms of mass struggle now, the people can be prepared for the all-around rise in the level of struggle. Mass struggles are the most effective means of arousing and mobilizing the great majority of the people to prepare for people's war. On the other hand, maintaining and advancing victories of mass struggle

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on all front are linked with the development of armed struggle in the countryside.

Armed struggle in Central Luzon is in the stage of expanding guerilla warfare. The New People's Army has been and will continue to be the main Party organization in the countryside. It is the principal force in launching and developing armed struggle.

Today, the New People's Army in Central Luzon is stronger than at any time since the decisive defeat of the old people's army (HMB) in the 1950s. The New People's Army has increased its ability to concentrate its forces for tactical offensives from time to time. Extending over eight provinces of Central Luzon, its guerrilla zones have been established in strategic places of the region.

As if enacting a scene from the splendid future, the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses thwarted the biggest military operation ever launched by the enemy, who tried to seek out and disrupt the Conference. More than 500 PC, PA and PAF troops combed the mountainsides while the Conference was going on. But they found not even one shadow to chase.

With the approval by the Conference of the three-year Party program for Central Luzon, more and bigger victories will certainly be achieved by the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary people before the end of the 1970s.

The Conference elected the Central Luzon Regional Party Committee. The First Plenum of the Regional Party Committee was held immediately following the Conference. The Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Regional Party Committee were elected, and important plans were discussed.

The holding of the Central Luzon Regional Party Conference is a decisive victory of the revolutionary struggles in the region over the last several years. It will definitely propel the revolution forward with more speed and more strength. The objective conditions are excellent, and the revolutionary forces, as indicated by the Conference, are correspondingly gathering strength. As a consequence, the people's revolutionary struggle will surely rise to new heights in Central Luzon.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

On with the revolutionary mass movement!

On with people's war!

Down with US imperialism, feudalism and fascism!

Communique of the Central Luzon Regional Party Conference

Down with the reactionary government!
Long live the Filipino people!

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Build Close and Strong Links with the Masses to Advance the Revolution in Northeast Luzon

Message to the Regional Party Conference of Northeast Luzon (Cagayan Valley)

August 1, 1977

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, I extend warmest revolutionary greetings to the delegates of the First Regional Conference of the Party in northeast Luzon and to the entire regional Party organization that they represent. The First Regional Party Conference is a great victory for the Party, the people's army and the broad masses of the people not only in the region but also in the entire country.

This regional Party conference is actually the second to be held in northeast Luzon. But the first one held in February 1972 was for the entire Northern Luzon. At that conference I stated that the regional Party organization and its elected leadership should assume basic responsibility for the development of the revolutionary struggle in Northern Luzon.

Since then many important developments have occurred, prompting the Central Committee to decide on dividing Northern Luzon into two regions, northwest and northeast Luzon, in March 1973. Thus, we have the current conference.

I wish you success in summing up the experience of the Party and the revolutionary forces that it leads in northeast Luzon, especially from 1972 to the present. However, you will have to pay attention also to the 1969-1971 period when the Central Committee assumed direct responsibility for revolutionary activity in the whole of Northern Luzon.

It is correct for you to sum up your experience of more than eight years of revolutionary struggle in northeast Luzon, draw both positive and negative lessons and learn from both; and set forth the tasks for advancing the revolutionary movement.

Building Strength through Struggle

The Early Years of Revolutionary Work

By way of helping your conference, I want to share with you some points about the revolutionary experience in your region. Since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Central Committee has always been concerned with the development of armed revolution in Northern Luzon.

The evil character of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is clearly evident in the region. The people, who are mostly poor peasants, live in misery and are open for revolutionary work. The terrain of the region is favorable to people's war and is the widest in the whole of Luzon.

Particularly in northeast Luzon, the land problem is as conspicuous as in Central Luzon. The estates of the landlords are vast. Feudal and semifeudal exploitation are at its worst, especially in the entire province of Cagayan and the Mallig region of Isabela.

As early as February 1969, the Central Committee made preparations for revolutionary work in northeast Luzon, particularly in Isabela. We trained cadres in Tarlac for this purpose. By April, some cadres had been sent and were carrying out social investigation and initial mass work in Isabela.

There were plenty of lumpen-proletarian elements in the province. Many of them were cattle rustlers and extortionists. The member of the Central Committee assigned to lead the work concentrated on the line of going after the bad elements and forming the barrio organizing committees against them.

Before the end of 1969, fifty (50) barrios in the forest region and plains of Isabela had barrio organizing committees established by armed propaganda teams. About fifteen (15) cadres and twenty (20) rifles and hand guns were transferred from the second district of Tarlac to Isabela before August 1970.

To support the direct approach of our armed propaganda teams to the barrio people, we sought to develop the united front with the mayors who opposed the Marcos regime and its local minions. Thus, many village officials were befriended and provided political education.

From 1969 to 1970, I made a social investigation of the entire Northern Luzon. This resulted in the Preliminary Report on the region and the increase of Party members in various parts of the region. I also

Build Close and Strong Links with the Masses

had three opportunities to work with comrades in Isabela (October and December 1969 and February 1970) and assist in conducting study courses and solving practical problems.

By June 1970, the headquarters of the Central Committee transferred to Isabela because of the excessive concentration of enemy forces in Tarlac under Task Force Lawin. Mass work was accelerated and expanded in the forest region of Isabela. Politico-military training courses for cadres were held. Before the end of 1970, we had sent out cadres to other provinces in the region.

Although our mass base rapidly expanded, the increase of our automatic rifles was limited and slow. Encounters with the enemy troops were being avoided. The rifles and handguns were given by the people and allies and came from confiscation operations against bad elements. Hundreds of homemade shotguns in the forest region became our weapons. But from the successful raid on the Philippine Military Academy (PMA) in December 1970 we were able to increase our automatic rifles by several scores.

It was in June and July 1971 when the Executive Committee of the Central Committee left the forest region of Isabela to attend to such functions as the national expansion of the Party and the army, the recovery and expansion of guerrilla zones in Central Luzon; and to undertake the special project for increasing the number of firearms in accordance with the decision of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in 1969.

In the latter half of 1971, the NPA regional operational command decided to launch tactical offensives against enemy troops. As in the failed raid on Salinungan, the offensives were mere harassment operations, which did not yield the arms for increasing the strength of the people's army but only exposed the Browning automatic rifles taken from raid on the PMA and drew the attention of the enemy to the region.

It was September 1971 when the Central Committee helped the most responsible cadres in Northern Luzon to prepare for a regional Party conference. The conference was held in February 1972. It was also at that time that the enemy forces under Task Force Saranay had started to deploy troops against our guerrilla zones.

I attended that conference for two reasons. One was the importance of the conference. The other was to give instructions to the most

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responsible cadres in the region regarding the final preparations for the special project to increase the armed strength of the people's army.

Those instructions were not promptly and thoroughly carried out. Nevertheless, we would be able to increase our automatic rifles in the region in the second half of 1972. We should have been able to make a far bigger increase if not for the offensives that had called the attention of the enemy in 1971; and for the bad and careless preparations in the first half of 1972.

From August 1970 to June 1972, we were able to organize hundreds of barrio organizing committees in Northern Luzon, including Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Quirino, Cagayan, Ifugao and Benguet. We had a mass base that reached hundreds of thousands of people through barrio organizing committees.

However, the building of mass organizations was skimpy and sporadic. The mass campaigns, particularly those to reduce the land rent and eliminate usury, were not carried out on a wide scale. The call of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee for wide-scale organizing and mobilizing of the masses was hardly given any attention.

Only one type of mass organization was well organized, those of shotgun owners who served as the local guerrillas in the forest region of Isabela. Links with the masses were narrow, flowing from the armed propaganda units to the barrio organizing committees or local guerrilla groups.

Barrios mainly of peasants, whether in the forests or on the plains, often times had no peasant association and other types of mass organizations. Otherwise, organizing of this was haphazard and no attention was paid to creating other possible types of organizations.

However, on top were many types of organized special groups, such as consolidation teams, mobile education teams, medical teams, Red detachment of women and cultural groups. Comprehensive mass work, creating mass organizations and giving full play to the initiative of local mass activists were neglected.

Call it a mistake in the Organizational Guide that the barrio organizing committee are expected to create the mass organizations. But there are the armed propaganda units, and especially the consolidation teams, that should have attended to organizing and mobilizing the masses.

Because the local Party branches were not established widely, neither could the mass organizations be established. It seemed sufficient

to have active members of the barrio organizing committee and the local guerrilla group that could be ordered by the armed propaganda team.

Only through comprehensive revolutionary work among the basic masses can the Party build the independent force of the revolutionary movement. Otherwise the Party remains dependent on the allies who helped in opening some areas for political work.

Nevertheless, despite the errors and shortcomings that emerged in Party work in the region in the 1969-72 period, the revolutionary forces developed in Northern Luzon, mainly in northeast Luzon, to become the leading standard bearers of armed revolution in the countryside for the entire country from 1971 until 1972.

We had the biggest mass base in northeast Luzon. In the second half of 1972, we had two full companies and an oversized platoon with high-powered rifles. We had a few hundreds of homemade shotguns in the forest region. We had a full company armed with shotguns at the Isabela-Ifugao border and likewise platoons in Nueva Vizcaya, in Isabela, and in northeast and eastern Cagayan.

northeast Luzon replaced the second district of Tarlac as the center of armed revolution in 1971-72. At that time, the armed revolution in Southern Luzon, particularly in Bicol, was at its initial stage. Our forces in Central Luzon were still recovering. In mid-1972, we were still at the threshold or initial stage of revolutionary work in the countryside of Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The Fundamental Mistake from 1973 to 1976

The mass base of the Party and people's army in northeast Luzon had greatly contracted since late 1972. Our guerrilla zones had decreased and narrowed until 1976. Our armed strength decreased by seventy percent from 1973 to the present. The enemy tried to lay siege, pursue and block our forces.

The armed strength of the people's army in northeast Luzon fell to fourth place compared to other regions. If you add here our armed strength in the northwest Luzon, the armed strength of Northern Luzon ranked third in the entire country. This armed strength is still higher than the level attained before the end of June 1972.

It is entirely correct for you to take the stand that though there has been a drastic reduction of our armed strength and territory in

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northeast Luzon, there are more than enough personnel and means for you to renew strength and make new advances.

You can certainly renew the strength of the revolutionary forces in the region and lead them from victory to victory as long as you can correctly sum up experience, draw lessons from its positive and negative aspects and set forth the tasks. To start with, you have Party cadres and members, and Red fighters who have been tempered in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle.

It should inspire you to greater revolutionary effort by recognizing that you have done a great service to the entire revolutionary movement by having withstood the worst kind of onslaughts that the enemy could launch against the Party, the people's army and the organized masses since 1972. In this period, the revolutionary forces in other regions had opportunity to advance.

Until now, the enemy apparently still believes that the main strength of the New People's Army is in your region. Thus, the enemy forces are still concentrating on your region. Remember that the people's army in other regions is using every opportunity not only to take advantage of the enemy's relative concentration on you but also to draw away its attention from you.

On a national scale, the Party and people's army are stronger than at any time in the past. They operate in more than 30 big and small guerrilla zones in various regions. They have the support of the entire Filipino people. The armed strength of the people's army continues to increase from the level assessed at the end of 1975. It is higher than the level reached on the eve of the proclamation of the fascist martial law.

In tracing the cause or causes of the stagnation and subsequent erosion of our revolutionary armed forces in northeast Luzon, we can easily point to the obvious fact that the regional leadership of the Party and main units of the people's army stayed in isolation for an excessively long period of time in the forest region of Isabel, even after the enemy had forcibly evacuated the inhabitants (50,000) from the area; and became the target of a long and massive campaign of encirclement and suppression.

It is surprising but sad why the leading cadres in the region did not see the problem confronting them before the end of 1972. It is even more surprising and sad why they kept the main units of the people's army in that area from 1973 to 1976. When the regional Party

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leadership revived its connection with the Central Committee in July 1974, our urgent advice was for our main units to leave the unpopulated area being encircled by the enemy and to avoid bumping against any enemy blocking force.

The fundamental mistake of the regional Party leadership was its insistence on keeping the First and Second Red Companies and other units in an area without the masses to rely on and where the enemy wanted us to become passive in sheer physical concealment and preoccupied with eking out an existence in a purely military situation.

In such a situation, the enemy played to the hilt its military advantage over us. We played into its tactics of encirclement. Because the masses were gone, we became preoccupied with looking for food and became blind and deaf in the forest. It was as if we had not learned the negative experience of the Lava revisionist renegades when they stayed in the unpopulated forests of Laguna and Quezon in the 1950s.

The question of favorable terrain is secondary to the question of mass base. This is clear in our experience nationwide and in all our study materials. We can take advantage of forested mountains and hills only if we are linked to the broad masses of the people who are the foundation of our people's war.

To grasp what is wrong and what should have been done with the main armed units which were nailed down by the enemy encirclement from late 1972 to 1976, we review the three main components of our revolutionary struggle in the countryside: the armed struggle, base building and agrarian revolution.

1. The statement that armed struggle is the main form of our revolutionary struggle is a strategic concept which concerns the general course of the people's democratic revolution. Only step by step can we develop the armed struggle as our main form of struggle. Likewise can we build the people's army from small and weak to big and strong.

If we grasp the current balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy in the military field, we can understand that we shall have to go through three probable stages of development: the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate and the strategic offensive.

Someday we shall seize political power throughout the country. But between the present and the future lies a long and complicated road. We are still in the stage of developing guerrilla warfare, particularly the stage of building guerrilla squads and platoons.

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Someday we shall be able to advance from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare and we shall continue to wage guerrilla warfare even when regular mobile warfare has become increasingly outstanding. In the general offensive, the seizure of enemy fortresses will take the form of regular warfare even as we shall use regular mobile warfare to the end.

We can look afar at any time. But let us not overlook the present in the region or in the whole country. When in late 1972 the two full companies were formed, the regional Party leadership should have paid ample attention to the plan of the enemy and to our own plans for the entire region and the entire country.

It was foolhardy to encamp and tie down more than two companies in an unpopulated area and surrounded by 7,000 enemy troops. This meant giving up the mobility needed by guerrilla forces not only for military purposes but also for mass work and other political purposes that further yield military advantages for us.

Never lose grip on our links with the great number of our masses. This is how we fight and frustrate the enemy's military advantage over us. With our strength today, it is foolhardy to fight the enemy in a purely military situation in a fixed and narrow area for such a long time.

"Operation Initiative" in 1974 was bound to fail because the masses were not there to serve as eyes and ears and as wide support for the people's army. Instead of being strengthened by that campaign, our military force was eroded by battles of attrition.

Had the main units of the people's army been shifted to well populated areas and relatively favorable situation, we would have been able to deploy a wave of squads and half squads and assigned others to farther areas for the purpose of expansion.

We should have left only a few squads in the forest region of Isabela to give the enemy the illusion we were still there and to tie it down there. Regarding the companies which should have been shifted, nothing is wrong with trading space for time. Any area you temporarily "lose" you can always recover if you can strengthen yourself elsewhere.

2. Base building is an indispensable component of our revolutionary armed struggle all the time. In essence, it means development of the mass base. It does not simply refer to the establishment of military bases solely on favorable terrain.

In the full sense, in the entire course of the people's democratic revolution, base building means transforming the politically, militarily,

economically and culturally backward villages into politically, militarily, economically and culturally advanced villages. Anyone who thinks that base building involves only or mainly the selection of the terrain without consideration of the people is out of his mind.

The long-term goal is to make the entire country our revolutionary base. We want to liberate the whole country. But before we can do this, we can only take parts and parts of it. Here we can get the support of the masses and remove the power of the reactionaries. When we speak of "armed independent regime," we refer to the relative scale of political power that our people's army has realized as the main component of our newly emergent power.

The term "base" or "armed independent regime" does not mean fixation or loss of mobility for the people's army in a designated area. It is one thing to understand the meaning of these terms; it is another to isolate ourselves in a certain area and let ourselves be a fixed target of enemy encirclement.

Base building cannot be separated from the given level of our armed struggle. Typical still are the guerrilla zones and the well-consolidated guerrilla zones. If you wish, you may call the most advanced parts of the guerrilla zone as guerrilla base, especially if comprehensive mass organizing there has been achieved.

The time will surely come when the guerrilla bases can link with each other to become relatively stable base areas. You may call these base areas or liberated areas. What is important is that we know the concrete content of the term. For example, I was not confused when our headquarters platoon was called "regular mobile force." I always called this a guerrilla platoon.

In order to succeed at base building in the region, we must use rapid methods of consolidation behind the expansion done through the barrio liaison groups or other forms of liaison. We can form organizing groups and committees for building the mass organizations and we can launch mass campaigns by relying on the mass activists and the masses themselves. Relatedly, we can also easily create the local Party branches and the organs of political power.

In the past, we were not able to do revolutionary work among the basic masses of workers and peasants successfully and widely, simply because the Party and the people's army confined themselves in an unpopulated area. In such circumstances, united front work could not be done. Thus, it became necessary for the Party and the people's

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army to shift to another area where they could connect to the masses in the barrios and in the towns.

3. As in the development of armed struggle and base building, the development of the agrarian revolution also has its stages. The term agrarian revolution may indicate that even now we are not satisfied with anything less than the confiscation of landlord property.

In fact, agrarian revolution is our ultimate goal and this means confiscation of landlord property in order to solve the land problem of the poor and lower-middle peasants. But we can move forward towards that goal step by step, based on the development of the overall strength and tactical needs of the revolutionary movement.

At present, we have been able to carry out rent reduction and elimination of usury as the main point of our land reform program. Our general policy is to reduce by half the going land rent and interest rate that we come upon, especially if the landlords agree, make cash advances for production and extend credit to the peasants. There are some tactics to implement this current policy.

Land reform is a necessary component of the revolutionary struggle that we are waging. We cannot attain the widest participation and support of the peasant masses in this struggle, if we do not take effective step towards the solution of their land problem.

The solution of the land problem is the main content of the democratic revolution. There are many other problems to face in the barrios and towns in your region. But this is the problem that involves the most people.

When we had a united front with some mayors in Isabela, our principal way for building mass strength independent and critical of them was to establish the peasant associations and launch land reform campaigns on the plains and in the forest region.

In the forest region, those who appear to be owner-cultivators were not only landless peasants from where they came but remain mostly poor and lower-middle peasants. Each of them can have 5 to 8 acres of homestead but can plant only small part and cannot adequately feed the family with the produce throughout the year, thus he has to be a farm worker or a worker in logging camps. He is usually exploited by usurers and merchants.

As I stated before, the most fertile area for agrarian revolution in the Cagayan Valley is the Mallig region in Isabela and the province of Cagayan. We noted this as early as in 1970 in the Preliminary Report

on Northern Luzon.⁹ We should have paid attention to revolutionary work in this part of the Cagayan Valley as early as 1971, after attending to Isabela. It would have been fine had we shifted and deployed to these areas the main units of the people's army in 1973.

It was a happy event that you saw the light in the north, you took a long march in that direction and you linked again with the masses. You must remain courageous, diligent and vigilant. Keep in mind that the delay in shifting was extremely long and the enemy took notice of it.

There are reports that the enemy is now telling the masses to return to the forest region of Isabela. If true, you can soon start the recovery there while developing the wider mass base in your new areas.

Certainly there are other errors and shortcomings attendant to the erosion of the former strength of the Party and people's army in northeast Luzon. The purpose of this message is to help you focus on the fundamental error.

I am surprised why the platoon at the eastern end of Isabela did not serve as your guide for shifting as early as 1973. The platoon was successful at developing a mass base. It was possible for the main units to move in that direction. In connection with the massive evacuation of people from the forest region, the enemy was using the Cagayan river as obstacle to any westward march of the people's army towards the populated barrios.

The undersized platoon that was at first driven from Nueva Vizcaya and then from Quirino had benefited well from shifting. The unit increased itself to an oversized company, the Third Red Company, in Aurora in 1974. But at another turn, the company got tied down in just three municipalities and did not expand. As early as June 1974, we advised the command there to develop the principal as well as secondary routes for expansion in anticipation of the day that the enemy would concentrate its forces there.

However, the major mistakes were not only overconcentration of our forces in a particular physical base. There were also cases of overexpansion that led to the disintegration of our forces, as in the cases of the company (of mostly shotguns and single-shot rifles) from the Ifugao-Isabela border, the platoon in northeast Cagayan and the expansion team in the Mallig region in Isabela. Earlier than this in

⁹ See *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*, pp. 229-253.

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1971 was the failed leapfrog expansion to Cagayan, Ilocos Norte and Benguet.

I think that overexpansion occurred when the cadres assigned to the work were not well-chosen and not knowledgeable about the area; were not self-reliant and were prone to errors without prompt guidance from a higher organ.

We call on you to develop coordination in your region between the barrios and the towns; and between people's army bases and the areas for expansion. However, we are aware that your prolonged encampment in the forests of Isabela has resulted in the neglect of work not only in the towns and cities but also in many rural areas in Isabela.

Thus, we have instructed the Party organization in Manila-Rizal and the central organ in charge of the national united front to help you in increasing and expanding your Party organizations in the aforesaid areas.

We have also informed the regional Party organization in northwest Luzon about your expansion team in Kalinga-Apayao. This team can continue its work. You can refer to the Central Committee any issue regarding jurisdiction or coordination with other regions.

The guerrilla platoon that moved to Nueva Ecija from Aurora is now integrated in Central Luzon. After overcoming some errors, it has been able to create an extensive guerrilla zone.

Advance the Revolutionary Struggle!

We hope that your summing up of experience and formulation of your tasks will be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and by "Our Urgent Tasks."

Advance the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle in comprehensively. Firmly take every step towards the victory of the new democratic revolution.

Build the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally in your region. The Party should wield correctly the two powerful weapons, the armed struggle and the united front.

In advancing the armed struggle, you must build the guerrilla units of the New People's Army and wage guerrilla warfare; develop the mass base in your guerrilla fronts and multiply your guerrilla zones; and carry out land reform and other mass campaigns to advance the people's war.

Build Close and Strong Links with the Masses

In advancing the united front, you must develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and take advantage of the rifts among the reactionaries to isolate and destroy the enemy, the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Let us stand firmly for the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat as we develop the alliance of workers and peasants as the foundation of the united front, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and take advantage of the contradictions among factions of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in order to isolate and destroy the fascist puppet clique of big compradors and big landlords.

As long as you strengthen the revolutionary forces in the northeast Luzon, you will reach the stage of ever widening coordination with northwest Luzon and Central Luzon in the years to come. More than ever the national and international conditions are favorable for the development of the revolutionary forces in northeast Luzon.

The political and economic crisis continues to worsen, besieging the US-Marcos ruling clique and the entire ruling class. The revolutionary armed struggle of the New People's Army continues to grow strong and so does that of the Moro people.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants, who are the most victimized by the crisis engendered by US imperialism and the fascist puppet clique, are rising. So are the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The split among the reactionaries is worsening. The US-Marcos dictatorship is bound to fall.

All the revolutionary forces are bound to gain strength in this situation. The facts abound to prove that the fascist regime has only served to fundamentally weaken the ruling system and strengthen the revolutionary forces.

The main trend in the world is revolution. The people's revolutionary movements are advancing as the crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening. The attempts of the imperialists to shift the burden of crisis to the people, especially of the third world, are engendering resistance.

At the same time, the danger of a world war is arising from the sharpening struggle between the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. As the danger increases, the people's revolutionary movements rise. War among the imperialists will only accelerate the world revolution.

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Under conditions that the factors of revolution and war are growing, the anti-imperialist currents are developing among the people and countries of the third world. The third world is the main force of the international united front.

Since the beginning, I have referred to the success of your conference. First, this indicates that you have overcome a long-running problem of major proportions, linked well to an increasing number of the masses and now you are in the process of recovering from extreme difficulties, errors and weaknesses.

The revolutionary forces in your region are still in a better condition than in 1969 and 1970. Especially if you learn from more than eight years of revolutionary experience, you have a sound and more than enough basis for achieving great advances in the revolutionary struggle. The road of revolution is long and complicated. But more than ever we are sure that the future is bright. We are confident of victory.

We wish you the utmost success in your conference.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines in northeast Luzon!

Long live the New People's Army!

Down with the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Advance the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle!

Link closely with the masses!

Create many more guerrilla zones!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

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Militant Student Protest Movement Forces Marcos to Take a Step Backward

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 11, August 15, 1977.

Student masses in Metro Manila scored a victory in their struggle against the reactionary Marcos government with the recent suspension of all applications by private school owners to increase tuition fees this semester.

By the end of July, almost 200,000 students in 13 universities and colleges had walked out of their classes in a massive boycott movement that won the support of parents and teachers.

The students' militancy and unity, and the broad support they received from the people, proved to the martial law regime that the masses are determined to resist oppression and to fight for their rights.

Effective organizing methods mobilized students at the University of the Philippines, University of the East, University of Santo Tomas, Philippine College of Commerce, Adamson University, Trinity College, Araneta University Foundation, Feati University, Philippine College of Criminology, Lyceum of the Philippines, Arellano University, Philippine Women's University and Manuel L. Quezon University.

At the UST, 30,000 students boycotted their classes in the last week of July, and some 20,000 joined a march that went from building to building around the campus.

At the University of the East, reactionary school authorities and military intelligence agents were caught by surprise each time the students walked out of their classes, thousands at a time. Plans for every mass action were carried out by student committees.

At the Feati University, at the end of July, marches and a total boycott of classes mobilized 45,000 students. A big rally was held July 29, at which the issues were explained and the students repeated their demands for a rollback in tuition fees and for better school facilities.

Faculty members at this university expressed their support for the boycotting students in an open letter that said:

We, the faculty members of Feati University, join you in the struggle for the rollback of tuition fees and for the implementation of basic changes or improvements in the university.

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We believe that the 15 percent increase in tuition fees is unjustified and too heavy a load for Feati students. It is unjustified because no improvements in essential facilities such as library, laboratory equipment, comfort rooms, classrooms, chairs, electric fans, canteen, etc., are being initiated. There is therefore no reason for the 15 percent increase precisely because there are no added operating or maintenance expenditures. (Incidentally, there is no increase in the salaries of instructors, contrary to rumors being circulated by the administration.) Obviously, the 15 percent increase in tuition fees merely enlarges the amount of net income and profits of our beloved university.

Moreover, the tuition fee increase is unjustified because of the higher cost of living now prevailing throughout the country.

The alarming number of Feati University dropouts attests to this fact. And we, your instructors, would hate to see another number added to the high percentage of students who stopped studying for reasons of poverty.

Uniting under the banner of the Alyansa Laban sa Pagtaas ng Tuition Fee, the students raised the following common demands:

Roll back tuition fees! Restore our student councils, organizations and newspapers which assure our voice in the making of decisions in the university! Stop the harassment, arbitrary arrest and expulsion of our student leaders! Resist the increasing military intervention in campus affairs!

In the face of their unity and determination, Marcos suspended the increase of tuition fees until after the Department of Education and Culture has gone through the motions of investigating how private schools are using the additional profits they get from higher fees.

The dictator was hoping to slow down the momentum of the student protest movement by putting up bureaucratic obstacles in its path. At the same time, he continued to ignore the demands to restore student councils, organizations and newspapers, and to stop the militarization of the campuses.

On the contrary, colleges and universities today are packed with informers posing as students, teachers and employees. Student leaders are accused of subversion, detained, suspended, expelled, threatened and harassed. One telephone call from the school administration brings the Metrocom running.

But increased repression only brings about increased resistance. Through persistent and painstaking political work among the masses of students, teachers, parents, university workers and others, the student

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movement will continually strengthen itself and win new victories in the months to come.

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On the Marcos Speech of August 23

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 13, September 15, 1977.

In his August 23 speech before an international lawyers' conference, financed by the CIA and by himself, the fascist Marcos declared that the Philippines was "moving irretrievably towards normalcy" and announced four measures that were supposed to be in this direction.

These measures are: (1) the holding of local elections not later than next year and the suspension of the effects of martial law during the election period; (2) the lifting of the ban on international travel by Filipinos with no valid reason for leaving the country; (3) the lifting of curfew, from 1:00 a.m. to 4:00 a.m. in Manila and from midnight or earlier to 4:00 a.m. in the provinces; and (4) a decree offering amnesty to those who may have violated the Antisubversion Law and those who have committed crimes against public order under the Revised Penal Code.

Undoubtedly, all these measures are mere embellishments on the continuance of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. These are calculated to entrench further a tyrannical regime that has from the outset usurped its authority.

1. Regarding the holding of local elections, we cannot but expect another farce in the style of the four pseudo-referendum held from 1973 to 1976 under the terms of the fascist martial rule. A single party, the Marcos party, will certainly dominate the elections and monopolize the result in the same manner that the pseudo-referendums were rigged.

The main point is to expose the forthcoming local elections as a farce and use it as an occasion to condemn the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique among the masses and take advantage of splits among the reactionaries and even among some Marcos henchmen.

2. Regarding the lifting of the ban on international travel, we can only see it as a pretext to raise the travel tax on the tens of thousands of Filipino workers and professionals going in and out of the country every year in connection with overseas employment.

3. Regarding the lifting of curfew, we notice immediately that the fascist dictatorship and its military officials have not at all lifted curfew over wide areas in the country. Moreover, curfew can be imposed on

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any part of the country at any time by local military officials of the enemy.

4. Regarding the decree offering amnesty, we see through it as no different from all previous amnesty decrees which seek to humiliate people by extorting admissions of guilt and oaths of allegiance to the tyrannical regime and its constitution. This decree seeks to split the ranks of revolutionaries by offering amnesty to “followers” while excluding its “leaders.”

US imperialism wants to ride high with its trumpeting on “human rights” in its contention with the other superpower. This catchphrase, with its exclusivistic attention to personal rights, glosses over the oppression and exploitation of the people by US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

It has not been too difficult for Marcos to get into the act with Carter in paying lip service to “human rights.” A CIA-subsidized organization like the World Peace Through Law Conference harps on the “international protection of human rights” but lionizes the Marcos fascist dictatorship and regales the fascist dictator with a “nation-builder” award.

The line of “moving irretrievably towards normalcy” is a sinister line agreed on by the Marcos fascist gang and its foreign master, US imperialism. US imperialism is willing to retain the Marcos fascist gang in power for so long as it can entrench and widen the gains made by US monopoly capital in the Philippines under fascist martial rule.

As US imperialism and the Marcos fascist gang can only make pretenses regarding the fundamental questions of national independence and democracy, the revolutionary movement is steadily forging ahead and the broad masses of the people are placing their hopes on the growth of the armed revolution.

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Marcos' Bogus Land Reform Collapses

First published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Issue, September 21, 1977.

“It’s a lot of noise!”

This is how the peasant masses describe the promise of land reform made by the fascist dictator Marcos at the beginning of his antidemocratic counterrevolution in 1972.

Five years of Marcos’ bogus land reform has not only failed to improve the lot of poor and lower-middle peasants who comprise the vast majority of the country’s peasantry. It has aggravated their plight.

There is no known case of a poor or lower-middle peasant acquiring land under the regime’s “land reform” for the simple reason that he cannot afford the price dictated by Marcos and his fellow landlords.

In fact, the peasants who were deceived into accepting the scrap of paper that the fascist dictatorship calls a “land transfer certificate” (LTC) find themselves sinking ever deeper in debt, with no hope of eventually owning the land they are tilling.

A recent seminar of the University of the Philippines focused on a “land reform” barrio in Calumpit, Bulacan. Based on the data made available to the researchers, it would seem that production costs have risen by 30%, mainly because of the high cost of fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation services, taxes, etc. In contrast, the palay production increased by a mere 2.6%.

In the average farm in the barrio studied, an equivalent of 53 cavans was spent on production. Since the yield totaled only 64.71 cavans, the peasant was left with just a little over 11 cavans, or less than ₱600.

Clearly, with prices of all prime commodities skyrocketing, the peasant and his family could not live on that amount, much less meet amortization payments on the land.

Field reports by Party cadres show that actual production costs have risen many times more than 30%. On the other hand, palay production has been so unreliable and requires so much expense that many peasants are giving up the so-called “high-yield” varieties.

In the Calumpit barrio, pesticides for which the peasants are required to pay prohibitive prices under the regime’s Masagana 99 program were found to be dangerous to the peasant’s health and to the environment. The pesticide Folidol was banned in Japan years ago

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while another brand, Gustathion A, was never allowed for farming. Both brands have been killing off fish, frogs and snails that provide supplementary food for the peasants.

Confronted with this, the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) pointed to the Bureau of Plant Industry as the government agency responsible. On another occasion, the DAR had tried to shift the blame to the Bureau of Lands for the failure of "land reform."

Indeed, this bureaucratic trick of buck-passing has characterized the entire implementation of Marcos' bogus land reform.

The program has been such a dismal flop that even the fascist dictatorship has lessened the volume of its propaganda on what it had pointed to as its "cornerstone." Fascist propaganda now tends to evade or obscure the issue of land reform.

On the Question of Land Ownership

What makes the Marcos "land reform" a sham from the beginning is the bourgeois reactionary idea that if the tenant masses in rice and corn lands want to own land they must buy it at the price dictated by their landlords.

Presidential Decree No. 27 stresses the point that land sale contracts must be essentially a private transaction between the landlords and tenants and even discourages the Land Bank from acting as the financial intermediary.

At any rate, whether the land sale contract be directly between the landlord and the tenant, or the Land Bank first purchases the land and then resells it to the tenant, PD No. 27 dictates a mode of land valuation and a mode of payment that put the poor and lower-middle peasants in default of their obligations as "amortizing owners."

The value of the land is arrived at by getting the average gross crop out of three "normal" crop years and then multiplying it by two-and-a-half times. To jack up the value of his land, the landlord picks out the "best" crop years or arbitrarily insists on outrightly false high production figures.

In raising the figure for the average gross crop, the landlord is not really interested in selling his land. But it is useful for him for demanding a high fixed rent (25% of the average gross crop) in accordance with the "leasehold" system.

In proclaiming the whole country a "land reform" area, the Agrarian Reform Code of 1971 and then Presidential Decree No. 2 pushed many tenants to opt for the "leasehold" system on pain of losing their tenancy rights for failure to do so.

Even before PD No. 27, many landlords had already compelled their tenants to sign "leasehold" contracts wherein high averages of gross crops were invented for the purpose of raising the land rent. That is what Marcos calls "emancipation" of the tenants in his PD No. 2.

Tenants who make the mistake of entering into land sale contracts under PD No. 27 are required to make 15 yearly equal payments. These payments would cover not only the basic price of the land but also interest at the rate of 6% a year.

Tenants who have become "amortizing owners" are also required to pay the land tax, now rapidly rising as a result of World Bank dictation. When the Land Bank acts as the financial intermediary, the "amortizing owners" are also required to pay administrative costs, not to mention the overpricing of the land as arranged by the landlord and the Land Bank officials.

PD No. 27 also requires the "amortizing owners" to become members of the "samahang nayon" (village association). This association is supposed to be their guarantor. Again they are subject to heavy financial obligations in this Marcos-imposed association.

Under PD No. 27, the poor peasants and even all middle peasants who are tenants have absolutely no chance to be able to meet all the expenses required each year in connection with the land sale contract.

The poor and lower-middle peasants are pinned down by an accumulation of debts and always end the year in debt. They have to sell their labor power to supplement their income from their plots.

Certainly, they cannot gain anything from entering into any land sale contract. There is yet no known case of a poor or lower-middle peasant daring to enter into any direct land sale contract with his landlord under PD No. 27.

It is only in an extremely small number of cases, where the Land Bank acts as the financial intermediary, that poor and lower-middle peasants are trapped together with the rich peasants in land sale contracts under the terms of PD No. 27.

The records of the Land Bank show that the poor and lower-middle peasants are always in default of their payments. Failure to pay means the piling up of interest upon interest.

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Even without having to pay for obligations under PD No. 27, the peasant masses are already pinned down by the rising costs of production and subsistence and are liable to be pinned down harder by illness in the family, natural calamities and the unreliability of the so-called “high-yield” varieties of seed.

Marcos’ “land reform” does not only amount to zero but worsens the lot of the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is too much to say, like some officials of the US Agency for International Development (AID), that this bogus land reform is “not even one percent fulfilled.” It is also gratuitous to say that it is “moving slowly” as if there were still some hope in it.

What is land reform if it is not for the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants? They are the tillers who need to own their plots but cannot afford to buy them.

Data from the DAR covering the period 1972-1976 show up the big lie that Marcos has dished out to the peasant masses.

Under the pompous signboard of “Operation Land Transfer,” the DAR distributed 321,700 LTCs, covering 398,458 hectares, to 229,341 tenants out of an acknowledged number of more than one million tenants on rice and corn lands.

These LTCs are mere scraps of paper informing the tenants that they can buy land from their landlords in accordance with PD No. 27 by either entering into a direct land sale contract with their landlords or having the Land Bank act as the financial intermediary.

Also under the deceptive catchphrase of “Operation Land Transfer,” the DAR is supposed to organize barrio committees on land production (BCLPs) to determine land prices on the basis of production figures, in line with the formula set by PD No. 27. According to the DAR, only 9,698 BCLPs were organized from 1972-1976.

The cards are stacked against tenants in transactions within the BCLP, whose composition is dominated by landlords and bureaucrats. In most cases, the landlords use the BCLP to falsify production figures upwards not only to set a prohibitive price on the land but also to demand higher rent. In other cases, the landlords simply boycott the BCLP after one token meeting.

Of the 5,671 BCLPs which submitted land valuations, the DAR cared to respond to only 3,271 with a mark of approval. But valuation of the land mainly by landlords is one thing and the tenants’ ability to pay for the land is another.

There are land sales through the Land Bank where the tenants belong to various peasant strata. The DAR claims that for the period 1972 to 1976 it effected land sale contracts involving 1,449 landlords; 30,109 tenants; 57,459 hectares; and a total land value of ₱403,159,322.54.

These figures actually include land sale negotiations and contracts made even before the fascist martial rule. Premartial law figures are included obviously to bloat the number of tenants and the hectareage and also to lessen the price per hectare involved in Land Bank-undertaken land sale contracts during the fascist regime.

The picture is ugly, notwithstanding the attempts to prettify it. It is no achievement to subject 30,109 tenants on only 57,459 hectares to an average price of ₱7,016 per hectare, excluding payments for interest, administrative costs and land tax.

The average farm size for the tenants is 1.87 hectares. Basic price is ₱13,120. By one reckoning, interest payments come up to ₱11,808, at the annual rate of 6% for 15 years. Thus, basic price plus interest charges add up to ₱24,928 for only 1.87 hectares.

Based on the government's figures, the average gross crop from this average lot is valued at ₱5,248. This is incredible. Actually the yield is only about ₱3,000. The overpricing through connivance between the landlords and the Land Bank officials is very obvious.

The average "amortizing owner" has to pay annually ₱1,661.81 for a period of 15 years for the basic land price and interest charges. In addition, it has to pay for administrative costs and land taxes which come to another large amount.

What about obligations to the "samahang nayon"? What about production expenses and living expenses, at a time when the crisis generated by US imperialism and the Marcos fascist regime is daily worsening? And what about such unexpected events as illness in the family or crop failure (ordinarily once every three years)?

In the period 1972-1976, the DAR issued a grand total of 983 "emancipation patents" to 576 tenants on 562 hectares. The recipients of these "patents" had started to pay the Land Bank for the land a long, long time before the fascist martial rule and even before the entire Marcos regime.

They are actually rich peasants or even up-and-coming small landlords or peasants and nonpeasants who draw income not only from the purchased land but also from other sources. They are the small

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number of people who could pay their way through previous land sale contracts arranged by the Land Bank.

The basic orientation of PD No. 27 is to keep the tenants at the mercy of the landlord class. In the main, the mode of valuation dictated by this decree has been used by the landlord class to impose higher land rent and intensify feudal and semifeudal exploitation.

Though greatly increased, the financial resources of the Land Bank are geared to supporting the more profitable agricultural and nonagricultural ventures of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

Landgrabbing by the big bourgeoisie (including foreign firms), big landlords and big bureaucrats and the establishment of “corporate farms” are rampant. The “land reform” propaganda of the Marcos fascist regime has always tried to obscure these acts.

An increasing number of peasants and even poor settlers and national minorities are being displaced or dispossessed either under the Marcos program of encouraging modern plantations for export crops or under General Order No. 47 which pushes the big foreign and domestic corporations to engage in modern rice and corn production and organize “compact farms.”

Moreover, military campaigns and infrastructure projects displace and dispossess so many peasants, including poor settlers and national minorities.

The Marcos fascist regime is antagonistic to the peasant masses who engage in self-organization and who demand merely the reduction of land rent and the elimination of usury.

In most areas of the country, the old feudal sharecropping arrangements are still in operation, despite the redundant proclamation in the Code of Agrarian Reform of 1971 and PD No. 2 that these be abandoned in favor of the “leasehold” system throughout the country.

Under the “leasehold” system, the tenants now called “leaseholders” are obliged to pay an exorbitant fixed land rent to the landlord.

The “leaseholders” shoulder all production expenses. They are obliged to pay the fixed rent whatever is the outcome of the crop. Oftentimes, this system of land rent is even worse than the traditional sharecropping arrangement where the landlord shares in production expenses and gets his crop share from actual production.

"Samahang Nayon," Masagana 99 and Other Projects

"Samahang nayon," Masagana 99 and other projects are integral parts of the entire deception program of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique on the land question.

Tenants who wish to become "amortizing owners" under the terms of PD No. 27 or those, including nontenants, who wish to get loans under the Masagana 99 program are obliged to join the "samahang nayon."

Right from the start, the "samahang nayon" was projected as a precooperative association leading to a full-fledged cooperative and was pointed to as a guarantor for land sale contracts between landlords and tenants.

"Samahang nayon" has actually been an anticooperative association. It has been used as a pretext for the dissolution of privately initiated cooperatives and the repression of legitimate peasant associations.

It could not even pretend to take care of the marketing problems of the peasant masses. The National Grains Authority always sets the prices of grain at a level far below the price spiral of nonagricultural commodities needed by the peasants.

It is largely in connection with Masagana 99 that peasants of all strata and nonpeasants, including landlords, have had to join the "samahang nayon." Hundreds of thousands became members in a few tens of thousands of "samahang nayon" in 1973 to 1974 so as to acquire seeds, fertilizers and pesticides under the Masagana 99 program.

The superfluity of "samahang nayon" as a possible "credit cooperative" became obvious when the rural banks turned them into mere guarantors for loans taken by people of all sorts.

At the peak of Masagana 99 lending, the "samahang nayon" was a mix-up of landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and even "ghost peasants" invented by the bureaucrats to be able to pocket funds for themselves.

"Samahang nayon" started to collapse, especially in 1975, when fertilizers and pesticides became available outside of the Masagana 99 program and when Masagana 99 borrowers refused to pay their debts and resented having to pay for all sorts of obligations in the "samahang nayon."

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“Samahang nayon” has always been regarded by the peasants as nothing more than a fund-collecting agency for the Department of Local Governments and Community Development. There is no benefit in return for the funds collected. The funds simply go up the bureaucratic ladder for misappropriation.

The peasant masses are resentful that for nothing in return, they have to pay to the “samahang nayon” entrance and annual membership dues, 5% of every loan that they get from government lending institutions for a so-called barrio “savings” fund, one cavan per hectare for a so-called barrio “guarantee” fund, fines for nonattendance or tardiness in meetings and so many others that may be arbitrarily decided by running dogs of the fascist regime.

The tenant masses are aware that should any of them commit the mistake of entering into any land sale contract under PD No. 27 or through the Land Bank and they are in default of payments, it is the “samahang nayon” that takes over the land and further imposes financial obligations on them.

Masagana 99 is camouflaged usury. It is far worse even than the usury undertaken by private moneylenders. The peasant masses would not have gotten into it, were it not for the exclusive channeling of agricultural chemicals into this program.

The acknowledged interest rate on Masagana 99 loans is 12%. But agricultural chemicals and seeds distributed to borrowers by the rural banks are greatly overpriced and are usually in excess and unsuitable to their lands.

Fertilizer is not only overpriced. In many cases it is substandard. “Bad order” or spoiled fertilizer is mixed with new stocks and sold to the peasants. At this writing, spoiled fertilizer is flooding Nueva Ecija and is certain to cut down rice production in that province.

Moreover, the borrowers are obliged to form or join the “samahang nayon.” As already pointed out, obligations under the “samahang nayon” come to a huge amount.

To be in good standing with the “barangay” or simply its captain who must endorse the loan application, a borrower also has to contribute to the “barangay fund” and pay some other fees concocted by the “barangay.”

There are also the work hours lost and the food and travel expenses in going to town repeatedly to follow up the loan application. And of

course, there is the allotment for bribing the farm technicians who process the loans.

The peasants are also subjected to outright swindling, as in one recent case in Mindoro Oriental where they were victimized by a syndicate of rural bank officials and government farm technicians. The syndicate made off with at least ₱200,000.

The peasants were made to appear to have borrowed ₱4,500 to ₱5,000 each, but were given only ₱200 to ₱500.

The obligations are so heavy that at least 70% of Masagana 99 borrowers have not been able to pay their loans. These are mostly poor and lower-middle peasants.

In the Calumpit barrio cited earlier in this article, the "samahang nayon's" membership of 143 decreased to only 57. Uncollected Masagana 99 loans totaled ₱130,000. The record of "samahang nayon" and Masagana 99 was even worse in the neighboring villages in eastern Bulacan.

Only the rich peasants and landlords seem to be able to pay up. But many even among them refuse to pay. Like the poor and middle peasants, they say that for one to pay would be to make a fool of oneself.

The poor and lower-middle peasants are refusing to pay any part of their Masagana 99 loans, especially in areas where the New People's Army and the peasant associations are campaigning for nonpayment. Token payments are made only to get new loans. In refusing to pay unjust debts which were forced on them in the first place, they are also denying revenue to the reactionary government. "Anyway, that money will be used against us," the peasants say.

The Marcos fascist regime has failed to make the peasant masses pay up even as it has repeatedly threatened them with mass arrest and imprisonment. They know that there are not enough jails to keep them and not enough funds to feed them should they be taken away from their farms. Besides, indebtedness is no legal ground for imprisonment.

"If they jail all of us peasants," the barrio people also say, "who will grow palay for the rest of the country? Surely not Marcos or the rich people with him." And the women add: "If they imprison our men, we and our children will insist upon being jailed with them."

The loans made available for rice and corn production under Masagana 99 are small compared to loans for such export crops as sugar, coconut and bananas. In the case of export crops, the big

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bourgeoisie (including foreign firms) and the landlord class monopolize the loans.

Though a great number of peasants of various strata were able to get small loans under "Masagana 99," the lion's share of the loans went to the landlord class and farming corporations.

Masagana 99 has been supported mainly by the AID-instituted Agricultural Loan Guarantee Fund in line with the US imperialist policy of promoting the "green revolution," selling agricultural chemicals and equipment from US firms and, of course, fake land reform like that of the fascist dictatorship.

On his own, the fascist dictator Marcos devised Masagana 99 so that his Planters Products, a corporation acting as agent of its US principals, could make a killing. This corporation has monopolized the market for agricultural chemicals and jacked up the prices of these chemicals through "Masagana 99."

Upon their inability to fulfil their financial obligations under Masagana 99 and the "samahang nayon," the poor and lower-middle peasants cannot enter into any land sale contract directly with their landlords or through the Land Bank.

The Marcos fascist regime keeps on getting huge foreign loans for infrastructure projects among other purposes. Roads and bridges and irrigation facilities are pointed to as a support to agricultural production and the peasant masses.

The fact is that it is the imperialist banks and contractors, the fascist dictator and his henchmen and the big bourgeoisie and landlord class that are benefited. They amass profits on the projects and engage in land speculation.

The people are made answerable for the huge foreign loans in so many ways. One way is taxation. The World Bank is pushing hard for increasing the tax burden. It is unthinkable how the general run of "amortizing owners" can assume responsibility for land taxes.

The peasant masses are already groaning under the weight of rising irrigation fees. Irrigation facilities have been turned by the Marcos fascist dictatorship into facilities for further blood-sucking on the peasant masses.

In areas irrigated by the Upper Pampanga River Development Project (Pantabangan dam), for instance, the peasant masses have to suffer rapidly increasing irrigation fees. In the first year of operation of this irrigation system in 1975, irrigation fees were raised by 700%.

Irrigation pumps bought through loans from the Development Bank of the Philippines are overpriced. Wherever these pumps are owned and controlled by private individuals or organizations controlled by landlords or rich peasants, they are used to squeeze the peasant masses dry.

At this time of unrelenting economic crisis, generated both by the world capitalist system and the fascist dictatorship, the peasant masses are suffering even more.

Taking advantage of the plight of the peasant masses, the Marcos fascist dictatorship has been trying to inveigle them into "compact farms" and "corporate farming" contracts with large foreign and domestic corporations.

Those inveigled to agree to these "compact farms" and corporate farms have had a very sad experience. They are displaced from the farm. Only some are employed and paid low wages. Most tenants are simply driven away and even owner-cultivators do not get their share as the capitalists manipulate the accounts.

"Palayang Bayan" and "Maisang Bayan," which are rice and corn-planting projects of the fascist dictatorship on so-called public lands, have been used to drive away poor settlers and national minorities. These projects collapsed as soon as the people resisted by harvesting the crop for themselves. Rice and corn fields are the most difficult to guard after all.

Under the conditions and terms of the bogus land reform of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the masses of poor and middle peasants can only suffer further oppression and exploitation if they do not take matters into their own hands on the line of the national democratic revolution set by a proletarian leadership.

The Party's Current Antifeudal Policy

The Communist Party of the Philippines calls for agrarian revolution as the main content of the national democratic revolution. The ultimate goal of this revolution is the confiscation of land from the landlords and the free distribution of this to the landless tillers. On the basis of the growth of the revolutionary forces, the current policy being carried out is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and increase production.

The Party's minimum program of land reform is being firmly carried out where the people's army is operating and the peasant masses are

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aroused, organized and mobilized. Usually, land rent and interest rates are cut down by 50% at the earliest possible time under the program. Exchange of labor, mutual aid and some cooperatives are promoted.

Farm workers who are but an extension of the poor and lower-middle peasantry are also aroused, organized and mobilized. Better wages for them are arranged through the peasant associations of which they are members. Where they have their trade unions, especially in haciendas, they demand better working and living conditions and struggle against landlord and capitalist exploitation.

More and more small and medium landlords are accepting that they cannot and should not resist the Party's minimum program of land reform, especially in the guerrilla zones. Those who follow the policies of the Party may be categorized as enlightened landlords. This is particularly true of small and medium landlords who have also become members of the national bourgeoisie or upper petty bourgeoisie, and on the basis of their class stand support the Party's anti-imperialist and antifascist line. In varying degrees, they recognize that they must make common cause with the peasant masses and the broad revolutionary movement against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The landlords who oppose the policies of the Party, the people's army and the peasant movement and act to sabotage them or bring harm to the revolutionary forces are counterrevolutionary despots who are subject to punishment. Their running dogs are also liable to be punished if they do not change their ways.

In a certain sense, the peasant masses in demanding the reduction of land rent have an advantage over the urban workers in demanding higher wages. The former have immediate access to the crop while the latter do not have immediate access to the funds held by their employers in bank accounts.

As the peasant masses struggle against the bogus land reform of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique throughout the country, the Party, the people's army and the mass organizations and all the revolutionary forces can advance vigorously. The peasant movement is developing rapidly as the main force of the revolutionary movement.

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Central Bank Admits Prices Doubled during Martial Law

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As the fascist dictator Marcos showered praise on himself at the end of five years of martial law, the dictatorship's economic agencies were tying themselves into knots trying to present a bright picture of the Philippine economy.

But facts can be doctored only up to a certain point. What could not be concealed is the dismal performance of Marcos in his almost 12 years in Malacañang, and the fact that the country's economic problems have reached crisis proportions in the last five years.

After much tampering, the Central Bank recently released statistics that admitted the following:

1. Under martial rule, prices of all consumer commodities rose by 99 percent. The peso today can buy only half of the goods that could be bought for ₱1 in 1972.

2. Prices of food rose by 94.6 percent; clothing, 114.2; housing and repair, 99.5; fuel, light and water, 101.7; services, 97.9; and others, 123.1.

3. Prices of food doubled in the first six months alone of 1977.

In sharp contrast, wages have increased by only 25 percent and even less. In Greater Manila, the minimum wage was increased by only ₱2 in 1976, from ₱8 to ₱10 a day. Outside Greater Manila, the increase was a mere ₱1, from ₱8 to ₱9, or 12.5 percent.

Even this tiny sum is often not paid to the workers because the capitalists, in connivance with the regime's Department of Labor, refuse to comply with Marcos' decree. Moreover, Marcos' laws provide loopholes that enable them to cheat the workers on the basic wage and on allowances.

In fact, long before the minimum wage was increased to ₱8 in 1970 and ₱10 or less in 1976, these were already considerably eroded.

In releasing its latest statistics, the CB made computations on the basis of 1972 prices, in an unsuccessful attempt to hide the terrible state of the economy.

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If the CB had continued to use 1965 prices as the basis for comparison as it used to, the resulting picture would have provided a more outrageous contrast to Marcos' claim of success for martial law.

Actually, from CB figures based on 1965 prices, it can be seen that:

1. Prices of consumer products rose by 239.4 percent since 1965, when US-Marcos rule began. What could be bought for ₱1 at the time Marcos took power must now be paid for with ₱3.39.

2. Prices rose even faster with the imposition of martial rule. During the last five years, the total increase was 99 percent in contrast to 73.4 percent from 1965 to 1972.

3. If computed from 1965, the rate of inflation comes to 33.2 percent as compared to "only" 20 percent if computed from 1972.

Of course, all these statistics merely present a "prettified" version of what the masses of the people have known for the last five years: that martial law means higher prices, shortages of commodities, fewer jobs, lower real wages—and repression.

They need no statistics from the CB to tell them, for instance, that whatever income they earn must be spent almost entirely on food. The laborer must work for almost an hour to be able to buy four small tomatoes. The Negrito spends several days gathering rattan and honey to exchange for a bottle of kerosene and some salt. After paying all his debts after the harvest, the average peasant is left with just one or two month's supply of rice for his family.

The figures on the unabated rise in the cost of living and the depressed wages are graphic enough. But they represent just the symptoms, not the disease itself. Like fever, they indicate the presence of an infection.

The infection, in the case of the Philippine economy, springs from semicolonial and semifeudal conditions that gave rise, in 1972, to the US-Marcos dictatorship. These conditions pervade all aspects of life and impose hardships on the broad masses of the people.

The workers are intensely exploited under martial law. They are also repressed. The brute force of the fascist dictatorship is always poised to carry out the anti-strike ban and prevent them from demanding the minimum wage as well as related increases at wage levels higher than the minimum.

The repression of trade union rights is intended to press down wages and to maximize the superprofits drawn by US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

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The peasant masses are also undergoing intolerable suffering. They can hardly be assured of subsistence as land rent and expenses for agricultural production rise rapidly and employment in haciendas for export crops go down.

The bogus land reform of the Marcos fascist regime has only served to jack up the land rent demanded by the landlord class. Masagana 99 has pushed the peasant masses into deeper indebtedness.

US imperialism is reaping superprofits by pushing the "high-yielding varieties" of seed grain which require heavy doses of fertilizer and pesticides, and irrigation. US-owned and controlled banks are making hay on loans for large irrigation projects.

The decline of extractive industries and agriculture production for export has resulted in the layoff of a great number of workers and the stagnation of the wages of those who remain on the job. This decline is the result of the crisis of the world capitalist system.

US imperialism and the Marcos puppet clique are jointly responsible for the inflation running rampant in the country today.

In the first place, under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions, the country is obliged to basically produce and export raw materials and import finished products from the United States and other capitalist countries co-sharing it as a territory for exploitation.

US imperialism has always pressed down the prices of raw materials exported by the Philippines and inflated the prices of finished products imported. Under conditions of the world capitalist crisis and the rule of a fascist puppet dictatorship in the Philippines, US imperialism has even more rapaciously exploited the Filipino people by further inflating the prices of commodities it supplies them.

Commodities imported from the United States and other capitalist countries range from consumer products (including food, household appliances and cars) to equipment and other materials for the uneconomic and unproductive projects of the Marcos fascist regime.

In comparing prices, various developing countries discovered that the commodities sold by US imperialism have always soared too high above those of commodities produced in developing countries, including oil.

At any rate, in the Philippines, the oil business is dominated by US imperialism notwithstanding the appearance on foreign trade accounts that oil comes from countries other than the United States. Oil and

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other commodities supplied by US imperialism are the strategic factors of imported inflation in the Philippines today.

Even when certain Philippine export commodities (like sugar in 1973) enjoy relatively good prices in the world capitalist market, the broad masses of the people must suffer higher prices as a result of a real or artificial shortage in the local market. The exploiting classes would rather sell these abroad for foreign exchange.

When export commodities cannot be disposed of in the world capitalist market, the fascist regime always adopts a policy of subsidizing the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class by raising domestic prices just the same. This is true not only in the case of sugar but in coffee, construction materials, etc. There is no end, too, to the private unproductive spending on luxury goods and services by the big comprador-landlords.

Because of the unequal exchange of values between the Philippines and the capitalist countries, especially the United States, the peso is under the constant pressure of depreciation in relation to the US dollar, the main currency in the world capitalist market.

In appearance at certain times, foreign loans tide the Philippines over trade deficits and restrain the drop in the value of the peso. But in fact, these always aggravate the balance of payments and undermine the value of the peso. The peso then suffers gradual and abrupt drops in value.

Under the direction of US imperialism, especially through the AID, the IMF, the World Bank, the ADB and the US-trained Filipino "technocrats," the Marcos regime has always gone into heavy deficit spending and has channeled financial resources into nonproductive and uneconomic projects.

These include massive infrastructure projects, military buildup, government purchases of office equipment and vehicles and sheer propaganda undertakings. As a result of these, a lot of money without corresponding increases in production circulate and thus become a big inflationary factor.

The graft-ridden inflationary projects of the Marcos fascist regime account for a large gross national product every year. Indeed, this is a silly measure of economic growth or basis for computing per capita income.

The tax burden has certainly increased rapidly. But tax collections fall far short of Marcos' profligate spending. As two-thirds of total taxes

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collected are in the form of sales and production taxes, these are passed on to the people in the form of higher prices of commodities.

To cover the wide gap between government revenues and expenditures, the Marcos clique has to resort to local and foreign borrowings.

Through the Central Bank, the reactionary government borrows from the local commercial banking system. The commercial banks in turn are allowed to relend to private businessmen the public debts in the form of bonds that they hold and thus expand the money in circulation by leaps and bounds.

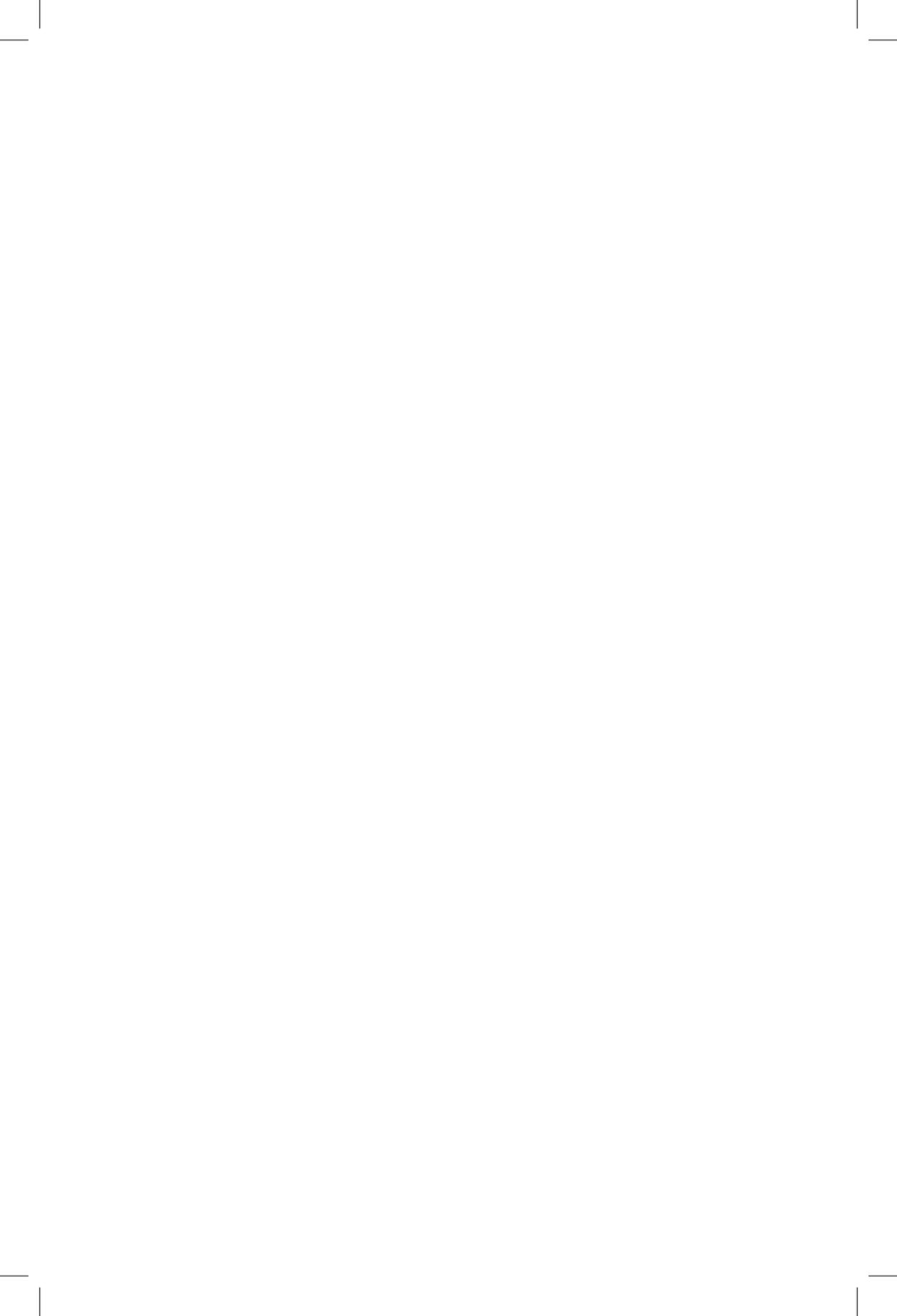
By borrowing from the imperialist banks, especially under the sponsorship of the IMF and World Bank, the reactionary government is obliged to make heavy importations not only of certain equipment but also of consumer goods from the US and other capitalist countries. All these commodities are inflation-ridden.

Thus, inflation is imported faster than ever under the stimulation of foreign loans. Funds are spent as fast as they are borrowed. The loans being loaded onto the Philippines are the type that make the Marcos clique go begging for more loans at harder terms all the time.

The broad masses of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, are subjected to unprecedented exploitation under the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

But they are steadily rising up to defend themselves, overthrow the fascist dictatorship and make way for the eventual victory of the national democratic revolution that will usher in the new era of socialist revolution and construction.

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October Revolution Sixty Years Ago Established the First Workers' State

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The revolutionary peoples of the world joined the Soviet people last November 7 in militantly hailing the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, and pledged to heighten the struggle against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reaction.

On November 7, 1917 (October 25, 1917 according to the old calendar), the Russian proletariat and other toiling people seized political power by overthrowing the Russian imperialist regime. The first worker's state—the dictatorship of the proletariat—was established over the ruins of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

This first victories proletarian revolution led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) both confirmed and developed the living truth of Marxism, the proletarian revolutionary ideology.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, in the words of Marx and Engels 70 years earlier, in November 1847, is the “state, that is, the proletariat organized as the ruling class.”

Lenin, the great leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), observed that all previous revolutions established political rule to maintain exploitation by the minority against the majority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, on the contrary, set up political rule to abolish exploitation in the interests of the majority, against the interests of the minority (the landlords and the capitalists).

The October Revolution translated into reality the Marxist thesis that “the substitution of the proletarian state for the bourgeois state is impossible without a violent revolution” and that “only the proletariat ... is capable of acting as the leader of all the toiling and exploited masses.”

Lenin led the building of the Communist Party to serve as the political organization of the proletariat and its vanguard in the struggle.

For the proletarian revolution in Russia to succeed, Lenin saw the need for the Russian proletariat, together with its ally, the peasantry, to lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution against the regime of the tsars or emperors. Only then could the worker-peasant alliance defeat the bourgeoisie.

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Before the October Revolution, Lenin had already pointed to imperialism as the final stage of capitalism. In describing imperialism as the eve of the proletarian revolution, Lenin saw that it had brought about a revolutionary situation for the Russian proletariat: a profound economic crisis, the refusal of the ruling classes to rule in the old way and the refusal of the masses to live in the old way.

During World War I, the Party called upon the Russian people to turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

Party-led mass struggles had been educating masses for the October Revolution. From 1905 to 1917, massive strike movements—political and economic, sympathy and general strikes—demonstrations and even participation in the bourgeois parliament or Duma at certain times prepared the masses for insurrection in 1917. The Party newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) was circulated daily in the hundreds of thousands.

Popular organs of political power—soviets (councils) of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies and factory committees directly elected by the masses—served as organs of insurrection, day-to-day administration and political education. These Lenin said, were “the germ cell of a workers' government.”

After the workers and peasants, together with the bourgeoisie, had overthrown tsarism in March 1917, the Party led the toiling masses to prepare for the overthrow of the bourgeois regime. Workers' militias were formed by the factory committees under the leadership of the Party. Party cadres organized soviets and Party branches of soldiers and sailors. They led desertions, mutinies of entire regiments and mass refusal to break up demonstrations. Many other cadres returned to the villages to lead peasant uprisings.

In October 1917, the Party prepared a plan for insurrection. On November 7, in Petrograd (now Leningrad), it led workers' militias, soldiers from Petrograd and sailors from Kronstadt in storming the Winter Palace (the seat of the bourgeois regime) and other government institutions. There was hardly any resistance. An All-Russian Congress of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies then elected a Council of People's Commissars (Ministers), headed by Lenin, to administer the country.

Counterrevolution by the old tsarist militarists, intervention by eight foreign imperialist powers and a coup attempt by the bourgeoisie—all failed to stem the tide of insurrection which spread to the countryside.

October Revolution Established the First Workers' State

The Party, led first by Lenin and then by Stalin, spearheaded the working people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in rapid industrialization and in fighting and defeating fascism during the Second World War.

But after almost 40 years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, revisionists of the Khrushchov clique usurped Party and state leadership for the bourgeoisie in 1956.

The revisionists betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat, restored capitalism and sabotaged the revolutionary armed struggle all over the world. The dictatorship of the proletariat was turned into a dictatorship of the bureaucrat monopoly-capitalists. Socialism was turned into social-imperialism.

The bureaucrat monopoly-capitalists pocketed large salaries and bonuses at the expense of workers, and engaged in large-scale graft and corruption. They turned the socialist economy into capitalist anarchy as the bureaucrat capitalists lord over the factories, state farms and cooperatives.

In 1964, the Brezhnev revisionist clique overthrew the Khrushchov clique and hastened the fascist militarization of the country.

Towards other countries, especially the developing nations of the third world, the Soviet social-imperialists talk like socialists but act as imperialists. To exploit cheap labor power, they are teaming up with local bureaucrat capitalists, as in India, in "joint ventures." They buy well below world market prices and sell well above world market prices.

Building up its arsenal of nuclear weapons, tanks, artillery and fighter planes to lead in the arms race against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism is feverishly preparing for a world war.

In the Philippines, the Lava revisionist renegade clique plays the role of selling revisionist trash and preaching capitulationism to the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship. It has done more than its share in sabotaging the Party and the revolutionary movement since the 1930s.

In the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines has consistently upheld the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, wielding the weapons of armed struggle and the united front.

Through its main organization, the New People's Army, it is leading the Filipino masses in smashing the US-Marcos dictatorship. As the vanguard of the proletariat, it leads the workers and peasants, the

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urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in the struggle for national democracy.

Already, it has planted the seeds of a people's democratic dictatorship in the first stage of the Philippine revolution and of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the second.

The great impact of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to the workers and the progressive peoples of all countries.

Armed and inspired by the lessons of the October Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, with the Communist Party at the core, will eventually lead to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.



Elaboration on the Ten-Point Program of the National Democratic Front¹⁰

November 12, 1977

We of the Preparatory Commission for the National Democratic Front hereby reaffirm the ten-point program which we proclaimed in our Manifesto of April 24, 1973.

This program is our guide in the entire course of the revolutionary struggle for national democracy against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

We project again every point in the program in relation to significant developments since four years and to current circumstances. We stress the urgent tasks of the national united front.

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

We must build a broad unity of patriotic and progressive classes, groups and individuals all for the purpose of overthrowing the US-Marcos dictatorship.

In the process, we must create a vigorous antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement. The antifascist struggle must lead to genuine national independence and democracy.

Upon the overthrow of the US-Marcos dictatorship, there should be a coalition government, a provisional revolutionary government with a united front character, to remove the anti-national and antidemocratic causes and results of the fascist dictatorship.

It shall be the task of the coalition government to draft and issue for ratification a new constitution on the basis of the national and democratic interests of the Filipino people.

The coalition government should recognize all the national and democratic forces that shall have caused the downfall of the fascist

¹⁰ This and the Concept for the Moro Revolutionary Organization were the last two documents that Amado Guerrero had finished working on just before his capture in November 1977 and subsequent imprisonment until 1986.-Editor

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dictatorship and give them ample opportunity to participate in legal and peaceful political activities.

There should be no monopoly of political power by any class, party or group. The degree of participation in the government by any political force should be based on its effective role and record in the revolutionary struggle and on the people's approbation.

We always stand for the independence and initiative of the various political forces working for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

The coalition government should allow the free interplay of national and democratic forces during and after election. Thus a truly democratic system of representation can develop and operate to the benefit of the people. Such a government should always be subject to the will of the people.

At the moment, various political forces, mass organizations, armed organizations, organs of political power and various alliances are already developing in preparation for the complete overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

We basically rely on the people's armed revolution to overthrow and replace the fascist dictatorship with a coalition government of a national democratic form. However, the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by a coup d'etat is a distinct possibility.

Should this possibility materialize, all forces in the national democratic movement should even more resolutely demand that national independence and democratic rights be upheld and promoted. We should be on guard against a mere shuffling of puppets and fascists.

Proclamation 1081 (1), the Marcos constitution (2), all general orders, presidential decrees, letters of instruction, and all other anti-national and antidemocratic acts of the fascist dictatorship must be nullified. A popular campaign should be waged vigorously to condemn and dismantle its evil policies and practices.

All political prisoners of the fascist dictatorship should be released. A general amnesty should be issued in their favor. Indemnity and rehabilitation must be provided for all victims of fascism, especially the masses of people displaced and subjected to brutality by the military.

A committee of civilian leaders highly respected by the people for their patriotism, civil libertarian stand and consistent opposition to fascism and puppetry should assume the reins of government. This committee should pave the way for a genuinely popular, free and

honest elections within a year's time from the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

We fully support any antifascist move so long as this constitutes a step forward in the people's struggle for national independence and democracy. We strongly oppose any move to disrupt the unity of the antifascist forces.

2. Expose and oppose US imperialism as the mastermind behind the setting up of the fascist dictatorship, struggle for the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangements with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country.

US imperialism is the instigator of and mastermind behind the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Because of US prodding and assurance of support, Marcos has had the daring to establish and maintain his autocratic rule.

The fascist dictatorship was put up in line with the "Nixon doctrine" to counteract the growing anti-imperialist movement among the people. The impending termination of the Parity Amendment (3) and the Laurel-Langley Agreement (4) and the Supreme Court decisions in the Quasha and Luzteveco cases (5) were also among the factors precipitating the imposition of martial rule.

The Marcos rightist coup was launched to completely assure US imperialism that the 1972 constitution, now appropriately called the Marcos constitution, provides for the continuance and enlargement of its interests. Riding on these interests, Marcos got his autocratic powers and widened the opportunity to amass further personal wealth.

Since the imposition of fascist rule on the Philippines, US imperialism has stepped up its supposed assistance to the Marcos gang. Foreign loans and increased military assistance have propped up the authoritarian regime at the expense of the broad masses of the people. It is clear that the "human rights" posture of the Carter administration is meant to deceive the people about the nature and workings of US imperialism.

All advantages gained through the fascist dictatorship by US imperialism and its junior partner, Japanese monopoly capitalism, must be done away with. The Marcos constitution and all pro-imperialist proclamations, general orders and decrees must be repealed.

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The prolongation and enlargement of US and Japanese privileges in all unequal treaties and arrangements and all anti-national and antidemocratic acts of the fascist dictatorship must come to an end. The unequal terms and effects of the Parity Amendment and Laurel-Langley Agreement must not be allowed to continue in any form.

The Investment Incentives Law, Export Incentives Law, Export Processing Zone Authority Law, Investment Registration Law (6) and other such laws must be repealed. There should also be no treaty loaded with unequal terms, like the Philippine-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation (7) or the proposed economic treaty between the Philippines and the United States.

The sovereign right to nationalize and expropriate foreign enterprises must never be surrendered. Strategic industries should be nationalized. We would rather place vital industries in the hands of Filipino entrepreneurs than in the hands of foreign investors. The latter bring wealth out of the country as a matter of course and in a more rapacious way.

“Parity rights” must not be extended under the guise of according “national treatment” to “pioneer,” “preferred,” and “export” industries. The ownership and control of land and the improvements thereon is a sovereign prerogative of the Filipino people.

Foreign multinational firms must not be allowed to ride roughshod over the people. The unrestricted remittance of profits by these monopolies in the form of outright dividends and royalties and through transfer-pricing and production-sharing or profit-sharing must be put to a stop.

Under the fascist regime, restrictions on foreign capital in banking, agriculture, mineral extraction and oil exploration, retail trade and fishing have been removed. These just restrictions must not only be restored but should even be increased and made complete.

The excessive privileges gained by the foreign monopolies in the course of fascist puppet rule have only served to stress the need for nationalization and expropriation measures for ensuring economic independence and promoting economic development.

The nationalization and expropriation of US and Japanese business enterprises and investments in the Philippines may not even suffice to compensate for the excessive profits already remitted and the non-payment of taxes by them and the ill-gotten wealth stashed away abroad by the puppets.

The foreign loans abusively resorted to by the fascist dictatorship must be subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny. Unjust loans must be repudiated so that the country can recover from the ravages of US imperialism and the fascist dictatorship.

These loans have strings attached, which result in the stunting and reversal of economic development. Aside from drawing high interest rates, these loans are used to carry out imperialist policies which include the quick reversion of funds to the lenders at an accelerated rate of profit for the imperialist firms; disproportionate expenditures for infrastructures and military buildup; and allowances for the corruption of the fascists and bureaucrat capitalists.

No country can claim to be independent when encumbered by such agreements as the US-RP Military Agreement, the US-RP Military Assistance Agreement and the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact (8). All these must be abrogated.

The US military bases must be dismantled and declared a transgression of our national sovereignty and territorial integrity in a new constitution. US military assistance and control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines must also come to an end. The US privilege of intervention in our affairs must be removed.

US military control over the Philippines invites Soviet social-imperialist intervention in Philippine affairs. The US military bases are no defense but are the very magnet for aggression by Soviet social-imperialism, especially in the form of nuclear attack.

The broad masses of the people reject the kind of negotiations being carried on by the fascist dictatorship with US imperialism on economic, military and other questions. These sham negotiations are merely calculated to prolong the status quo.

Before negotiations with the United States on any matter, we should abrogate all the unequal treaties and arrangements that violate our national sovereignty and independence.

We must rely basically on our people in every respect, defend their national interests and act independently in world affairs. The Philippines can have relations with other countries, including the United States, only on the basis of independence, equality and mutual benefit.

3. Fight for the reestablishment of all democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process.

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Under conditions of fascist martial rule, we should all the more vigorously assert our democratic rights and exercise them in defiance of the fascists.

It is impossible for the fascist dictatorship to silence everyone. The broad masses of the people are increasingly speaking out against the fascist dictatorship and its evils. What needs to be done is to organize further the great popular discontent against the enemy.

The various types of antifascist and national democratic organizations must expand and consolidate themselves in the struggle against the enemy. Secret and open meetings and indoor and outdoor rallies must be promoted. The circulation of revolutionary underground publications must be widened.

The broad masses of the people must condemn and reject the *Batasang Bayan* (9) and *barangays* (10) and all organizations put up by the fascist dictatorship to deceive and repress them.

The worker masses must demand and exercise their right to strike and other trade union rights to improve their working and living conditions. They must engage in concerted actions to frustrate the antilabor code and policies of the fascist dictatorship and reject the labor aristocrats in the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (11).

The peasant masses must build their own associations and press for genuine land reform. They must reject such fascist and imperialist schemes as *Samahang Nayon* (12) and *Masagana 99* (13).

The urban petty bourgeoisie, which includes the general run of the intelligentsia and small businessmen, must voice out its own interests against the increasing impositions of the fascist dictatorship and join up with the toiling masses.

The students are taking to the path of open mass protests against the rising cost of living and education and against bigger political and economic abuses.

The teachers are also increasingly restive and defiant of the fascist regime as a result of low salaries and heavy financial burdens and impositions on them to spread fascist propaganda.

The youth must actively oppose being used as tools for fascist propaganda through such organizations as *Kabataang Barangay* (14) and *Youth Civic Action Program*. They must develop their own organizations to promote national and democratic ideals. They must expose the fascist dictatorship and its foreign and feudal masters for

their inability to find meaningful employment. They must resist all attempts to conscript them into fascist military service.

The national bourgeoisie or the middle-type businessmen must stand for the promotion and protection of national capital and oppose foreign monopoly capitalism.

All sections of the population must build their secret and open organizations. Even people in the government and other reactionary institutions should use their positions and influence to serve the revolutionary movement.

We also call on the people in the mass media to find ways and means of effectively utilizing the facilities of the dictatorship at their disposal in ventilating the just grievances of the people against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

We stand for the freedoms of speech and of the press both now and when the US Marcos dictatorship shall have been overthrown. We must combat the fascist dictator's monopoly over the press and mass media and the deep-going effects of this monopoly.

The freedom of religious belief must be asserted against the campaign of religious persecution launched by the fascist dictatorship. We support the progressive sections of various churches, including clergy and laity, in their unity with the struggle of the people against the fascist and unjust social structure.

All attempts to curtail the freedom of movement and domicile must also be circumvented and defeated. The broad masses of the people must frustrate the national registration scheme and other police-state schemes.

The entire system of fascist rule deprives the people of the right of due process. Under the very "bill of rights" of the Marcos constitution, any person can be arrested or any property searched and confiscated without judicial process.

Anyone can be arbitrarily called a subversive or communist and subjected to fascist abuse under Proclamation 1081 and other Marcos fiat. We must oppose any attempt to whip up anti-communist hysteria because this in fact augments the rationalization of the fascist dictatorship and is calculated to divide the patriotic and progressive forces.

We deplore the attempts of the CIA-directed groups and the clerico-fascists (15) to derail the antifascist movement by pointing to socialism or communism as the main issue now. We state categorically

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that the main issue now is the question of national independence and genuine democracy.

Besides Proclamation 1081 and the Marcos constitution, the Antisubversion Law should be annulled as a bill of attainder. Moreover, any provision on martial law in any new constitution must expressly require the approval of the parliament or legislature prior to proclamation by the executive.

So long as the people struggle hard to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship, they lay the new foundation for the reestablishment of their own democratic rights. An organized vigilant people is the ultimate guarantee for freedom and democracy.

4. Gather all possible political and material support for the armed revolution and the underground against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The US-Marcos fascist dictatorship will not last a day longer if all patriotic and progressive classes groups and personages are well organized and determined to contribute what they can to the armed revolution and underground.

The National Democratic Front is a framework or channel for the unity, cooperation and coordination of all national democratic forces. It is comprehensively organized for this purpose. It welcomes among others the Communist Party of the Philippines (16), Moro National Liberation Front and the Christians for National Liberation.

We conduct our own propaganda, organizational work and mass campaigns and at the same time promote the revolutionary efforts of all actual and potential components of the National Democratic Front. In this way, we contribute directly to the armed revolution and underground resistance as well as extend support to particular organizations in the revolutionary mass movement.

We welcome volunteers to serve as combat and noncombat personnel for the armed resistance. We welcome contributions in the form of materials and equipment for propaganda work, arms and ammunition, medicine and medical equipment, communications facilities, clothes, and other things. We welcome funds for these.

There are certain areas in the country where the fascist dictatorship has failed to confiscate arms from the people. We make a special appeal that if these arms are merely concealed, they should be turned over to those who are determined to use them in the armed resistance.

We commit ourselves to extending support to the New People's Army, the Bangsa Moro Army and other armed organizations determined to fight the US-Marcos dictatorship.

We make no demands on those whom we support, except that they fight the enemy in the best way they can.

We should take steps to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces and paramilitary forces. We urge all sincere patriotic relatives, friends, barriomates and former classmates within these forces to oppose the fascist dictatorship. We encourage the antifascist officers and men to side with the people.

We urge the various organizations resisting the fascist dictatorship to acquire weapons from sources abroad so as to counteract US support for the fascist dictatorship. But we must not fall for the imperialist wiles of any superpower.

We should utilize all positive forces at home and abroad to fight the enemy. We should not leave any stone unturned in seeking ways and means to destroy this evil.

5. Support a genuine land reform program that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and semifeudal exploitation and raise agricultural production through cooperation.

The land reform program touted by the US-Marcos dictatorship is bogus. The masses of tenants cannot buy land from their landlords at the price dictated by the latter.

Not a single poor peasant has entered into a land sale contract directly with his landlord under Presidential Decree No. 27 (17). This decree is actually calculated to remove the responsibility of expropriatory action from the reactionary government and deprive tenants of their tenancy rights, especially where the imperialists and fascists are interested in the land.

In the negligible land sales where the Land Bank (18) is an intermediary, not a single poor peasant has fully paid for a single installment in any year because of the prohibitive price arranged by the landlord and corrupt Land Bank officials.

Land monopolization, not land reform, has been promoted by the fascist dictatorship. Landgrabbing is even more rampant than before, with the fascist dictator and his family leading the pack of landgrabbers. General Order No. 47 (19) encourages the large foreign and domestic corporations to take over the management and control

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of large estates. Funds of the Land Bank flow to them and promote the sales of modern agricultural equipment.

Masagana 99 is camouflaged usury. Aside from the exorbitant interest rate demanded, there are the overpricing of the agricultural chemicals, onerous obligations to the *Samahang Nasyon* and *barangay* and bribe money for officials. *Masagana 99* is a device to render even more impossible the idea of selling land to the landless peasants and promote the usurious practices of private moneylenders.

We advocate for the moment a policy of rent reduction and elimination of usury as a realistic step towards the genuine emancipation of the peasantry. We urge landlords to agree to this reform measure as enlightened ones among them have done.

We advocate the raising of agricultural productivity through simple exchange of labor, mutual aid and cooperatives. Fair prices should be arranged between the peasants and merchants.

In the frontier areas, the national minorities and small freeholders should be assured of the ownership of their land. Landgrabbing by the big landlords and big capitalists should be firmly opposed.

In farms run on a capitalist basis, the farm workers should have trade unions and should demand better working and living conditions. Farm workers in noncapitalist farms should organize themselves or join poor peasants' associations so as to get fair wages. They should also fight for genuine land reform.

Unemployment is more rampant in the countryside than in the cities. Feudal and semifeudal relations restrict the opportunities for productive employment. Currently, the crisis of the world capitalist system has resulted in further unemployment with the laying-off of wage earners from haciendas devoted to export crops and also from extractive industries.

The land problem, especially the problem of ownership, can be finally settled throughout the country upon the complete overthrow of US imperialist and comprador-landlord rule. Then the conditions shall have been laid for unhindered industrial expansion and balanced economic development and adjustments can be made in the sizes of pasture lands and lands planted to export crops.

Only benighted and despotic landlords fear the increasing political strength of the peasant masses. Upon the victory of the national democratic revolution, there will be more fields for the fruitful endeavor

even for former landlords who by their record are enlightened and nondespotic.

The solution of the land problem is the main content of a truly democratic revolution. It is the key to arousing, organizing, and mobilizing the peasantry, the largest mass of people in the country, against the fascist dictatorship and against all enemies of progress. It lays the foundation for a bright future.

6. Improve the people's livelihood, guarantee the right to work and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital.

The fascist dictatorship is an economic catastrophe for the broad masses of the people. The economic crisis now ravaging the country and the people is due not only to the crisis of the world capitalist system but also the excesses of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

As a matter of fact, US imperialism is shifting the burden of its crisis to the Philippines and the Filipino people precisely because of the puppetry of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The excesses of this dictatorship, which generate crisis, include inflationary expenditures for US-designed infrastructure projects and military buildup; accelerated remittance of superprofits by foreign monopolies on investments, trade and loans; bungling in foreign trade; rampant corruption and conspicuous luxury of the fascist civil and military officials; and unbridled deficit-spending and accelerated local and foreign borrowing.

The broad masses of the people suffer from inflation and unemployment. The prices of basic commodities are skyrocketing and the increasing tax burden is being shifted to the people. The ranks of the unemployed, the underemployed and the laid-off are swelling.

The ever increasing prices of commodities under the control of US imperialism keep on pulling up the prices of all other commodities. Oil is only one of the commodities under US control which affect the entire economy. The ever-rising price of agricultural chemicals weigh heavily on the production budget of the peasant masses and push up the price of staples.

The worker masses must carry the strike movement forward so as to effect the improvement of their working and living conditions and press for due respect to their democratic rights. By these rights, they can defend themselves against exploitation.

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While the wages of those employed must be raised, those laid-off in the cities and countryside must be reemployed or provided with alternative sources of income.

A housing policy for the benefit of the toiling masses, especially for the urban poor, must be carried out in close connection with the keeping or creation of sources of income. It is criminal to relocate people only to leave them to their own devices and make way for foreign monopoly capital.

The peasant masses must carry forward the program of rent reduction and elimination of usury. They must undertake the exchange of labor, mutual aid and cooperatives. They must deal with the problem of production, marketing and credit in an organized way. They must refuse the impositions of *Masagana 99*, *Samahang Nasyon* and other nefarious schemes of the fascist regime.

The urban petty bourgeoisie, many of whom are salaried, must join the workers in the campaign to demand the raising of wages and improvement of economic conditions in general. They must resist the escalation of so many taxes and fees demanded by the fascist dictatorship.

The national bourgeoisie must resist the dictatorship's pro-imperialist policies so that they can contribute more to economic development, help create more jobs and give better pay to their workers.

We support the productive endeavors of middle and small businessmen. Sufficient credit must be provided to them. It is criminal for the fascist dictatorship to let the foreign monopoly capitalists control the local financing system and dip their hands into it.

We stand for the protection and development of national capital against foreign monopoly capitalism. We must withdraw the extraordinary privileges of foreign-owned and foreign-controlled enterprises. We must nationalize those which compete with national capital, public and private.

We must promote trade with all countries so that we can acquire the commodities we need, especially the modern means of production in industry and agriculture, in exchange for our exports. In this regard, foreign trade is merely supplementary to our self-reliant efforts.

There is no better guarantee for the right to work than the emancipation of the people from the sway of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The forces of production must be freed from their fetters.

National liberation, unhindered national industrialization and genuine land reform are the solution to the economic problems of the people. By this solution, we can develop a truly self-reliant economy.

7. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and combat imperialist, feudal and fascist culture.

The culture that the national democratic movement must develop and push forward is one that is suited to the present day revolutionary needs of the Filipino nation, that applies scientific principle and methods and serve the people, especially the toiling masses of the workers and peasants.

Such a culture cannot be promoted without opposing and defeating the prevailing imperialist, feudal and fascist culture and transforming the political and economic system.

The spearhead of the revolutionary culture movement is aimed directly and immediately at fascist culture. And it must also run through imperialist and feudal culture. The present fascist culture is born of and at the same time serves imperialist and feudal culture.

At the core of what we call fascist culture is fascist propaganda and monopoly of the means of propaganda by the bureaucrat-capitalist despot Marcos and his clique. In this connection, the people's democratic rights are suppressed.

Fascist propaganda consists of rationalizing the open rule of terror and suppression of democracy under the pretext of anti-communism and "National Discipline"; and misrepresenting the policies beneficial to US imperialism and the ruling clique of big compradors and big landlords as beneficial to the people who are in fact oppressed and exploited in an accelerated way.

The Marcos fascist gang collaborates with US imperialism in launching propaganda campaigns blaming the people themselves for their poverty as in the population control program or for the so-called energy crisis as in the energy conservation campaign. The "green revolution" (20) is a campaign to obscure the problem of landlordism and sell agricultural chemicals from the US monopolies.

The Marcos fascist clique does not only control the mass media owned by the state but also owns and controls all major private mass media (newspapers, radio, TV stations, etc.). Campaigns of these mass media are all in support of the anti-national and antidemocratic

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policies of the fascist regime and project directly the political lines and commercial advertising of the imperialists.

The only mass media not directly controlled by the fascist regime are those belonging to US imperialism and some church organizations. We refer to the Voice of America, Radio Veritas, some local church radio stations and various publications. But these media directly or indirectly support the policies of the fascist regime.

At every level of the public and private educational system, subjects and textbooks have been introduced to glorify the fascist counter-revolution and its ringleaders. The fascist regime seeks not only to poison the minds of the student masses but also subject them and their parents to intensified exploitation through rising matriculation and living expenses.

At the same time, the teachers are ordered to engage in miseducation and are not adequately compensated. School personnel, facilities and study materials in the public educational system are kept inadequate. Public funds keep on flowing faster and faster into military channels and other activities profitable only to the fascists and imperialists.

The educational reform boasted of by the fascist regime consists of the recommendations of the US-financed and US-masterminded Presidential Committee to Study Philippine Education. These are calculated to entrench further US control of Philippine public education, put colleges and universities in debt with US controlled banks and orient Philippine education to create technocrats and cheap skilled labor for a few jobs in imperialist-controlled enterprises and projects.

Upon graduation, the overwhelming majority of youth do not find employment opportunities. Instead, they are encouraged to leave the country in order to earn foreign exchange, especially in the United States. Their knowledge and skills as doctors, nurses, engineers or what else are not put in the service of the people. They are discouraged from performing their share in solving the country's economic and other problems such as widespread poverty, ill health and the like.

The scientists and technologists and the artists and writers of the country are grossly neglected. Only a few of them are privileged with some state support if they are subservient to the fascist authorities and espouse pro-imperialist and reactionary views.

In special cultural affairs, the wife of the fascist dictator parades herself as a patron of the arts and engages in the most expensive projects. But she is merely a patron of the most decadent things that

suit her jetset crowd. Her Cultural Center and Folk Arts Theater (21) have been monuments to her pretentiousness and dilletantism.

Mrs. Marcos' cultural activities are often the cover for extorting funds from people, a great part of which is diverted to her personal treasury. Under the signboard of tourist attraction, a culture of prostitution, gambling and other leisure projects and activities for the parasitic rich, especially the upstart spawned by the fascist dictatorship, is rampant under the Metro-Manila "governorship" of Mrs. Marcos.

Pilipino as the national language is not being promoted. The first and main language of the reactionary government and culture system is still an alien language, English. However, even if the regime should use Pilipino more extensively, the more important question would still be the content carried by the language.

A national language and a national culture should be promoted to enhance national unity and combat colonial mentality. But respect must be accorded to local languages and other cultural distinctions of the people.

It is chauvinist and entirely wrong to suppress or replace at one blow the local culture. The fascist dictatorship has been bullying the national minorities especially and has the grossest disrespect for them under the pretext of "integration" and "progress."

Marcos suppresses the freedom of speech and the press to the point that he has decreed control of the people's ordinary conversations and mimeographing machines. Also, he suppresses associations other than those in praise of his regime. Under these conditions, it is clearly a revolutionary struggle to promote a national, scientific, and mass culture against fascist, imperialist, and feudal culture.

However, it is impossible for any regime to silence the people and prevent them from organizing themselves and engaging in cultural activities. Patriotic and progressive forces should create a national, scientific and mass culture through propaganda, works of art and literature, and scientific and technological work. They should take to the field to involve the masses further in their own national democratic cultural revolution.

We must turn away from all ancient and modern superstition and rely mainly on the creative revolutionary capabilities of the masses. We stand for religious freedom. Through persuasive means we must turn away from every type of sectarianism, obscurantism and escapism.

Building Strength through Struggle

We welcome the development of progressive trends in religious institutions.

The fascists themselves are busy carrying reactionary cultural programs to the people. They are putting emphasis on misleading the youth through the “Kabataang Barangay.” But all the cultural programs of the enemy are bound to fail because they are in fact divorced from the life and struggles of the people.

Our revolutionaries in the cultural field should not only be with the masses of workers and peasants, but should also carry the fight to the very cultural and educational institutions and associations under enemy control. The masses of students and other youth, teachers, professionals, and cultural workers should be aroused, organized and mobilized to make comprehensive economic and political demands and they should be encouraged to throw their lot with the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the Mountain Provinces, in their struggle for self-determination and democracy.

The national minorities in the Philippines have suffered for so long. There is the historical phenomenon of “Christian” or “Filipino” chauvinism, the mentality and practice of discrimination and oppression against national minorities.

This was cultivated by the Spanish colonialists, further nourished by the US imperialists and passed on to the puppet ruling classes—the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

Under the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the lot of the national minorities has become even worse. Thousands of them such as the Igorots in the Mountain Provinces, are being uprooted from their ancestral lands and relocated far from their sources of livelihood, all to make way for projects and enterprises of the imperialists and the dictator. Fascist agencies such as the PANAMIN (22) are sent to deceive and manipulate, divide and terrorize their ranks in order to grab their mineral-rich lands or break their resistance to oppression.

The national minorities have the right to liberate themselves from such oppression and determine their own destiny. The right to self-determination includes the right to secede from a state of national oppression or choose autonomy within a state that guarantees the equality of nationalities. This right is a weapon against national oppression.

National oppression is never perpetrated for its own sake. In the Philippines it is used to satisfy the greed of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Thus, the struggle for self-determination must be substantiated by a thoroughgoing democratic revolution if it is to be of any good purpose.

We support the national minorities in their struggle for self-determination and democracy. We are united with them in the struggle for national democracy.

We salute the Moro people and those leading them in a resolute armed struggle for national self-determination. So long as they are confronted with a regime as oppressive as that of the US-Marcos dictatorship, they are completely correct in going to the length of fighting for secession.

We are prepared to develop further relations with the Moro National Liberation Front, the Bangsa Moro Army and other Moro organizations. They have all the right to fight the imperialists and their puppets for grabbing their lands and other resources and for exploiting the people.

We salute the Igorot people for resisting national oppression and exploitation, including the latest schemes of US imperialism and the Marcos fascist dictatorship. We are exceedingly happy about and welcome the integration of the Igorot people with other revolutionary forces in the country.

The key to the integration of all national minorities in the Philippine revolution is the development of local revolutionary cadres. These cadres must come forward through the people's organizations that take the line of the national democratic revolution.

It is our stand that all national minorities, big or small, should enjoy autonomy and be accorded special guarantee for their accelerated progress. Their struggle is not merely for "Cultural Autonomy" but for all-round progress with due respect to their special characteristics.

Where national minorities are mixed with people of other nationalities, they shall be assured of proportionate representation in the political and economic institutions to be set up. We lay stress on the democratic unity of the workers and peasants irrespective of nationality and religion.

9. Punish, after public trial, the ringleaders of the Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth.

Building Strength through Struggle

The biggest crime of the Marcos fascist gang is treason—high treason—for setting up the fascist dictatorship in violation of the interests of the Filipino people.

There is overwhelming evidence against the fascist dictator. Known by all are his constitution, proclamations, orders, decrees, and other acts which violate national sovereignty and democracy.

He is responsible for massacres, tortures, illegal mass arrests and detention, forced mass evacuations, arson and so many forcible acts attendant to his rightist coup.

He is responsible for graft and corruption unprecedented in the entire semicolonial and semifeudal history of the Philippines.

The penalty for him is undoubtedly clear. It is also clear that his ill-gotten wealth must be confiscated, whether this be in his name or in his relatives' or dummies' names.

While the guilt of Marcos is beyond doubt even now, there will be a public trial for him and deep-going condemnatory mass campaigns. These will be educational for the entire people.

The public trial will also establish and distinguish the degree of guilt of his underlings. We demand the severest punishment of his vicious subalterns but we recognize as mitigating circumstance secret cooperation with us or defection from the dictator before his final overthrow.

Those who engage in massacres and torture are liable for the severest retribution. Those who engage in wanton corruption are liable to be punished and dispossessed of their ill-gotten wealth.

Because we cannot seize what has been stashed away abroad by these crooks, the investments and properties of those who collaborated closely with them and benefited from nefarious practices should be held liable. Otherwise, the people will recover hardly anything of that which is stashed away abroad.

We urge those within the Marcos bureaucracy to cooperate with the revolutionary forces. They can gather evidence on the crimes of Marcos and his cohorts: graft and corruption, ill-gotten wealth stashed away abroad, torture and other abuses.

They can also organize within the bureaucracy, relying mainly on the rank and file and winning over sincere and patriotic elements among them to the national democratic movement, while isolating the diehard supporters of the dictator.

10. Unite with all peoples fighting imperialism and all reaction, and seek their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

We vehemently oppose the attempts of the US-Marcos dictatorship to use the international relations of the Philippines to isolate the Philippine revolutionary struggle. Marcos' posturings in the third world is futile in the face of the fact that his fascist regime continues to be a political, economic, military and cultural tool and dependent of US imperialism.

The Marcos fascist gang continues to put in hock to US imperialism the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. It continues to auction off the human and material resources of the country.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a substitute for the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). It puts its "counterinsurgency" purposes above its pretense of looking after regional economic interests. Its economic schemes are subordinate to US and Japanese monopoly interests.

It is high time that we more actively seek international support and assistance for the Philippine revolutionary struggle. We are more than ever eager to establish relations with other progressive and revolutionary movements abroad. We shall send delegations and establish missions whenever and wherever possible.

In the face of US imperialism giving increasing support and assistance to the Marcos fascist gang, we find it indispensable to seek international support. But we rely basically on our own efforts and the broad support of the Filipino people in defeating the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

We call on all compatriots abroad to take initiative in organizing themselves to protect and promote their own interests and support the revolutionary struggle at home. They should seek the cooperation and support of the host peoples.

We find it gratifying and inspiring that in the United States, patriotic Filipino organizations among the hundreds and thousands of Filipinos there have worked with the various organizations of the American people to oppose US intervention in Philippine affairs.

We appeal to the peoples of the world and the progressive countries to extend moral and material support to the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

Building Strength through Struggle

We wish to develop the unity of the Filipino people with all other peoples of the world so that we can work together for justice, peace and progress.

We uphold the principle of revolutionary internationalism. We are determined to conduct the Philippine revolutionary struggle so that our people can contribute their share to the struggle for the emancipation of mankind from the scourge of imperialism and all reaction.

We are enthusiastic over the rise of the third world peoples and countries as the main force against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The strength of the third world as an anti-imperialist and anti-superpower force is bound to rise further as the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens.

We are also enthusiastic over the rise of the proletariat as a revolutionary force in all parts of the world. We are certain of the socialist future of mankind.

Issued by the Preparatory Commission
National Democratic Front
November 12, 1977

Notes¹¹

- (1) With Proclamation 1081 Marcos imposed martial law throughout the country. It was signed on September 21, 1972 but announced only on September 23, 1972. During the night of September 22 thousands were arrested.
- (2) This refers to the 1972 Constitution drafted by Marcos' assistants and approved by a Constitutional Convention heavily loaded with Marcos followers. The minority opposing Marcos in the Convention were threatened by the jailing of 14 delegates. In January 1973 this Constitution was "ratified" in a hastily called referendum where people voted by a "show of hands" with police and military in attendance.
- (3) The Parity Amendment to the 1935 Constitution was a stipulation of the Bell Trade Act of 1946 which extended the free trade between the Philippines and the US up to 1954. This Parity

¹¹ The following notes were added by the International Committee of the NDF for the benefit of international solidarity activists and other foreign readers.-Editor

Amendment granted American citizens and corporations the same rights as Filipinos with respect to the ownership, use, exploitation and development of Philippine natural resources and the operation of public utilities. The approval of the Parity Amendment and the Bell Trade Act was made a requirement by the US for making war damage payments and other forms of postwar rehabilitation to the Philippines. After a plebiscite and vote of Congress in favor of it, the Parity Amendment came into effect in 1946.

- (4) The Laurel-Langley Agreement of 1954 (or the revised Bell Trade Act) extended free trade between the US privileges under the Parity Amendment for 20 years. In this agreement, the meaning of the Parity is extended to include “parity rights” in *all kinds of businesses*, including the acquisition and utilization of private agricultural lands. The agreement provided a revised tariff schedule and a quota system which still basically encouraged the export of raw materials to the US and the import of finished products from the US.
- (5) the Philippine Supreme Court made two landmark decisions: the Quasha decision limited the rights of American citizens to own land; the Luzteveco decision limited the rights of American citizens to sit in the Board of Directors of Filipino companies.
- (6) These laws were designed to strengthen US monopoly control of the Philippine economy. As early as 1967, Marcos enacted foreign investment laws in preparation for the eventual termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974. The Investment Incentives Act guarantees the property rights of foreign investors and provides for the rights of non-expropriation. The Export Incentives Act allows foreign participation up to 55% of local export industries and up to 100% for pioneer export industries.
- (7) Philippine-Japan Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation was drawn up in 1960 by the Japanese and Philippine government but met with such opposition from the Filipino people that the Philippine Congress balked at ratifying it for over a decade. Marcos ratified this treaty in 1973 through a presidential decree. The treaty creates every possibility for the penetration of Japanese capital in the Philippines. Aside from providing a dumping ground for Japanese surplus goods, it allows operations of big

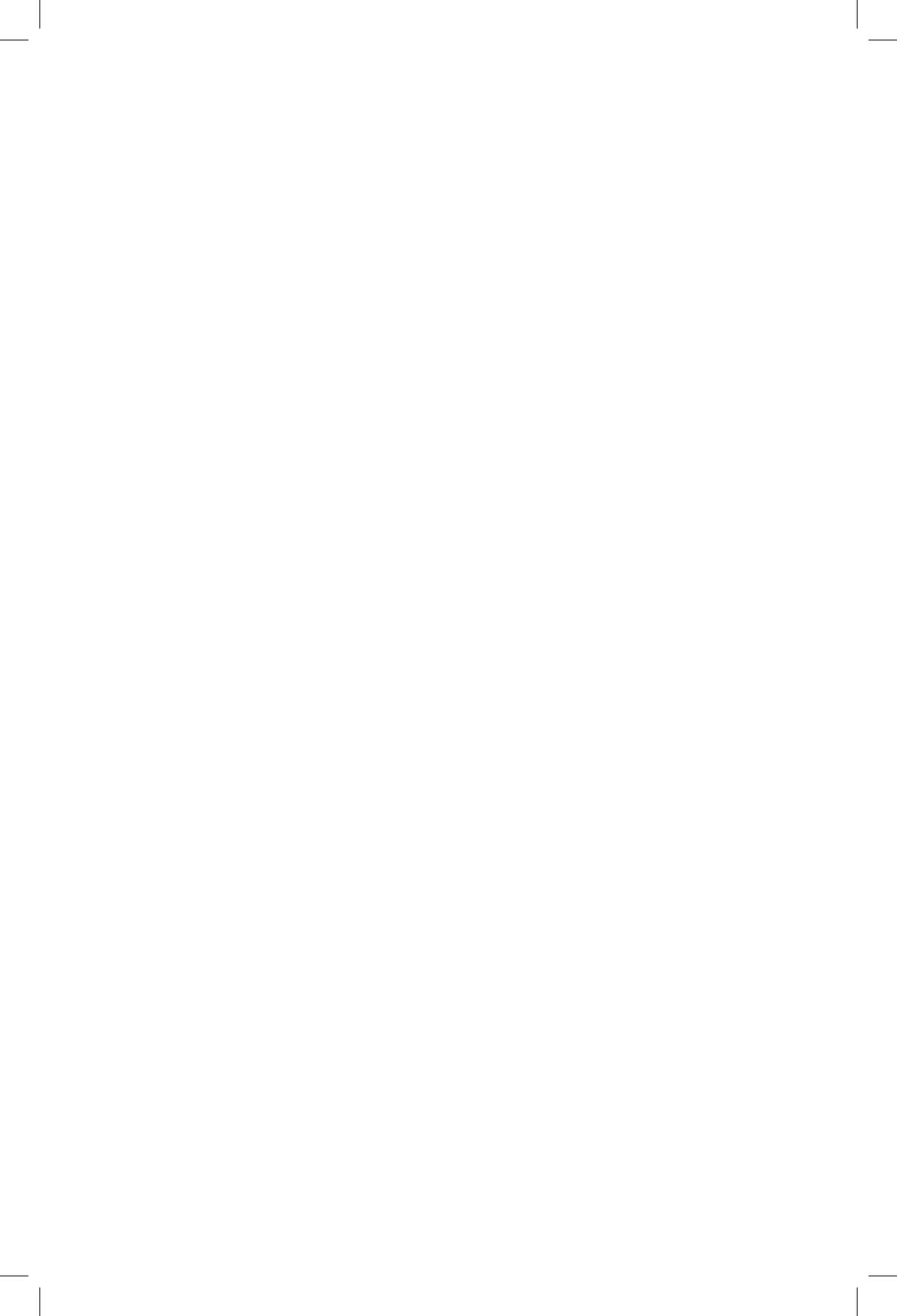
Building Strength through Struggle

commercial Japanese fishing vessels in Philippine waters to the detriment of Filipino fishermen.

- (8) These are the treaties which govern US-Philippine security relations and tie the Philippines to the military strings of US imperialism. The US-RP Military Bases Pact of 1947 granted to the US for a period of 99 years “the rights to retain the use,” “free of rent,” of 23 bases in the Philippines occupying a total area of approximately 240,000 hectares. (This was renegotiated in January 1979 with the US agreeing to pay \$500 million in 5 years as rent for the use of the military bases.) The US-RP Military Assistance Pact ensures US control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The US-RP Mutual Defense Pact allows the US to interfere with the internal affairs of the Philippines under the pretext of securing peace and mutual security.
- (9) The *Batasang Bayan* is one of the national legislative formations that Marcos has experimented with as a replacement for the Congress he abolished. In April 1978 Marcos held widely publicized elections for the Interim Batasang Pambansa, a sham parliament headed by Marcos as Prime Minister.
- (10) The barangay is a village-level council that Marcos created, and serves as the “eyes and ears” of the dictatorship on the local level.
- (11) The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines is the government-organized federation. It is controlled yellow labor leaders who are subservient to Marcos, while trying to create the illusion of workers’ participation in the formulation of the government’s labor policies.
- (12) Samahang Nayons are the government-organized barrio associations which are supposed to serve as “pre-cooperatives” that, after a process of education, will become full-fledged cooperatives.
- (13) Masagana 99 is the government program which provides no-collateral loans to rice and corn farmers but compels them to join the Samahan Nayons, buy specific insecticides, and pay high interest rates.
- (14) Kabataang Barangay and Youth Civic Action Programs are two of the Marcos regime’s attempts to organize Philippine youth in support of its policies. The former is the more tightly organized group and is headed by Marcos’ daughter Imee.

- (15) The term “clerico-fascist” refers to Church elements who have attempted to split the ranks of antifascist movement by spreading anti-communist propaganda. A number of them advocate “social democracy” as an alternative to national democracy.
- (16) This refers to the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). On December 26, 1968 the Congress of Reestablishment of the CPP decided to repudiate the leadership of the old party, the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP). The PKP leadership had repeatedly refused to accept criticism for its serious ideological, political, military and organizational errors for over 30 years. The reestablished CPP published its rigorous criticism of the old leadership and its Program for a People’s Democratic Revolution firmly taking the road of People’s War. On October 11, 1974 the leaders of the PKP formally surrendered to Marcos and agreed to collaborate with his regime.
- (17) Presidential Decree No. 27 is the land reform decree proclaimed with much fanfare on September 29, 1972.
- (18) The Land Bank was created by Marcos in 1973 to finance the regime’s land reform program.
- (19) General Order No. 47 requires companies with 500 or more employees to provide rice to their employees by importing it or producing rice in mechanized corporate farms. This has meant the displacement of many settlers from lands turned over in lease to the big corporations.
- (20) “Green Revolution” refers to the government’s attempt to achieve self-sufficiency in foodstuffs through the introduction of high-yield rice and corn varieties. After its initial success in the late sixties, the program collapsed when it was discovered that the new varieties were particularly susceptible to certain types of plant diseases such as tungro. Because the new varieties require close water control, and lots of fertilizers and insecticides, only the better-off farmers use it effectively thereby contributing to greater inequalities in rural society.

★ ★ ★







Jose Ma. Sison
(Amado Guerrero)

Building Strength
through Struggle

Selected Writings, 1972 to 1977

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and

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Editor's Note

Building Strength through Struggle includes the major documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) that Jose Maria Sison (Amado Guerrero) drafted and finalized and the articles that he wrote as Chairman of the CPP Central Committee in the five-year period between the declaration of martial law (the formal start of the Marcos fascist dictatorship) on September 21, 1972 and his capture in Barrio Pagdalagan del Norte, San Fernando, La Union on November 10, 1977.

The CPP promptly responded to the fascist dictatorship by issuing "Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship to Achieve National Freedom of Democracy" on October 1, 1972. It condemned the usurpation of absolute power by one man, the suppression of basic democratic rights, the fabrication of the "state of national emergency" and the big lie of "new society." It put forward the tasks of the CPP and the people under the new situation.

The CPP issued the "Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government." It lays the constitutional framework of the local organs of revolutionary power and the general principles of government. It defines the system of government and provides for the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) refers to this document as the constitution of the people's democratic government.

The CPP opposed every major move of Marcos to impose his dictatorship. It denounced how he hijacked the constitutional convention and used the "new constitution" as a license to further oppress and exploit the people. It exposed the Marcos "land reform" as a big hoax. It condemned all the fascist decrees and how the "citizens' assemblies" were conducted to legitimize fascist rule.

The Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front (NDF) issued the 10-Point Guidelines that laid the foundation of the NDF on April 24, 1973. The date is celebrated as the founding day of the NDFP. The ten points provided the united front framework for the CPP, the New People's Army and all the underground patriotic and progressive mass organizations. They were expanded and worked out in detail in August 1977.

The CPP repeatedly called on the workers to take the lead in the revolutionary mass movement and united front from May 1, 1973

onwards. The CPP call on May 1, 1975, "Uphold the Leadership of the Proletariat in the Revolution and Go Deep Among the Masses" would lead to the outbreak of more than 300 workers' strikes from October 1975 to the first quarter of 1976. It became clear by 1976 that the labor movement would resurge and dominate protest mass actions before the end of the decade.

Workers and youth activists who were blacklisted by the fascist dictatorship went underground and joined the people's army. Through Kabataang Makabayan, the CPP continued to nurture underground student groups and out of school youth. To dispel the climate of fear, youth groups painted revolutionary slogans on walls and carried out lightning rallies at public places. By 1976 youth mass protests were resurgent.

The CPP and NDF put forward policies regarding the national minorities, especially in the Cordillera and Mindanao, supporting the struggle for national self-determination. They welcomed the integration of the people of Cordillera into the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. They considered the revolutionary forces of the Bangsamoro as important allies. They developed the concept of the Moro Revolutionary Organization. They criticized the terms of capitulation in the Tripoli Agreement of 1976.

I consider "Specific Characteristics of our People's War" as the most important and significant document in the book. It reflects a dialectical materialist understanding of the objective conditions of our country and the subjective forces (domestic and foreign) and, on the basis of these, works out the line for the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The NPA can use to advantage not only the relative vastness of the countryside but also the mountainous archipelago. It explains the process of growing from small and weak to big and strong both at the strategic and at tactical levels.

Another definitive document of long lasting significance and consequence is "Our Urgent Tasks"—the distillation of the reports and discussions of the CPP Central Committee in its December 1975 Plenum. It clarifies the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist character of the revolutionary movement. Together with "Specific Characteristic of our People's War," it is acclaimed by the CPP cadres and members as a clear and correct guide in the long conduct of the revolutionary movement and as an effective foil to those who were pushing subjectivism and "Left" and Right opportunism in the following decade of the 1980s.

The anniversary statements of the CPP and NPA from 1972 to 1976 show the general progress in the building of the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and the organs of political power and in carrying out the people's war and the various mass movements in the countryside and in the cities. The years from 1972 to 1974 saw the nationwide deployment of thousands of CPP members and mass activists from the urban to the rural areas, especially to the strategic points favorable for waging guerrilla warfare.

By 1975 the Party had regional and provincial committees; and the NPA had regional and local area or guerilla front commands in all regions of the country, except the provinces of the Bangsamoro in Mindanao. Through hard work, struggle and sacrifices, CPP cadres and members, NPA Red commanders and fighters and the toiling masses achieved political, military, economic and cultural victories in their areas of operation.

Errors and shortcomings occurred in the course of advance. Among those cited are the premature confiscation of land from all types of landlords in Tarlac and Sorsogon in 1972 and 1973, the confinement of NPA companies in the forest region of Isabela from 1973 to 1975, the bypassing of settler peasants in favor of approaching the armed hill tribes in Mindanao in 1973 and the gross imbalances of work in various regions. These were criticized and rectified in due course. Thus, the revolutionary movement grew in strength and advanced in various regions.

In the course of advancing the revolutionary movement, many CPP cadres, NPA fighters and mass activists were arrested, tortured and martyred by the military minions of the fascist dictatorship. A high proportion of the CPP Central Committee members were either captured or killed in the course of moving from one region to another or one province to another to oversee work. By 1976 most of the NPA commanders who had been integrated in the CPP Central Committee in 1969 were either killed or captured in the course of armed battles.

But the ever growing revolutionary movement constantly replenished and increased the number of Party cadres and NPA commanders at various levels. The overwhelming majority of Party members, Red fighters and mass activists persevered under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and carried the correct line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

They went deep among the toiling masses and drew strength and support from them. They criticized and corrected their errors and shortcomings and aimed for greater victories on the basis of previous victories. By summing up and drawing lessons from their experience, they strengthened the Party further and wielded ever more effectively the weapons of revolutionary armed struggle and the united front to isolate and defeat the enemy.

By the time Amado Guerrero was captured in 1977 and even as early as in the 1975 Plenum of the CPP Central Committee, it had become clear to the revolutionary forces and the people that the fascist dictatorship had failed to destroy and in fact generated the conditions for the relentless advance of the revolutionary movement. While in prison, Amado Guerrero often expressed his confidence that the growth of the armed revolutionary movement would ultimately cause the downfall of the US-instigated and US-supported Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Comrades in the revolutionary movement paid him the highest tribute by acknowledging that even as he was in prison he continued to be in the battlefield through his writings and by the implications and consequences of all his revolutionary deeds.

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