

ANG

Pahayagan ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas  
Pinapatnubayan ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo

# Bayan

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## Seize the initiative in all forms of struggle and intensify the offensive against the enemy

Message of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Philippines  
26 December 2012

**W**ith utmost joy, we celebrate the 44th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the resumption of the people's democratic revolution under the correct leadership of the Party against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We salute and commend all Party cadres and members for their hard work, militant struggle and sacrifices. We congratulate them for contributing to the victories that the Party and the people have won in the revolutionary struggle. We render the highest tribute to our martyrs and heroes and we thank them deeply for their selfless service and everlasting inspiration.



We have accumulated victories in building the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We have prevailed over major errors and shortcomings in the historical background of the Party through the First Great Rectification Movement in the late 1960s and in the decade of the 1980s and early 1990s through the Second Great Rectification Movement in most of the 1990s.

Since the beginning of last year, we have scored victories in further building the Party, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the organs of political power and mass organizations; as well as in carrying out the strategic plan to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in our people's war.

We have exposed the US-Aquino regime as being no different from the US-Arroyo regime in terms of puppetry, exploitativeness, corruption, brutality and mendacity. We have effectively combated and frustrated the enemy campaigns of military suppression and deception under the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan and we have gained strength in the process. The people and their organized forces are more than ever determined to deliver lethal blows on the weak points of the enemy and score greater victories.

The worsening crisis of the capitalist system and that of the domestic ruling system are increasingly favorable conditions for waging the people's war and for strengthening the revolutionary forces and the people. We are highly confident of bringing the people's war forward to the stage of strategic stalemate.

# I. Crisis of global capitalism protracts and worsens

Since its inception, the neoliberal economic policy has intensified the exploitation of the working people and has accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy. It has never solved the problem of stagnation and market, financial and fiscal volatility and meltdowns but has aggravated these further.

It has run into more than a hundred serious financial and economic crises through three decades, culminating in the crisis that has sprung out since 2007-2008 when the US housing bubble burst and major financial institutions collapsed right at the centers of global capitalism. Since then, the economic and financial crisis has protracted and deepened. The worst economic depression since the Great Depression has descended upon the world.

No solution to the crisis is in sight, especially because the imperialist states and the monopoly bourgeoisie continue to cling to the neoliberal economic policy and still enjoy the benefits of making profits and accumulating capital through liberalization, privatization, deregulation and the de-nationalization of less developed economies, especially the underdeveloped ones.

Public funds meant to revive the economy first pass through the labor-saving and profit making processes of the banks and monopoly firms. Thus production stagnates and the high rate of unemployment remains. Incomes are depressed for 99% of the population. And yet the prices of basic goods and services are soaring.

All the centers of global capitalism are afflicted by and mired in crisis. The fundamental contradictions between capital and labor have become conspicuous at the level of states. Pub-

lic funds are used to bail out the banks and monopoly firms which continue to be rewarded with tax cuts and high-profit contracts.

Upon the rise of public deficits and the public debt, states adopt and implement policies that pass the burden of crisis to the proletariat and the rest of the people such as austerity measures. These measures cause further lay-offs, wage decreases, rising prices of basic necessities, reduced pensions, lessened social benefits and tax hikes on goods and services used by the working people.

The people resist through strikes and mass protests, as well demonstrated by the recent Europe-wide general strike and previous major strikes in most of the imperialist countries. The class struggle of the proletariat is steadily coming to the fore as the workers stand up and act to defend their rights and interests, whether or not the existing unions agree.

The conditions have become favorable for the resurgence of the working class movement against capitalism and for socialism. But the monopoly bourgeoisie and their political agents are still very much ahead in undertaking measures to counter the current of people's resistance through violence and deception. They have adopted draconian laws against the people in the name of anti-terrorism.

They are also whipping up war hysteria to justify increased war production and higher military budgets. To distract attention from the roots of the crisis, they stir up such reactionary currents as fascism, chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and religious bigotry.

The proletariat and peoples of the underdeveloped countries suffer the most from the global depression. The demand for raw material and semi-manufactured exports has decreased or some of these are being exported in greater volume but at lower prices. At the same time, the prices of imported manufactures are rising. Trade deficits grow and foreign debt mounts.

The economic crisis has resulted in the escalation of exploitation. The working people and the middle social strata suffer from intolerably high unemployment rates, real wage reductions, lower income levels, soaring prices of basic goods and services and the deterioration and higher costs of social services, such as education, health, low-income housing and the like. The conditions of mass poverty have worsened.

This has led to widespread social unrest. The people's resistance has taken various forms. Those in power representing the exploiting classes are quick to use violence to intimidate the people and suppress their resistance. They find it convenient to adopt the language and force of the US-designed war on terror.

The so-called Arab spring in North Africa and the Middle East spread like wildfire and toppled despotic governments which have been held responsible for the economic crisis, corruption and repression. Conflicts continue between reactionary and progressive forces.

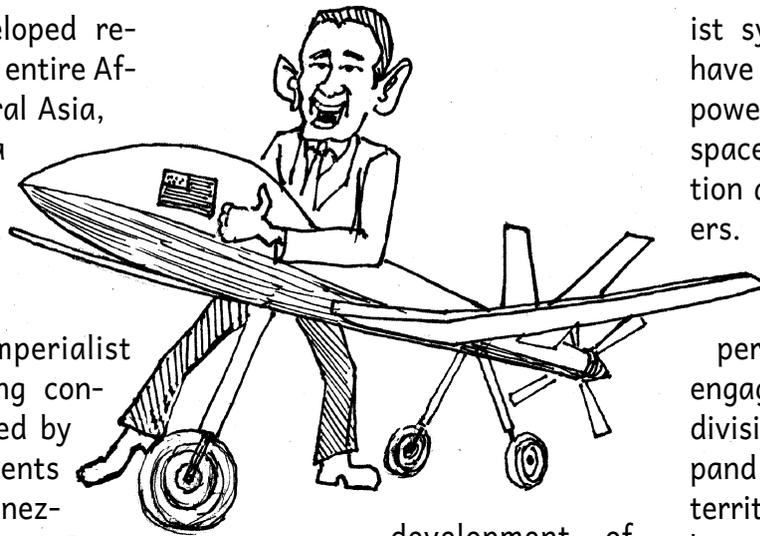
In all the underdeveloped regions of the world, the entire Africa, West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia and Latin America, mass protests are spreading and intensifying.

Blatantly pro-imperialist governments are being condemned and repudiated by the people. Governments like those of Cuba, Venezuela and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have their people's support because they assert national independence and oppose imperialism; and because they work hard to look after the welfare of the people.

Where the US and NATO allies have unleashed wars of aggression to bring down governments that reject US dictation, such as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Yugoslavia and Syria, the most intense forms of armed conflict occur; and even after the overthrow of the anti-US government, movements for national liberation persevere and serve as long-term challenges to imperialist power.

Long-running armed struggles for national liberation, such as those in Colombia, the Philippines, India, Turkey and Kurdistan, are persevering and proving to the whole world that armed revolution can be waged and can grow in strength under current conditions. The Palestinian people have persisted in waging their decades-long struggle for national liberation and for their return to their homeland with broad international support against the brutal Zionist aggression and occupation backed by US imperialism. All these continue to prove that the US and NATO do not have a seamless control over the entire world.

Due to the grossly uneven



development of global capitalism, imperialist hegemony has many weak points, especially in the underdeveloped countries whose people suffer the most from imperialism and local reaction. The current global crisis and the overextension of the US in wars of aggression and in military interventions are favorable conditions for advancing the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations.

So far, the imperialist powers have maintained amicable relations among themselves and have avoided becoming openly hostile to each other in their economic and political competition. They have succeeded in doing so by uniting against underdeveloped countries which they exploit on a multilateral basis under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). A crucial feature of the neoliberal policy of "free market" globalization is the denationalization of the economies of these underdeveloped countries.

The imperialist powers built their own unity on the previous anticommunist and anti socialist alliance during the Cold War. Since the restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries, the traditional imperialist powers have simply integrated such countries into the world capital-

ist system. Russia and China have themselves grown into big powers and are cramping the space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers.

It is inherent to the capitalist system for imperialist powers to be always engaged in a struggle for a re-division of the world and to expand their respective economic territory as sources of cheap labor and raw materials, as markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

While avoiding direct hostility among themselves, the imperialist powers manifest different positions regarding US imperialist aggression and also engage in proxy wars by backing different sides in civil wars or in cross-border wars in underdeveloped countries. In Africa today, particularly Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria and DR Congo, the US and other imperialist powers engage in proxy wars.

The crisis is generating sharp contradictions among the imperialist powers. In the wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, Russia and China went along with and even assisted the US-NATO alliance. But since then, they have become wary and have organized the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to countervail the US and the NATO. They have shown reluctance in backing up the US-NATO wars of aggression in Libya and now more so in Syria.

On its own account, the US has become wary of China becoming a challenge to US hegemony in East Asia and is bent on overseeing and influencing major developments in China, such as the further privatization of state-owned enterprises and the liberalization of the Chinese political system. Thus, the US has decided to refocus militarily

on the region even as it remains bogged down in a number of trouble spots in the Middle East and Africa. It has used its allies and puppets in the East Asia region to stir up diplomatic tension over the sea between China and its neighbors; and to justify the increase of US military forces in the region.

In the meantime, the US maintains its close economic cooperation with China and is further pushing China to privatize its strategic state-owned enterprises and sell out to the US and other multinational firms. At the same time, the US is projecting a strong military presence by launching successive joint military exercises in Korea, Japan, Philippines and other Asian countries surrounding China to serve as a constant reminder to the “communists” (bureaucrat capitalists) in power that they should moderate their nationalism and compromise with a pro-US democracy movement. US strategists calculate that military encirclement can induce China to follow US wishes to fur-

ther denationalize its economy and further liberalize its political system.

At any rate, social unrest is rampant and is on the rise in China as a result of the decline of its export-oriented economy. While 1% of China's population has become as rich as the uppermost class in advanced capitalist countries, 99% of the population mostly suffer in poverty. The broad masses of the people oppose and decry the corruption, inflation, rising unemployment, the withholding of wages, the grabbing of land from peasants and the degradation of the environment. The outbreaks of mass protests have leaped from the level of 80,000 to 280,000.

The Maoists in China are striving hard to provide leadership to the widespread outbreaks of social unrest and to see what advantages the people can gain from the potential clash of the forces that are using the slogans of nationalism and liberal democracy.

With overweening arrogance, the US imperialists seek

to enhance US hegemony over East Asia. They need to be reminded of their resounding defeats in China, Korea and Indochina following the end of World War II. So far, China has held its ground in political disputes with the US. The US has also failed to bend the DPRK to its wishes and has failed to destroy the people's war for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines since 1969.

The world is in turmoil due to the bankruptcy of the neoliberal economic policy and the grave crisis of the world capitalist system. So far, we have seen the growing mass unrest in the industrial capitalist countries and also in the underdeveloped countries. We have also seen the wars of aggression that the US imperialists have launched in the Baltic, Middle East and Africa. A further spread of the turmoil to China and East Asia due to US machinations would present greater opportunities to the Filipino people and revolutionary forces for carrying their revolutionary cause forward.

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## II. The rotten ruling system is tottering

The US-directed Aquino ruling clique came to power through automated electoral cheating, mass media manipulation, and massive funding by big compradors and landlords. It continues to believe that it can ride over the grave economic and social crisis of the ruling system by depending on the inflow of foreign investments and loans and by false claims of good governance and a robust economy, pretenses at combating corruption and through a ceaseless stream of publicity gimmicks, slanted news reports and manipulated poll surveys.

Aquino's propaganda machine is secretly managed by US and other foreign psy-war experts. It is operated by long-time hacks in the bourgeois mass media and pseudo-Left operatives also working for US intelligence.

The harsh economic and social conditions

speaking louder than any of Aquino's triumphant declarations of “inclusive growth” Mass poverty is conspicuous both in urban and rural areas. The surplus population from rural areas move to urban areas, competing for odd jobs, expanding the slum areas and occupying spaces under bridges, in public markets and squares and along roads and railways.

The regime brazenly lies by claiming an economic growth rate of more than 7%. This is made up mostly of bloated figures of import-dependent consumption, upscale private construction and service sector activities. Agriculture and manufacturing have declined and unemployment has increased. The regime also lies by claiming an unemployment rate of only 7%, which is far less than the rate of 23% in the European Union. Even the pro-Aquino Social Weather Survey states a rate of 25-

30% percent, more than four times the regime's claim.

The statistics of the regime grossly understate adverse socio-economic figures. Big mass lay-offs have occurred from year to year since 2008 in all sectors of the economy, especially in low-valued semi-manufacturing, which is adversely affected by the economic downturn in the industrial capitalist countries. Since the Asian financial crisis of 1997, Philippine-based semi-manufacturing has become a mere satellite of China-based final reassembly.

The much-vaunted increase of employment in the business call centers does not make up for the mass lay-offs in many other economic sectors. Private construction is still apparently booming but has reached a precarious near-bust situation after years of building an overcapacity of office and residential towers financed by foreign commercial loans. The public infrastructure projects under the so-called Public-Private Partnership Program have slowed down, despite reported large appropriations, because behind the scene Aquino's close relatives are still trying to enlarge their cut from the contractors. Fund releases for projects are likely to speed up in the first half of 2013 to influence the May congressional and local elections.

Mining operations of big foreign companies, which the regime is promoting and protecting, provide a negligible amount of employment and engage in gross tax avoidance (including the large scale smuggling of

gold, silver and other precious metals out of the country). It involves mainly open pit mining and heavy use of chemicals for a rapid plunder of natural resources, causing massive devastation of the environment. It further results in ethnocide of the indigenous people, deforestation, soil erosion, severe floods and droughts, siltation and poisoning of rivers and destruction of agricultural land. The massive export of mineral ores pre-empts future industrialization of the country. State security forces are being unleashed against

minority peoples and other sectors resisting and protesting these operations, resulting in increased attacks, extra-judicial killings, enforced disappearances, arrests and other human rights violations being committed with impunity.

The expansion of plantations for fruit export and biofuel production is prejudicing domestic staple food production, long upset and damaged under the neo-liberal policy of removing agricultural subsidies and allowing food imports with little or without tariff. Altogether, the expansion of mining, logging and plantations lessen the land for domestic food production and for land reform.

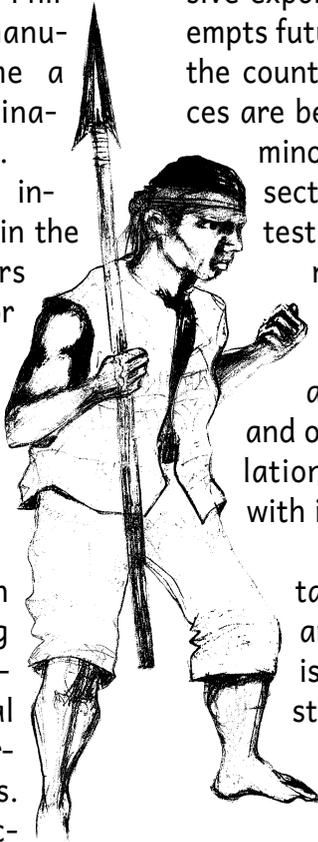
The export of people for migrant work abroad is a clear proof of the scarcity of job opportunities and the lack of national industrialization in the country. The global depression and the growing turmoil and rising discrimination against migrant workers in host countries indicate a dismal future for the export of cheap labor. Through all the years, the high bureaucrats and big compradors have

made sure that the foreign exchange remitted by migrant workers to the Philippines is used to promote the consumption of imported goods rather than fund national industrialization.

The Philippine economy remains agrarian, pre-industrial, underdeveloped and semifeudal. The ruling system of big compradors and landlords prevents national industrialization and land reform. While income from the export of raw materials and semi-manufactures has taken a dive, the cost of importing basic necessities and luxury goods for the exploiting classes has soared. The trade deficit keeps on rising and so does the accumulated foreign debt and annual debt service. Foreign debt has reached the level of US\$ 72.22 billion but the regime tries to downplay this by making false boasts of lending to the International Monetary Fund US\$ 1 billion. The Aquino brag that the Philippines contributed to efforts bail out the debt-crisis ridden Eurozone countries, is actually a spin on the obligation of member countries to invest in the IMF.

Under the current crisis conditions, the US-Aquino regime is escalating the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even the middle social strata. Women, youth and children suffer most from the deteriorating conditions. But with its twisted logic, the regime spreads the propaganda that the people's resistance--not foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism--is the cause of underdevelopment, poverty and crisis.

Under conditions of a depressed economy and increasing bureaucratic corruption, the Philippine reactionary govern-



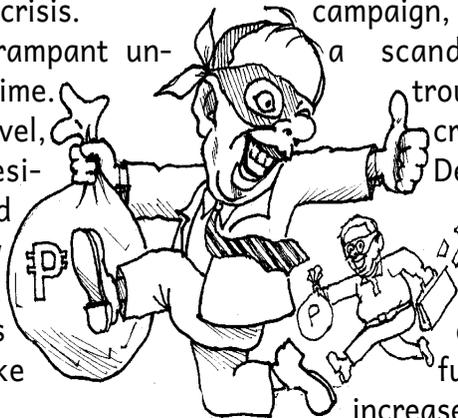
ment is weighed down by budgetary deficits and public debt. Despite this, the US-Aquino regime gives priority to expenditures for debt service, the military, the so-called Conditional Cash Transfer program and other counterproductive activities. At the same time, the regime has been carrying out an unproclaimed austerity policy at the expense of the people by laying off government employees, pressing down wages and cutting back on expenditures for social services, especially health, education and low-cost housing.

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Corruption is rampant under the Aquino regime. At the highest level, some of the president's sisters and brothers-in-law and Aquino and Cojuangco uncles and cousins take cuts from big business projects requiring presidential approval and loans from government financial institutions. They favor contractors close to the Aquino and Cojuangco families. They facilitate technical smuggling which now averages US\$19 billion annually, six-times larger than the US\$3 billion annual average during the time of Estrada and Arroyo,

according to findings of the IMF Direction on Trade Statistics. Aquino fudges statistics boosting agricultural production to conceal increased rice smuggling by big traders under the protection of high government officials. The regime uses strict tax enforcement as threats to intimidate and bend Aquino opponents even as it condones the massive tax evasion of Lucio Tan, Eduardo Cojuangco and other big funders of the Aquino electoral campaign.

Even jueteng has not escaped the clutches of Aquino. A close associate of his has been exposed by an archbishop as the Aquino connection to the jueteng magnates. The Anti-Poverty Commission is chaired by a long-time NGO racketeer and US intelligence asset and misappropriates government funds as proven by a Commission on Audit report. The Conditional Cash Transfer program, including both the Pantawid Pamilya and the so-called PAMANA development and rehabilitation fund, is in fact a slush fund for politicking and for counterinsurgency campaign, and has become



a scandalous feeding trough for bureaucratic corruption. Despite the exposure of corruption in this dole-out program, its funding is being increased to Php49 billion.

The high rate of unemployment, the decline of incomes for the toiling masses and the middle social strata, the rising cost of basic goods and services, and the deterioration and rising cost of social services are generating social unrest all over the country. The Aquino regime does not address these and their root

causes but tries in vain to obscure them by using the mass media and poll surveys to distract the public. Worst of all, the regime wantonly uses state violence against workers on strike and the people engaged in peaceful mass protests.

The worst forms of violence are being perpetrated by the reactionary armed forces under the US-designed and directed Oplan Bayanihan to suppress the people, especially the workers, peasants and the national minorities. Human rights violations like enforced disappearances, illegal detention, torture and extrajudicial killings are rampant and victimize leaders of the toiling masses, social activists and human rights defenders. Children are being illegally arrested, detained and murdered and then misrepresented as child soldiers to malign the NPA. On a wide scale, homes of the urban poor are being demolished to make way for real estate developers. In the countryside, military campaigns are used to force the evacuation and eviction of peasants and national minorities to benefit land-grabbing private enterprises, big bureaucrats and military officers.

Since the beginning, the US-Aquino regime has condoned the human rights violations under its predecessor US-Arroyo regime and has thus further emboldened the military, police, paramilitary forces and military assets to commit even worse human rights violations. Not a single military officer or perpetrator has been prosecuted or convicted for human rights violations, despite the strong evidence in many cases. Impunity reigns. Officers who are supposed to have command responsibility are themselves the criminals, cover up their crimes and

even get promoted more rapidly. The issuance of an arrest warrant for the butcher general Palparan is a mere token and has not resulted in his arrest simply because he is being protected by the military. Moreover, Aquino has callously appointed the colonel responsible for the forced disappearance of Jonas Burgos to general and to the position of ISAFP chief.

The recent creation of an inter-agency committee touted as the superbody on human rights on top of the existing Philippine Human Rights Commission is one more publicity gimmick. The committee is an additional gadget of the regime for whitewashing human rights violations by the reactionary armed forces, police and military. The committee is composed of the secretaries of the DND, DILG, the AFP chief of staff and the PNP. The committee is headed by the secretary of the Department Of Justice and is dominated by the secretaries of the Department of National Defense and Department of Interior and Local Government, the AFP chief of staff and the chief of the Philippine National Police. It is no different from Arroyo's Presidential Task Force on Political Violence .

Despite the strong clamor and public attention, the trial of the Ampatuans and their accomplices for the flagrant massacre of 58 people, including 34 journalists, has yet to get off the ground. The main concern of Aquino is to be able to view the trial on television. He has not paid attention to the fact that the trial is designed to run for as long as 200 years.

The economic and social crisis generates a political crisis of the ruling system. However at the moment, it appears that all major political parties and coalitions

of factions of the exploiting classes are happily united in serving the interests of the US and the exploiting classes and in opposing the revolutionary movement of the people. Behind the scenes, the US advisers and Aquino's uncles, Eduardo and Jose Cojuangco, conjure the illusion of unity by using President Aquino and Vice President Binay to form coalitions that hog the political road and block the rise of any significant opposition party.

Aquino's ruling Liberal Party has coalesced with the Nationalist People's Coalition, the Nacionalista Party and some elements in the former ruling coalition under Arroyo for the 2013 elections. Likewise, Binay's PDP-Laban has coalesced with Estrada's Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino of Estrada and Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino to form the United Nationalist Alliance (UNA). The ruling coalition and UNA are actually close collaborators. There is no significant mainstream opposition party or coalition within the ruling classes, except the residue of the Arroyo ruling coalition which persists due to the strength of its leaders in local bailiwicks.

The US is promoting the unity of the reactionary forces in order to push anti-national and anti-democratic amendments to the 1987 constitution, enable further US military intervention and press for the debilitation of the legal democratic movement and the outright armed suppression of the revolutionary movement of the people under Oplan Bayanihan. Plans are afoot to rig the automated electoral system to prevent the election of patriotic and progressive candidates.

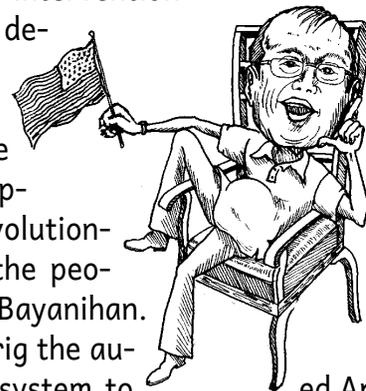
At any rate, the contradic-

tions among the reactionaries over their share of power and spoils will continue to sharpen beneath the surface of current appearances of unity. The reactionary political factions never cease to maneuver for advantages in political and economic terms and in having private armed groups and access to corresponding factions within the military and police.

The fakery in the Aquino claim of good governance, uprightness and honesty is becoming exposed. With the fractious and corrupt character of the rotten ruling system, the revolutionary movement can take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries. Ever applicable is the policy of the united front to coordinate and synergize the basic forces of the revolution, take advantage of reactionary splits, isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The temporary alliances that the Party can have with certain reactionary forces may relate to the reactionary elections, the conduct of the reactionary government, the peace negotiations and other matters. As a matter of united front policy, the Party encourages the patriotic and progressive forces to participate in elections even as these are farcical and subject to the power and finances of the major reactionary political parties. It is important for the people to have representatives who will vigorously pursue their patriotic and democratic demands even within the reactionary institutions and processes.

Like the unlamented Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime and its retinue of military officers keep on boasting that most areas of the Philippi-



nes have become insurgency-free. They keep on repeating the lie that in the mid-1980s the NPA had an armed strength of 25,000 high-powered rifles and now has only 4000. The fact is that the NPA armed strength in 1986 was only 6,100 rifles.

They wish to downplay the fact that NPA Red fighters and other revolutionary forces can move freely in more than 90% of Philippine territory. The enemy has only enough armed force to concentrate on a few guerrilla fronts at every given time. The reactionary government is bankrupt and incapable of making any significant increase in military personnel and equipment without substantial military support of the US government. Even within guerrilla fronts under concentrated enemy attack, there are wide gaps between enemy units and the NPA units are able to maneuver and launch tactical offensives to wipe out one enemy unit after another.

Furthermore, NPA units deployed by regional or inter-front commands are able to counter-attack enemy units on a wide scale. The enemy offers so many weak points that the NPA can discover and exploit or create and attack at will. The broad masses have cheered several NPA offensives against mining, logging and plantation enterprises, especially in the northeastern, southern and northcentral regions of Mindanao. Most embarrassing to the enemy are NPA offensives carried out in areas previously declared insurgency-free by the reactionary armed forces.

These are the ambushes on enemy units in Abra, Ifugao,



Isabela, Aurora and Leyte. NPA offensives have also been done in Camarines Norte, Sorsogon, Catanduanes, Masbate, Iloilo, Zamboanga del Norte and other provinces.

Corollary with waging people's war, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in representation of the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces negotiates with the reactionary government. The peace negotiations are a process of propagating the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution, exposing the anti-national and antidemocratic character of the reactionary government and challenging its better elements to join the revolutionary forces in a united front against foreign and feudal domination and for the completion of the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

In peace negotiations, the NDFP undertakes a form of struggle for a just and lasting peace that is based on negotiated and mutually agreed basic social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the civil war. So far, one ruling clique after another in the reactionary government has tried to use the peace negotiations in order to cause the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and to preserve the rotten ruling system. Over the past two years, the US-Aquino regime has paralyzed the peace negotiations by seeking to undermine The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and by refusing to comply with the Joint Agreement

on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and

International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

In violation of the JASIG, the regime has prevented the proper investigation of the enforced disappearances, illegal arrests and detention, and surveillance and harassments of NDFP consultants and personnel in the peace negotiations. It stands by the lie of its predecessor in denying that the GPH had instigated and was fully complicit with the US and Dutch governments in the raids by the Dutch police on the NDFP offices and the residences of its negotiating panel and staff, and in the arrest and detention of Prof. Jose Maria Sison on the basis of false charges. It continues to block the release of 14 NDFP consultants and members of the NDFP Negotiating Panel. In violation of the CARHRIHL, the regime continues to hold the release of more than 400 political prisoners falsely charged with common crimes despite allegations of involvement in the armed conflict/civil war. The big comprador-landlord president is not interested in serious peace negotiations and is motivated by class vengeance against the revolutionary movement for the demand of farm workers to subject Hacienda Luisita to land reform.

Aquino continues to heed the wishes of the clerico-fascists and military agents who have disrupted the peace negotiations since the time of the Arroyo regime. They use the negotiations as a vehicle for psy-war and for broadcasting their demand for the revolutionary forces to surrender. They vainly wish for the permanent ending of hostilities before the comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms are forged. They are obsessed with trying to break the will of

the revolutionary forces and compel them to accept the rotten ruling system and its reactionary constitution.

The Manila government has signed with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro. In crucial provisions of the agreement, the MILF submits to the authority of the oppressive state based in Manila and gives up the possibility of seceding and establishing an independent Bangsamoro state. Essential points for four annexes on transitional arrangements and modalities, power sharing, wealth sharing and normalization are stated in the agreement and confirm the submission of the MILF to the sovereignty and constitutional processes of the Manila government.

The Transition Commission that would be responsible for formulating the Bangsamoro Basic Law is to be created by an executive order by Aquino and subject to approval by Congress and further subject to processes ordained by the Manila government. The Manila government provides a certain measure of concessions to the Bangsamoro on power and wealth sharing but can limit or even retract such concessions. Not soon after the much ballyhooed signing last October, the talks on the annexes has hit an impasse reportedly due to the Manila government attempt to renegotiate the Framework Agreement provision on the chairmanship and composition of the Transition Commission. The provisions on normalization subjects the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) of the MILF to decommissioning while allowing the continuing presence AFP troops in Bangsamoro lands.

The Manila government may

go through the motion of realizing the Framework Agreement and its annexes because after all the MILF has submitted itself to its supreme authority, as the Moro National Liberation Front had done previously in the process of establishing the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The main objective of the Manila government is to pacify and subordinate the MILF and use it for the political and economic purposes of Manila and Washington.

The reactionary government expects that with the MILF and BIAF pacified, more troops of the reactionary armed forces could be deployed to crush the NPA and the revolutionary movement. This is a pipe dream. The Marcos fascist dictatorship could not destroy the NPA when it was still small and weak, even after Marcos obtained a permanent ceasefire with the MNLF under the Tripoli Agreement in 1976. Moreover, were the MILF to capitulate completely, other existing and potential armies could continue the armed struggle of the Bangsamoro and still tie down a big number of enemy forces in south-western Mindanao.

The growing US military intervention in the Philippines involves the violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. It constitutes an assault on the Filipino people and their revolutionary movement. It uses pretexts that are clearly obnoxious, such as the frequent joint military exercises, the so-called global war on terror and refocus on the East Asia region to contain China.

The US is hell-bent on entrenching its military forces in the Philippines and is using the Philippines as a strategic base to service US military forces and

to serve as entry point and host storage facilities for US nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction. On a daily basis, US military advisers and troops participate in intelligence, psy-war and combat operations of the Philippine reactionary armed forces. They provide the latest high-tech military equipment and directly operate unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), commonly called drones, whose technology the US military intends to monopolize and control.

At any rate, the US is already overextended as it refocuses on East Asia. China continues to cooperate with the US in the region and in the world and is astutely avoiding any hostility with the US. Contrary to the belief of some Filipino reactionaries that the US provides protection to the Philippines against China, the US has clearly declared that it is neutral on issues concerning territorial controversies over the sea between China and its neighbors. In fact, the US has more interests in relations with China than in relations with the Philippines. Moreover, the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty does not carry any provision for automatic retaliation in the event of a third-party attack on the Philippines.

Only the Filipino people can best protect themselves by strengthening their revolutionary movement and ultimately winning political power in the people's democratic revolution. It would be foolhardy to rely on the US for protection or on China for magnanimity. No foreign power will ever dare to conquer and occupy the Philippines so long as the more than 100 million Filipino people are ever ready to inflict serious damage on the invader through people's war.

### III. The Philippine revolution is advancing

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the people's democratic revolution through people's war is advancing. It is making substantial progress in carrying out the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. In this connection, the Party has strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The Party and the revolutionary movement are frustrating and thwarting the US-Aquino regime's use of Oplan Bayanihan for the stated objective of debilitating or destroying the revolutionary movement from 2011 to 2013 and transferring from the reactionary armed forces to the police the task of mopping up the remnants of the revolutionary forces from 2014 to 2016. It is instructive to point out that even when the NPA was still small and weak in the early 1970s, the Marcos fascist dictatorship with more available resources could not prevent its growth.

The US-Aquino regime's Oplan Bayanihan is a vicious monster. The regime hypocritically and cynically calls its triad military operations (psy-war, intelligence and combat) as "peace and development" operations. In fact, these operations involve abductions, enforced disappearances, torture, assassinations, massacres, forced mass evacuations and population control operations through intimidation and coercion, bombardments, strafing and artillery fire. All these are done to preserve the ruling system and allow foreign and domestic exploiters to oppress and exploit the people.

The main thrust of

Oplan Bayanihan is to kill suspected revolutionaries and whip up military units to a competition of "body counts." It is complemented by psy-war actions in the form of civic actions, medical missions, money dole-outs and other deceptive tactics conducted by "peace and development teams" to engage in intelligence work and intimidation of the families of suspected revolutionaries.

Even children in suspected guerrilla fronts are not spared. They are misrepresented as NPA child soldiers and subjected to intimidation, arrest, torture or extrajudicial killing. Thus, the NDFP has issued the General Declaration and Program of Action for the Rights, Protection and Welfare of Children. This covers the children in the entire country and in all respects and gives special attention to children in areas of armed conflict.

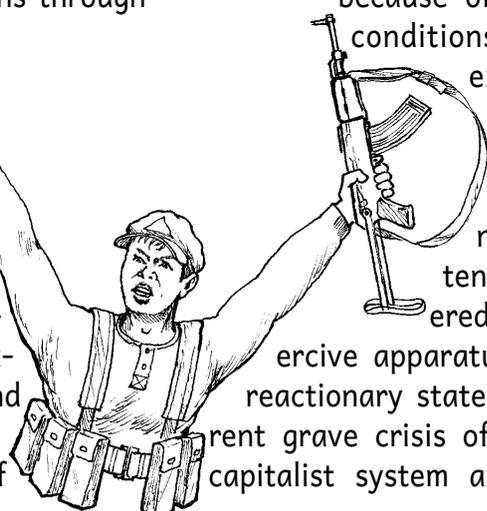
The growth of the various subjective forces of the revolution cannot be stopped because of the Party's correct line and because of the crisis conditions and the expanse of the countryside which cannot be intensively covered by the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state. The current grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the far

graver crisis of the domestic ruling system are exceedingly favorable conditions for further advancing the armed revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. Their determination to wage armed resistance does not wane despite forty years of difficult struggle. The increasingly intolerable conditions of exploitation and oppression suffered by the broad masses of the people heighten their desire revolutionary change.

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party is vigorously engaged in ideological building among Party cadres and members as well as among mass activists who wish to join the Party. They are eager to study the history and circumstances of Philippine society and revolution and the global context of imperialism and proletarian revolution; and to widen and deepen their knowledge of revolutionary theory and practice through the three levels of Party education. The Party is determined to make prompt assignment of instructors and arrangement of study meetings to respond to the enthusiasm of those who wish to study.

The revolutionary forces daily conduct countless study meetings. They employ various creative ways to keep these secret from the enemy who desire to put a stop to the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Study sessions conducted by Red fighters as well as by peasants mass organizations and local Party branches are secured and defended by units of the people's army.

In all Party study courses, the use of materialist dialectics in thinking and action is inculcated to enable Party members to discern and analyze what is correct in relation to subjectivism, be it in the form of empiri-



cism or dogmatism as well as reformism and revisionism.

The Party has been able to conduct the basic Party course in order to make the Party candidate-members become full members. Party leading organs and units are aware that the accelerated increase of Party members is a crucial component of the strategic plan to advance to the strategic stalemate. The Party has also been able to conduct the intermediate and advanced Party courses in order to widen and deepen the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism among Party members and cadres.

Oplan Bayanihan has no way of stopping the recruitment and education of Party candidate-members and full members from the trade unions, farms, schools, offices and the mass movement in general. The Party has been able to digitize the storage, retrieval and publication of revolutionary study materials on a wide scale. It has also used new technology to produce and reproduce for people with limited formal education simplified study materials in various Philippine languages. Thousands of local Party cadres, as well as worker and peasant activists, are being trained as instructors of the Party and the national democratic school. By having easy access to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist references, activists can more actively engage in study and propaganda and wage debates against the reactionaries and their ideological apologists.

The Party has propagated and carried out the general line of new democratic revolution through propaganda and agitation, through the expansion and consolidation of mass organizations and through

the mobilization of the broad masses of the people on urgent and long-running issues. The people's army, the mass organizations and the organs of political power have been effective in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses.

The Party combats "Left" and Right opportunism. It defines the correct political line on particular issues and processes, guided by the Program for the of People's Democratic Revolution, by subjecting facts and circumstances to class analysis, and by determining the principal and secondary aspects and thus arriving at the course of action that carries the revolutionary movement forward.

The Party engages in research and publications on domestic and global issues. The lies churned out daily by the reactionary spin factory are exposed, denounced and challenged. News of revolutionary struggles and victories are promptly circulated. Various publications are issued by the Central Committee, regional Party committees and various mass organizations. These are published in print and on the internet. Local Party branches are setting up guerrilla printing shops to screen print Ang Bayan and ensure that copies reach every Party member, Red fighter and activist. Leaders and speakers are trained and gain experience

by explaining issues to the masses and expressing their demands at public meetings.

The Party encourages the working people and the middle social strata to build open and underground mass organizations and to uphold, defend and promote the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. The underground mass organizations are allied within the framework of the National Democratic Front and support the local organs of political power.

The Party's main mass organization is the New People's Army. It is different from all other mass organizations by being armed and by serving as the people's instrument for smashing the power of the reactionary state and enabling the local organs of political power and in sum the people's democratic state to arise and develop.

The NPA is responsible for waging revolutionary armed struggle. It has thousands of high-powered rifles in the hands of its fighters and aims to increase this to the level of 25,000 in order to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate in the next few years. It currently operates in more than 100 guerrilla fronts and is striving to increase these to 180 within the next five years since 2010 or for a longer period if need be. There are efforts to assist those regions that are lagging behind other regions in order to keep them apace with the overall advance.

In order to achieve the strategic plan of creating a guerrilla front per congressional district, regional Party committees subdivide their areas of responsibility to inter-front and front commands



without necessarily immediately dividing or liquidating the regional and inter-front commands and their respective headquarters and strike forces. To expand existing guerilla fronts or establish new ones, NPA units can advance wave upon wave from an established guerilla front. The Party and the mass movement can also expand ahead of NPA units. Party cadres and mass activists can be assigned to the expansion area to conduct social investigation and initial organizing and the NPA can subsequently forward initial armed propaganda teams.

The Party is currently concerned with strengthening the leading committees and NPA commands at the level of the region, inter-front and the guerrilla front in order to seize initiative in launching tactical offensives and defeating enemy campaigns and operations. Every level has a center of gravity (headquarters and strike force) with an armed strength sufficient to protect the Party leadership and NPA command and deliver lethal blows on enemy units independently or in conjunction with NPA units at lower levels.

The Party can develop the NPA national operational command (NOC) on the basis of the regional operational commands. These can serve as the source of highly competent officers. The NOC can base itself on any regional command and organization at any given time before it can develop its own distinct central base in a relatively stable base area in the future.

The current modus operandi of the enemy is to concentrate large forces against certain guerrilla

fronts in various regions for extended periods. Southern Mindanao, Samar-Leyte and Negros have been top priority for sustained enemy attacks involving eight to twelve battalions for each region. Bicol, Southern Tagalog, Central Luzon, Northeast Luzon and Northeast Mindanao have been attacked by six to ten battalions per region.

An NPA force within a guerilla front under enemy encirclement avails of the tactics of using the wide gaps between enemy units in order to move from interior line to exterior line to launch tactical offensives and wipe out weak segments of the enemy forces. NPA units have been able to deliver lethal blows on enemy forces even where these are concentrated by hitting their weak points.

Outside a guerrilla front under enemy attack, the regional and inter-front commands can launch tactical offensives against the enemy forces besieging the guerrilla front or against the enemy forces in areas at some distance from the guerrilla front under attack. NPA tactical offensives are unstoppable because enemy weak points to observe and attack abound.

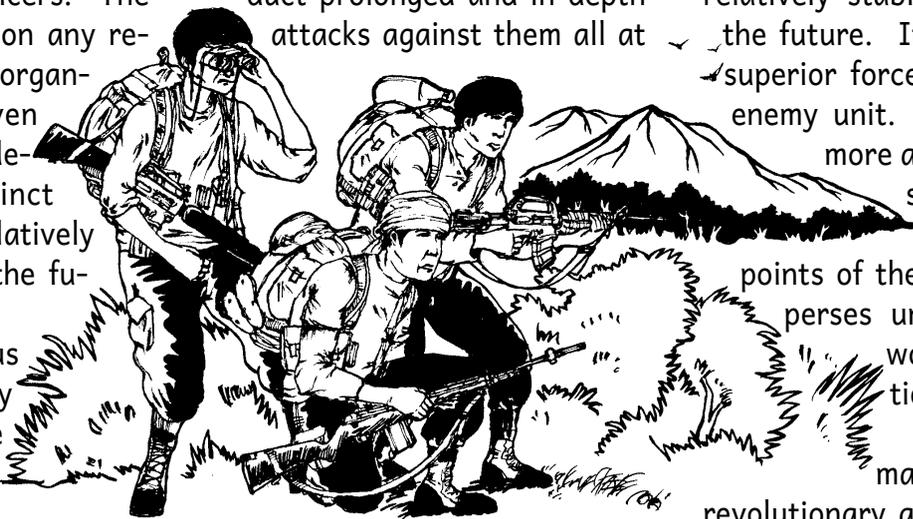
The enemy does not have sufficient armed strength to target and encircle all the guerrilla fronts in the country and conduct prolonged and in-depth attacks against them all at

the same time. Whenever the enemy chooses to concentrate on a number of regions or guerilla fronts at a given time, the NPA elsewhere can attack weak points of the enemy, be these military, police, paramilitary forces and private security agencies as well as facilities and supply lines.

The NPA undertake annihilative actions as the main tactic to wipe out enemy units in order to seize weapons for increasing NPA units. It concentrates its forces to launch ambushes against enemy troops and carry out raids against lightly-guarded enemy detachments and camps, police stations as well as against secret armories maintained by the private security agencies. Such methods as sniping, zapping, deploying land mines and other explosives and inflammables (including sprayer and cigarette lighter) are used. Attritive actions are launched to inflict damage on the fighting capacity and morale of the enemy. Disintegrative actions are done by propaganda suited to the enemy personnel and by lenient treatment of those who are captured.

The NPA uses intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on an ever expanding and deepening mass base in order to accumulate armed strength for regular mobile warfare and building relatively stable base areas in the future. It concentrates a superior force to wipe out an enemy unit. It shifts to get more advantageous position for attacking the weak points of the enemy. It disperses units to do mass work when conditions permit.

The Party makes sure that the revolutionary armed struggle is



integrated with land reform and mass base building. The NPA is invincible as long as the peasant masses benefit from genuine land reform and remain the inexhaustible source of strength for the NPA. At the same time, the mass base is expanded and consolidated with the building of the organs of political power and the mass organizations.

Land reform is the main content of the democratic revolution. It has been carried out in stages, from the minimum to the maximum program. The minimum program consists of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and increasing production in agriculture and sideline occupation through rudimentary forms of cooperation. The maximum program of confiscation and free distribution of land is possible upon the defeat of feudal power.

In certain regions, especially in Mindanao, the NPA has carried out significant offensives against mining, logging and plantation enterprises. Nationwide, these offensives are meant to stop and discourage landgrabbing, the plunder of natural resources for export and the destruction of the environment and agriculture; and to make more land available for land reform, to conserve the natural resources and use them wisely for national industrialization.

The US-Aquino regime has shamelessly used the reactionary armed forces as security guards for the mining, logging and plantation enterprises and has encouraged these to form larger private armies called "investment defense forces." It is fine that the NPA is compelling the enemy forces to be tied down by guard duty. The formation of so many dispersed state

and private armies can turn into its opposite and they can subsequently serve as sources of arms for expanding NPA ranks.

The strengthening and proper functioning of the local organs of political power and mass organizations under the leadership of the local Party branch relieve the NPA of work overload as they shoulder more responsibilities. By assuming responsibilities in defense and production, the people's militia at the barrio level and self-defense units of the mass organizations can reduce the work load of NPA units and allow them more time for combat, politico-military training, and other military duties. Even so, the people's army maintains a balance of combat and non-combat duties (including mass work, especially in new areas.)

The mass line is to trust, rely on and enable the people to look after their own good through the local organs of political power and the mass organizations under Party leadership. The committees which are the organs of political power are supported by the working committees in charge of mass education, organizing, land reform, production, health and sanitation, defense, arbitration and cultural work. The mass organizations rouse and mobilize the people to engage in campaigns for their own benefit.

In establishing the people's government from the level of the villages and upward, it has been necessary for the NPA to defeat the enemy forces cumulatively and for the peasant masses to

wage mass struggles in order to break up reactionary power in the localities and to eliminate or cause the flight of incorrigible reactionary officials who oppress the people and incur blood debts. Higher levels of people's government have an underground character while the reactionary government can still operate and extort levies from the people.

The Party applies the anti-feudal united front in the countryside by relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, befriending the rich peasants, taking advantage of the splits among the landlords and isolating and defeating the despotic landlords. The antifeudal united front is at the base of the national united front. The Party ensures that the united front policy is mainly for the armed struggle, especially through the National Democratic Front. At the same time, the policy serves to encourage the development of patriotic and progressive forces in the legal mass movement. These are of vital importance in propagating the people's demand for fundamental change towards national and social liberation.

In any case, the united front policy and tactics are meant to arouse, mobilize and organize the masses in their millions. To maintain the patriotic and progressive character of the united



front, the Party in principle and in proper style leads every possible combination of forces in the echelon of alliances, such as the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the unstable alliance with any section of the reactionary classes that cooperates in opposing the enemy.

Through the united front, the people in great numbers ventilate and act upon the issues arising from the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. The people are united and mobilized to uphold national sovereignty and territorial integrity against the imperialists, to defend and uphold human rights against state terrorism and repression, to condemn corruption and to remove from power corrupt and oppressive government officials. Marcos and Estrada were isolated and then overthrown, with the Party applying the united front policy. This policy is now directed against the puppet, corrupt, exploitative, brutal and deceptive regime of Aquino.

Engaging in peace negotiations is relevant to the united front. It involves propagating the program of people's democratic revolution and exposing to the public how the reactionary government reacts to demands for basic reforms and offers of truce and alliance or cooperation against imperialism and the worst forms of local reaction.

Tolerating the electoral process of the reactionary government on whatever scale is also relevant to the united front. It involves developing cooperation with patriotic and progressive candidates and groups and encouraging them to fight the

worst reactionaries in the reactionary government and do what they can to help disintegrate the reactionary ruling system.

As always, the Party is bound by the principle of democratic centralism. This is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralism. The Party promotes both discipline and democracy. It is always on guard against bureaucratism and ultrademocracy. It practices criticism and self-criticism on ideological, political and organizational issues.

Party membership has increased under the impetus of the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and upon the proper expeditious implementation of the provisions of the Party Constitution on membership.

Activists in the trade unions and the mass organizations of peasants and fisher folk, women, youth, professionals and other sectors have become Party candidate members by accepting the Party Constitution and Program and applying for Party membership. Previous causes of stagnation or slow growth of Party membership are being addressed and rectified.

Mass activists are being recruited in great number and are promptly provided with basic

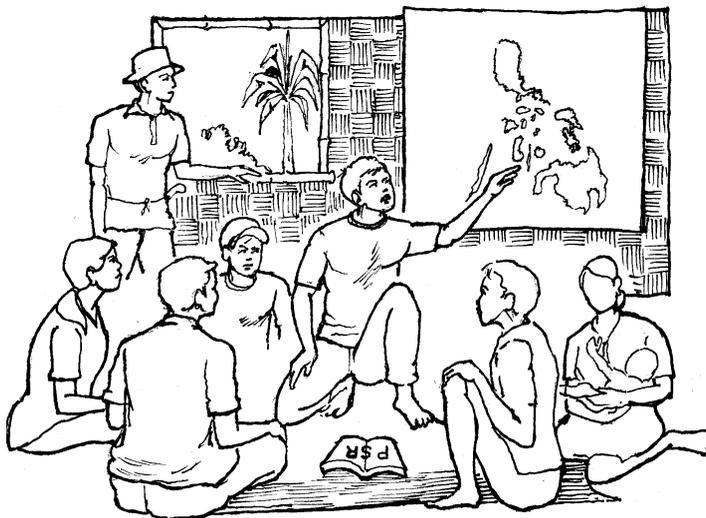
Party education within the period of candidature stipulated by the Party constitution. Negligence of the basic tasks of Party recruitment and education, conceit by setting standards higher than those required by the Party constitution and failing to trust mass activists are being rectified.

The period of candidature for workers, peasants, fisherfolk and other toilers is six months; for those from the urban petty bourgeoisie, one year; and for other classes, two years. To become full Party members the candidate-members finish the basic Party course and join a basic Party unit.

The Party's policy is to recruit Party members mainly from the ranks of mass activists and to boldly expand the Party membership without letting in a single unreliable. The expansion of Party membership is necessitated by the intensifying revolutionary struggle and the gigantic tasks to be carried out by Party cadres and members in serving the people and carrying the revolution forward.

The Party is now present in nearly all provinces of the country. It runs ahead of the building of the New People's Army. It expands with the mass movement. It prepares the way for the advance of the people's army, which it heads and within

which it is the core. The Party grows not only from the ranks of Red commanders and fighters but also from the far greater number of activists in the mass organizations of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie.



## IV. Fight firmly and fiercely for national liberation and democracy

**W**e must fight firmly and fiercely for national freedom and genuine democracy against the oppressive and exploitative US-Aquino regime. We must defeat its campaigns of violence and deception. We are confident of winning victory because the current crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system provides exceedingly favorable conditions for the revolutionary struggle. The regime can be surely discredited and isolated due to its anti-national and anti-democratic policies and actions.

We must completely defeat the strategic plan of the US-Aquino regime to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people and to preserve the ruling system of big compradors and landlords under the hegemony of US imperialism. The regime's lip service to peace negotiations is merely a minor part of its campaign of deception which complements the main campaign of military suppression under Oplan Bayanihan.

We must win the immediate struggle against the reactionary puppet regime in order to strengthen our revolutionary forces for the long-term struggle to overthrow the entire ruling system. We must persevere in carrying out the strategic plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

**1** We must further strengthen the Party as the most advanced detachment of the revolutionary proletariat and as the leading force of the people's democratic revolution. We must propagate Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide to the Philippine revolution. We must apply this theory on the history and current circumstances of the world and the Philippines.

We must use the theory to explain the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system, illuminate the

road of revolution led by the working class and raise our revolutionary consciousness and struggle. We must expose the root causes of our country's underdevelopment and our people's poverty and suffering and define the revolutionary course to take in order to advance the cause of national and social liberation.

We must ensure that all Party candidate-members take the basic Party course which is mainly about Philippine society in order to become full Party members within the stipulated period of candidature. Even at this basic level, those taking the course must gain awareness or an initial understanding of how materialist dialectics and class analysis are applied on Philippine history and current social conditions and the adoption of the general line of new-democratic revolution through people's war.

Consequently, Party members must take the intermediate Party course in order to learn more about the Philippine revolutionary movement by comparing it with other revolutions under proletarian leadership. Still further they must take the advanced Party course to study Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and the history of the international communist movement.

We must understand how

monopoly capitalism wreaks havoc on the lives of the working people, how socialism arose in the world, how it has been betrayed and overpowered by modern revisionism and how it can rise again from the conditions of crisis brought about by monopoly capitalism and from the perseverance of the proletariat and the people in their revolutionary struggle.

All Party organs and units must strive to apply what they learn from studying theory and practice and must diligently carry out the policies and decisions of the Central Committee. They must sum up and analyze their experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify and overcome errors and shortcomings and in order to improve work and work style to advance the struggle against the people's adversaries.

Special studies should be developed and propagated on military theory; the strategy and tactics of our people's war based on summings up of experiences, Party policies and directives; waging agrarian revolution wave upon wave, united front work, the democratic mass movement; revolutionary work inside the reactionary parliament and style and methods of leadership of Party committees. Theoretical and work conferences must be organized at different levels to encourage systematic study and discussion of theoretical and practical questions, enliven exchange of experiences and views, and facilitate the unification of the Party on policy and tactics.

Combatting subjectivism requires constant vigilance against both dogmatism and empiricism. But at present we need to pay particular attention against the empiricist current and the related erroneous tendencies of right

opportunism in politics, conservatism in the conduct of the armed struggle and ultrademocracy and liberalism in organizational matters. The manifestations of empiricism include narrowness and superficiality instead of striving for a comprehensive and concrete understanding of questions and events; being overly engrossed with the immediate and short-term while neglecting basic and long-term questions; neglect of theoretical and political education; being content with low level, small-scale, scattered or stagnant organization and mobilization of the masses; guerillism in some NPA units; military passivity of some NPA units and guerilla fronts; over-reliance on unreliable tactical allies; vacillation on revolutionary dual tactics within reactionary institutions and processes; mountain-stronghold mentality in some guerilla units; gross neglect of the Party's report system; ultrademocracy and small-group mentality in Party organization.

**2** We must pursue the general line of people's democratic revolution through people's war. This line responds to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine ruling system, which is maintained by force in order to exploit and oppress the people. To overthrow this system, we must arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions and thereby build the political strength of the Party, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary state and establishing the people's democratic state.

The Party must lead the NPA to fight and defeat the armed forces of the reactionary state. The NPA must frustrate and prevail over Oplan Bayanihan

with more frequent tactical offensives on a wide scale. In the process, we must seize more arms from the enemy and increase the number of NPA fighting units. The NPA level of armed strength must reach 25,000 in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

The Party must develop the national operational command as well as the interregional, regional, provincial, inter-front commands in order to strengthen planning and coordination at the different appropriate levels and thus, multiply the NPA's sources of initiative to fight and defeat the enemy campaigns that concentrate on certain regions and certain guerilla fronts in an attempt to destroy these. The initiatives can take the form of counter-attacking enemy units that besiege any of the guerilla fronts or undertaking offensives in areas where the enemy forces are weak and vulnerable.

Planning and coordination at the regional and interregional levels should also hasten the strengthening of guerilla warfare in all strategic areas in order to make full use of the whole length and breadth of the archipelago for intensifying guerilla warfare.

Greater attention and effort should be given to the building of the people's militia. They are essential to the advance of widespread and intensive guerilla warfare and they directly impact the growth and strengthening of the people's army. Cadres and special units in-charge of the formation, training and supervision of people's militia units should be assigned at the front, inter-front and regional levels.

The NPA must wage intensive and extensive guerilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. The accumulation of victories will

eventually lead to larger and more widespread NPA operations. The revolutionary armed strength must be integrated with land reform and mass base building. The guerilla fronts must be consolidated with the establishment and development of the local organs of political power and the mass organizations.

The Party must promote and lead the united front nationwide in both urban and rural areas. The united front is aimed at facilitating and strengthening the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal mass struggles. The various types of alliances must be developed. The objective is to arouse and mobilize the people in their millions along the line of people's democratic revolution.

Correspondent to the strategic line of protracted people's war, the antifeudal united front must be at the base of the national united front. It involves the Party relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, gaining the friendly neutrality of the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions among landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords.

The Party must further develop nationwide the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the foregoing with the national bourgeoisie; and the broad alliance with certain sectors of the reactionary class. All types of alliances are meant to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The legal democratic movement of the workers and other urban poor, the student youth,

low-income professionals and intellectuals and other democratic sectors centered in the urban areas must be expanded and strengthened. The economic and political struggle of the workers and other progressive forces must be independently expanded and advanced along the anti-imperialist, antifascist and antifeudal line to serve as a strong spearhead of the broad protest movement that can oppose and isolate the biggest and worst imperialist puppets and reactionaries in power and cause the destruction of the reactionaries one by one.

National democratic agitation, propaganda and political education must be invigorated as a basic component of all mass campaigns.

**3** The Party must uphold the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. Every Party member is bound by the collective interest and program of the entire Party and the revolutionary movement.

In any voting, the majority prevails over the minority. The lower organ is subordinate to the higher organ. The Party must strengthen the leading committees at various levels and must take the lead in performing the functions that are necessary for advancing the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

All Party organs and units must strive to apply what they learn from studying theory and practice and must diligently carry out the policies and decisions of the Central Committee. They must sum up and analyze their experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to rectify and overcome errors and

shortcomings and in order to improve their work and work style to advance the struggle against the people's adversaries.

The Party must further increase its membership to 250,000 in the next few years. This is to enable the Party to lead the growing people's army, the organs of political power, mass organizations and alliances and perform various types of functions. Expanding the Party membership is an urgent and essential task for advancing the revolution.

The Party must run ahead of the people's army in building the Party organization in the provinces, districts and municipalities where units of the people's army do not yet operate. The Party must pay attention to expanding in both urban and rural areas and providing leadership to the mass movement.

The activists in the mass movement must be encouraged to apply for Party membership. Upon application and acceptance, they become candidate-members and must be tasked and given the basic Party course. Every Party unit must take responsibility for every Party candidate-member that it recruits to become a full Party member.

We must recruit Party members mainly from the conscious and militant ranks of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the youth mass movement. We need educated youth, with various types of knowledge and technical skills to do revolutionary work in various fields of social activity and in various organizations and institutions.

We should develop and train thousands of new and young cadres to further strengthen Party leadership at every level and in the different spheres of revolutionary work. We need cadres who have a firm grasp of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, are steadfast in upholding the Party line, diligent in work and study, are close to the masses, can find their own bearing, are willing to face difficulties and sacrifices, can unite with other comrades, observe discipline and know how to criticize themselves.

A healthy system of regular and special reports and system of correspondence between the higher and lower organs of the Party is required for the Party organization to function properly and well. The lower organs should submit regular and special reports and make sure that the higher organs are constantly well-informed about the situation, developments and problems in their revolutionary work and should request for instructions and guidance to insure the successful carrying out of Party plans, policies and decisions. The higher organs on the other hand should be diligent in studying reports and giving timely guidance to the lower organs. Gross neglect of reporting by the lower organs and failure of the higher organs to check-up on and give guidance to the lower organs are serious breaks in the Party organization and discipline.

We resolve to fight the US-Aquino regime and the entire ruling system and thereby win ever greater victories in the people's democratic revolution. We are confident of advancing from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate in our people's war, no matter how long it takes.

The important point is to do everything possible and necessary to carry the revolution forward in stages towards the basic completion of the new democratic revolution and move forward to the commencement of the socialist revolution. Our ultimate goal is communism. **AB**