

REBOLUSYON

Theoretical and Political Journal
of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Philippines

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
AGAINST IMPERIALIST GLOBALIZATION
QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES, NOVEMBER 21-23, 1996

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT
ON THE WORLD PEASANT SUMMIT
AND THE PEOPLE'S ANTI-APEC CONFERENCE

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
AGAINST IMPERIALIST "GLOBALIZATION"

Special Issue 1
January 1997
English Edition

CONTENTS

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION 1

**Contributions Prepared for the CPP Delegation
to the International Meeting of Women
Held in Kathmandu, Nepal on November 1-4, 1996**

**Some Lessons from the Revolutionary
Women's Movement in the Philippines 1**

Women and Socialism 17

**DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
AGAINST IMPERIALIST GLOBALIZATION
QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES, NOVEMBER 21-23, 1996 24**

**STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT
ON THE WORLD PEASANT SUMMIT
AND THE PEOPLE'S ANTI-APEC CONFERENCE 29**

November 11, 1996

**MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
AGAINST IMPERIALIST "GLOBALIZATION" 34**

**By Jose Maria Sison
CPP Founding Chairman
November 19, 1996**

Articles and communications may be sent directly to the Editorial Board of *Rebolusyon* or coursed through any organ or unit of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Published by the Central Publishing House, Luzon, Philippines

Women and Revolution

*Contributions Prepared for the CPP Delegation
to the International Meeting of Women
Held in Kathmandu, Nepal
on November 1-4, 1996*

**By the Secretary of the Women's Bureau,
National Organizational Department
of the Central Committee**

I

**Some Lessons from the Revolutionary
Women's Movement in the Philippines**

The Philippine women's movement has gained international repute as being very active. Indeed, it is so. All over the Philippines today, various women's groups have sprouted espousing women's causes.

At the forefront of this movement, undeniably, is the national-democratic women's movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The CPP has been consciously advocating and struggling for the liberation of women since its reestablishment. It has recruited into its ranks and developed the leadership of an ever growing number of women in the struggle for national and social liberation. It has unleashed the revolutionary initiative of women in various spheres of work, whether in the line of armed struggle and the agrarian revolution in the countryside or the democratic protest movement in the cities.

No Party member can talk of revolution and leave the women behind. The national liberation struggle cannot be won without

the participation of the female half of the population. This reality strikes every revolutionary in the face. Thus every revolutionary's credo is to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and this includes women.

This is a belief that comes from the realization that women, especially from the basic exploited classes, bear the brunt of the worst exploitation and oppression from a comprador-ruling system subservient to US imperialism.

In the countryside, peasant women along with their families are being dislocated in larger numbers as they lose their lands to export crop plantations, real estate developers, and mining concessions. In the cities, women workers lose their permanent jobs as subcontract labor and labor-only contracting has become the norm under the auspices of monopoly capitalist globalization.

On top of this, women are also at the receiving end of the worst physical, sexual and mental and emotional abuse, with no redress under the ruling system.

The oppressed condition of women is the basis for organizing them. Our nation's history has consistently witnessed women taking up arms — in the struggle against Spanish and American colonial rule, against the Japanese fascist invaders and against landlord oppression and exploitation. In these struggles women have fought side by side with the men and, in many instances, outstanding women fought as leaders of the struggle.

This revolutionary heritage has been translated exponentially in the current struggle for national and social liberation, of which the women's struggle for emancipation is a part.

Thus, we witness women guerrillas in the New People's Army, peasant women huddled in meetings and trooping to military camps and government offices in protest actions, picket lines of women workers, community women—young and old—barricading their homes against demolition teams, female students fighting against tuition-fee increases, minority women with kids in tow

bravely fighting military and police serving ejection orders for them to leave their ancestral homes to make way for some multinational or government "development" projects. These are all too commonplace to mention.

It is in the course of these struggles that women emancipate themselves. Their participation in economic and political struggles have enabled them to raise the status of women and gain certain concessions even within the ruling system. This has resulted in the elevation of more women to higher positions, in the punishment of violators of women's rights, in more attention to child care, in more interest in women's education, in the increase in women's committees and other women's organizations, in songs, skits and publications that celebrate the struggles and victories of women.

In the Party, policies have been laid down as early as the '60s to involve women in armed struggle at par with the men, to organize them into separate associations at the barrio level, to have them duly represented in the organs of political power.

In the book *Philippine Society and Revolution*, the Party's founding chairman Amado Guerrero recognized that women suffer from male oppression in addition to their class oppression and that to emancipate themselves they must participate widely in the people's democratic revolution, performing regular as well as special tasks.

The New People's Army at its founding in 1969 declared as a cardinal rule respect for women and strongly stood against their exploitation.

Heeding the Party's call, mass organizations from among the peasantry, workers, and petty bourgeoisie have recruited as many women members as possible. The last two decades have shown a marked increase in the recruitment of women not only into mass organizations but also into the Party as compared to its early years.

Women have also been escalating their struggles. In fact, towards the end of the Marcos dictatorship when victory seemed almost within the people's reach, women were going out of their homes and their workplaces in ever larger numbers and intensifying their attacks against the ruling system. The installation of the Cory Aquino regime gave even more impetus to women's actions even as the regime was erroneously perceived initially as liberal-democratic.

Halting the advance of the women's movement

All told the women's movement seemed to be heading towards greater heights. But not quite.

The combined initiative, visibility and activism of women throughout these years could not conceal the fact that the advance of the revolutionary women's movement was being halted, even pushed back, by errors in the political line that affected the entire revolutionary movement in the '80s until the early '90s.

The errors of premature regularization of the people's army, military adventurism and urban insurrectionism dealt more damage to the national-democratic movement than the most ferocious attacks of the enemy. Serious questions were raised regarding the analysis of Philippine society as well as the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. The central leadership of the Party was riddled with disagreements. Disorientation on the movement's strategy and tactics seeped down into the rank and file, opening the floodgates for the entry of ideas and influences that emanated from various models abroad.

The revolutionary women's movement particularly in the cities was not exempt from these errors and deviations as it vigorously implemented policies from the Party. However, apart from this, Party cadres in the women's movement contributed its own disorientation into the entire movement by flirting with bourgeois

feminism masquerading as socialist-feminism and obliquely attacking Marxism.

The general climate of disorientation became a fertile ground for bourgeois feminism to flourish specially as it brandishes what it called the best insights of feminism and socialism in a new category termed "socialist-feminism".

Before long, quite a number of city-based women cadres were referring to Marxism as "orthodox" and borrowing their analysis on the woman question from various socialist-feminist readings. Some comrades got hooked on to the socialist-feminist line that found Marxism wanting on the woman question without as much as making a serious study of Marxism, and henceforth distorting Marxist analysis as well.

In due time, the socialist-feminist analysis had influenced theoretical, political and organizational questions in the revolutionary women's movement and led to various distortions and disorientation on the woman question.

Such disorientation took various forms and influenced a lot of cadres who by this time were not even keen on spending time to study the theoretical works of Marx and Lenin and had almost forgotten Mao. Worse, for years, they even stopped to conduct concrete social investigation, mass work and summing-up of practical work.

In the backdrop were the bourgeois funding agencies, UN institutions, the academe and nongovernmental organizations pushing their eclectic wares of supraclass feminist theories. Because of the general lack of ideological work within the Party, many cadres became uncritically attracted to feminist studies and "gender development". What is common among these theorizing is the elevation of gender as a supraclass issue and the downplaying of the class question. The idea is to "mainstream" gender issues clearly along the reformist path and mainly serving the imperialist ideological offensive against the proletariat, class struggle and

revolution. Funding would come easy for as long as the women's organizations or the women's movement could be drawn into the path of co-optation.

Bourgeois feminism in several guises seeped into the Party largely unopposed. It pitted gender against class and glossed over class divisions among women in the name of sisterhood. Either women's oppression was viewed as either biologically determined or simply as a question of "power relations" between men and women, or as both.

If class relations were acknowledged at all, this was treated at par with gender, race and ethnicity. Comrades who would continually raise the class question as decisive in the resolution of the woman question were derided as vulgar Marxists, class reductionists, productionists or instrumentalists.

The question of class and gender

Downplaying the class struggle while overstressing the common interest of women as women had led to compromises. The effects are most apparent in political work.

For example, the idea that women share common oppression regardless of class brought together women into single organizations, with unremoulded upper class women, at times even landlord-comprador women, assuming leadership over the broad masses of working women. Also in one such case, by venturing into women's alliances or coalitions without a clear understanding of class interests, the basic demands of lower class women such as land reform were set aside in deference to landholding women who were deemed allies.

"Coalitionism" in fact resulted in the proletariat's surrender of its leadership to the bourgeoisie. With little or no sweat, bourgeois feminist leaders gained ascendance in women's mass organizations which cadres of the proletarian party had labored to set up, and

were allowed to peddle every variety of bourgeois feminist notions.

The worst case was the full support given to President Aquino in the first six months in office not only because she was deemed a "liberal-democrat" (in fact and in essence still a landlord-comprador) but also because she was a woman. It was only after Aquino "unsheathed the sword of war" against the entire revolutionary forces in 1987 that the revolutionary women's movement in the cities understood the full meaning of class interests over gender.

Also by viewing women as one monolithic group and apart from classes, the revolutionary women's movement tended to treat itself as parallel to the national-democratic movement. Calls were issued to make the women's movement entirely and exclusively of women's organizations and to raise primarily specific women demands rather than develop the women's movement within the framework of the class movement and the entire national-democratic movement.

Women in other revolutionary organizations such as the New People's Army, for example, were in effect excluded from the revolutionary women's movement even as they exemplify liberated women. And simply because theirs is not a women's organization.

In education, the study courses tended to overlook the fact that women belong to various classes and have diverse situations. The tendency was to stress the common oppression of women as women, oblivious of the fact that gender issues affect women from different classes in different ways.

Such issues as sexuality, domesticity, child care, rape and other forms of violence against women could impact differently on different women. A poor peasant woman who labors in the fields along with her man but still has to assume a larger chunk of domestic chores is miles and miles away from a ruling class woman

who does not only share the privileges of her own class but has a retinue of servants to do the housework for her. And yet culturally, as women, they are both expected to attend to household chores.

Alas, de-emphasizing class distinctions among women blurs understanding of the national-democratic line that draws the line between the masses and their enemies. What comes to the fore are women pitted against men, where the problem stops at patriarchy (a problem that defies a single definition and is interpreted or understood differently by as many groups of feminists as there are).

In the case of the Philippine women's movement, reducing women's oppression to anything and everything as patriarchy has had the effect of turning nonantagonistic contradictions among the masses into antagonistic ones. Even within the revolutionary movement seeds of dissension are planted by insinuations and irresponsible comments that the Party and the New People's Army are bastions of patriarchy.

Also, the so-called "feminist perspective" had led to further confusion and demagoguery, as this took on a peculiar world outlook based on gender which saw the world divided between men and women, and adherents went overboard in stressing that different issues impact on different genders, without so much as conducting concrete social investigation. In this light, people's issues that made no mention of the word women, or in short "gender-blind", were deemed not issues of women. What matters only is what matters for women.

Such sectarian view relegates the proletarian world outlook to oblivion. In fact even the tried and tested method of social investigation and class analysis in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses had become alien to new recruits to the Party. What sparked interest was a new research instrument called social gender analysis that refused having anything to do with discussing

classes and social contexts but focused almost entirely on monitoring or making random surveys of the changing roles of men and women.

The push to "mainstream" feminist issues, including making the reactionary state "gender-sensitive", also became the overriding reason why certain Party-led women's organizations had been co-opted by the reactionary government into entering into partnership with its various agencies, and thus helping create the illusion that the reactionary government is pro-people, and particularly pro-women.

Instead of exposing the reactionary state and isolating it from the people, these women's organizations were used as props by the reactionary state to refurbish its image under the guise of "democratic consultations" and "people empowerment." Aquino's landmark Philippine Development Plan for Women, for example, got its ideas from progressive women's organizations which so willingly aided the regime in drafting the document through a series of consultations between governmental and nongovernmental organizations.

But unknown to these women, the regime was more interested in going through the motions of consultations than into putting into effect their proposals that were screened anyhow to suit the pro-landlord, and pro-imperialist medium term development program of government.

The activist nature of women's organizations also collided with foreign-funded programs for women that required "professionalism" and "management skills" (*read*, bureaucratism) in the running of organizations termed "NGOs". The bundy-clock system, locator charts, fixed schedules, job descriptions, salary increases and benefits transformed women's organizations into institutions where employer-employee relations became dominant.

As women's organizations relied heavily on foreign funding, the dictates of funding agencies became pronounced. These

agencies required them to draw up three-year “strategic” plans subject to the funding agency’s approval, monitoring and evaluation. Women’s programs and women’s organizations that got funding from these agencies were also pushed to hold gender-sensitivity courses and feminist management training, among other things.

The issue of foreign funding has not only redirected the course of women’s organizations and institutions. It has also spawned the problem of economism among women in urban poor communities as well as in the countryside. No different from the regime’s concept of “empowerment”, women were encouraged to set up small-scale and labor-intensive “income-generating” projects.

The problem was not so much that these projects failed—as these were bound to fail, subject to the inherent laws of the capitalist market—but that so-called socioeconomic projects competed with or emasculated existing women’s organizations in the area. It turned out that personnel for these projects were recruited from among members of legal organizations who lost time for mass organizing and activities as they became more and more engrossed with economic activities that earned for them allowances and benefits for the duration of the project period.

No room for expansion and consolidation

While all these problems were besetting the revolutionary women’s movement especially in the cities, the movement’s campaign activities were put on a high gear, championing the cause not just of women but of the people as well. Both nationally and internationally, the open women’s movement was at the forefront fighting issues against sex trafficking, rape and prostitution, sexual harassment, abuse of migrant women, and the like.

At the same time its propaganda, campaign and educational work against the removal of the US bases, economic crises, total war and other human rights violations shone brightly in the open

mass movement, earning for it considerable mileage even in the bourgeois press. In 1991, at the height of the Gulf war crisis, the open women’s movement was averaging two rallies per week, with mobilization peaking at 9,000 women in Manila alone.

However, the intensification of women’s campaigns left the movement no room to expand and consolidate its mass base. In fact mass organizing was primarily geared towards mobilization for campaigns. At that time, the error of urban insurrectionism was catching up on the women’s movement. There was the call for the revolutionary forces to intensify mass struggles even more. At one point directives were issued to revolutionary women and the masses to take over government granaries as well as various government agencies at the local level at the height of the economic crises.

The call was sounded at a time that the forces of the revolutionary movement had stagnated, including those of the women’s movement, and the Party was losing large chunks of its guerrilla fronts to enemy attacks as well as to demoralization of the masses in areas where grave errors were committed as a consequence of military adventurism and premature regularization.

In the cities, the advent of armed city partisan (ACP) warfare transformed legal organizations of women in the communities into a combat-support machinery. No longer was distinction drawn between legal and illegal work. Members of legal organizations were trained to become insurrectionary forces, openly advocating insurrection and recruiting supporters for ACP work. Even offices and daycare centers were carelessly used as meeting places of armed city partisans. This carelessness put the women’s organizations at the receiving end of fascist attacks as state troopers stormed communities and arrested suspected subversives, among them housewives.

However, the errors of Right and “Left” opportunism that remained unchecked for more than a decade did not succeed in

decimating the revolutionary women's movement even in the cities where the influence of bourgeois feminism and urban insurrectionism were growing.

This is due to the fact that despite the disorientation, confusion, and deviations that marred the movement's work for many years, many cadres and forces persevered in pursuing the general line of the national-democratic revolution and upheld the basic principles of the Party, hence the erroneous line did not succeed in consolidating its influence in the movement.

All things considered, the Party and the revolutionary forces in the women's movement still had the strength to check and overcome the dangerous trend brought about by the major deviations and errors. So much so that when the Party and the revolutionary masses embarked on the second great rectification movement by 1992, cadres of the revolutionary women's movement were among the first to support the Party's stand. They actively fought the wrecking crew of counterrevolutionaries who attempted to thwart the rectification movement.

Onward with the rectification movement

The rectification movement immediately took on the character of summing up of experiences, criticism-and-self criticism, and the repudiation and rectification of the major errors and deviations that had seriously damaged the Party and the revolutionary mass movement, including the women's movement. Lessons were drawn and basic principles were reaffirmed.

For its part, the revolutionary women's movement affirmed the correctness of the national-democratic revolution with a socialist perspective as the road to Filipino women's emancipation. Without the people rising up in arms against the ruling system, women can never hope to be liberated. For under semifeudal and semicolonial conditions, it is through armed struggle that we can overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat

capitalism that has long kept the entire Filipino nation under the yoke of oppression and exploitation.

And this struggle is not only for men but more so for women who, in the course of the national-democratic revolution, stand to gain most from the weakening and destruction of feudal-patriarchal structures in society. Hence the revolutionary women's movement has actively called for the widest participation of women in the various tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

Various people's movements have responded to this call by recruiting more women into their fold, paying attention to building specific organizations of women, raising women-specific issues, and addressing problems related to housework and child care. At the helm of various people's and class-based movements are women who fight not only for the resolution of their class demands but also for their demands as women.

It is clear from the above that the revolutionary women's movement in the Philippines is an integral part of the national-democratic movement. This is because the interest of women is one with the interest of the entire nation for liberation, and more so because the national-democratic struggle builds the material foundation such as organizations of poor peasant women, women's committees in unions, associations of working women in communities, etc. Women youth organizations in campuses and groups or networks of professional women are also set up. These organizations fight for their class demands and general people's issues as much as they fight for specific issues of women.

In the sense that women—whether from women's organizations or not—fight for their specific demands as women makes the revolutionary women's movement distinct or separate from other movements. In the sense that women also fight for their class interests and general interests as part of the entire Filipino people makes the revolutionary women's movement an integral part of

class movements as well as the national-democratic movement in general.

Worth noting too is the fact that the revolutionary women's movement in the Philippines is not limited to women's organizations but brings under its wings all revolutionary women even as they are part of various class movements. This is to rectify the error that the women's movement is exclusively of women's organizations. Whether in separate organizations or in mixed organizations, women know that they can only win their demands as women in the context of the class struggle.

At the same time, declaring the revolutionary women's movement as class-based means that its main force comes from the basic masses of workers and peasants. It is also to underscore the fact that the demands of women workers and peasants have to be fought for within their class movements. A peasant woman wanting liberation has to participate in the antifeudal struggle along with peasant men simply because the political authority of the landlord serves as the main barrier to her liberation first as a peasant and second as a woman. So must the woman worker join the workers' movement in order that her demands, say, for maternity leave or against sexual harassment in the workplace can be addressed by the union. In a broader context, women's demands for employment, equal opportunities or freedom from violence cannot be effectively addressed without taking to task the ruling system that breeds the conditions for women's oppression.

Meanwhile, to educate the entire Party and the revolutionary mass movements on the issues of women and their emancipation, the Party has come up with a special mass course on women that is required study for all mass activists. The course tackles the situation of women in a semifeudal and semicolonial country, the tasks of the revolutionary women's movement, and specific organizing of women.

Party cadres in the women's movement are also undertaking studies on the historical roots of women's oppression and on women and socialism. Interest in theoretical studies, including writings on these particular issues by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao and Stalin, has been awakened.

To remedy the situation of a loosely developed mass base and recover from past mistakes, Party members have given priority to mass work and integration among the peasant masses in the countryside. No longer are revolutionary forces preoccupied only with launching propaganda campaigns or intensifying actions. Expansion and consolidation of the mass base now takes precedence over other tasks.

Office-based staffers are required to spend weeks familiarizing themselves with the situation of workers and peasants, sharing experiences, doing organizing, propaganda and education work. Integration in the countryside takes about three to six months and usually in the company of an NPA unit doing mass work among the peasants themselves. Deployment of cadres in the countryside is top priority.

Re-emphasis on mass work has had its fruitful results. It has not only broken what had been a growing isolation of the revolutionary movement from the masses but it has also taught Party cadres and mass activists to concretize issues about women and ground them on the everyday life of the masses. Where before the tendency was to speak of women's issues only in general terms, now these issues are given flesh and blood. The rudiments of social investigation and class analysis have been relearned. Through it, we discover the diversity of women's issues and how these should be addressed by the women's movement and their respective class movements.

By reaffirming the women's movement as integral to class movements, the revolutionary women's movement has solved a thorny issue between it and other movements. Where before the

Women and Socialism

women's movement was perceived as divisive and middle-class, now other movements welcome and anticipate the growing demand for women's education, propaganda, and organizing in its ranks.

In fact Party forces within the revolutionary women's movement can hardly cope with requests from regional territorial and sectoral organs for theoretical studies on women and sharing of summed-up experiences. Women's studies have never been as lively as it is today within the Party.

As has been often stated, the rectification movement is mainly and essentially an educational effort to recognize, criticize and repudiate the deviations, errors and weaknesses and thereby further strengthen the Party and the revolutionary movement. The objective is to bring about a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and militancy and therefore a higher level of unity within the Party. Recent developments in the revolutionary women's movement point to this trend. As the revolutionary consciousness of Party forces are raised on the woman question, so can the entire Party become ever more vigilant in combating subjectivism and impetuosity. The rectification movement is committed to win its battle against bourgeois feminism and all other ideas and notions.

In the final analysis, the masses of women wanting liberation will benefit from this. #

In both theory and practice, socialism has amply demonstrated that it can create the conditions for the complete liberation of women.

Despite all the revisionist and other reactionary attacks against socialism, it is undeniable that for some decades in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin and in China under Mao, socialist revolution and construction brought such sweeping and gigantic changes in both the objective and subjective situation of women that oppressed women in bourgeois states could merely dream of in their time.

Nowhere in the world have such monumental leaps in so short a time and in so large a scale been duplicated, involving not just hundreds or thousands, but hundreds of millions of women in Europe and Asia. Women joining the work force and working full time. Women entering professions formerly restricted to them. Women developing special skills. Women enjoying equal rights with men. Women organizing at every level.

So, too, inequalities in law redressed. Prostitution eliminated. The right to divorce guaranteed. Daycare centers and nurseries provided in huge numbers. Public canteens, cafeterias and restaurants with subsidized meals provided. Laundry services at every block. Free education for children. More boarding schools. Maternity leaves extended. Free contraceptives. The list could go on and on.

The essential thing is this: all these changes were made accessible not just to a few women, a few from the upper and middle classes, but to the overwhelming majority of working women—workers and peasants—in the proletarian state.

This could not have been achieved without socialist revolution and construction. This came immediately after the feudal system

which held women in bondage was abolished through the bourgeois-democratic revolution led by the proletariat. The bourgeois-democratic revolution was a necessary step before the tasks of the socialist revolution could be carried out. This was true in the Soviet Union as well as in China.

Socialism delivers the goods

Scientific socialism promised the liberation of women and delivered the goods. Marx and Engels were clear on this, that the first major step in the liberation of women is to bring the whole female sex back into social production. The socialist reconstruction of the economy opened massive opportunities for work.

Looking toward the future, Engels remarked that women can only engage in social production if they are freed from the demands of child care and housework. Later Lenin called domestic work petty, repetitious, irritating, stultifying. Calls for the participation of women in every sector of society would come to naught unless they are unchained from domestic slavery. Lenin stressed early on that in a socialist society housework including child care shall be society's responsibility.

Stalin moved for legal changes in the status of women in one fell swoop that bourgeois states had long denied women. Stalin made sure that women would have the equal right to work, to wages, to days of rest and recreation, to social security and to education—independent of the men in their family. He also called for state protection for mothers and babies through state subsidies especially to women with many children and to unwed mothers, paid maternity leaves, and the setting up of more maternity hospitals, nurseries and kindergartens.

Mao further revolutionized the role of women. Aware that “women were holding half the sky”, Mao called for the massive mobilization of women unheard of in recent times to attack feudal remnants in society and encouraged the participation of women

on equal footing with men in all fields. The great proletarian cultural revolution which Mao unleashed against the bourgeoisie so inspired the women of China that one could hardly distinguish women from men in their enthusiasm to bring about socialism and defend it against revisionism.

Socialism betrayed

However, as in the case of the Soviet Union as in China, socialism has been betrayed and defeated. The rise of a new bourgeoisie in the Party, the state bureaucracy, the economic enterprises and the intelligentsia undermined the rule of the proletariat, redirected the road of socialist construction to that of bourgeois and capitalist reforms, and changed the entire character of the state and society. Despite Mao's repeated warnings, the revolutionary party of the proletariat in China became vulnerable and was considerably weakened by bourgeois influences and manipulations.

This new bourgeoisie has proven to be the deadliest opponent of socialism and the proletariat. Still functioning as Party functionaries, these revisionists deviated from basic Marxist propositions by declaring that the “proletariat has accomplished its historic mission”, that “there are no more classes”, that proletarian dictatorship is old hat, and that “the class struggle is dying out”. Reforms have been rationalized to restore capitalism and open the economy to imperialist penetration.

The effects have been devastating to women. As capitalism went on full speed, women increasingly lost the gains they had won in the course of revolution and socialist construction. The revisionist betrayal of socialism had turned back the revolutionary tide. Prostitution, sex trafficking, rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, sex in advertising, female infanticide, arranged marriages, discrimination, wage cuts, restrictions on benefits, among other things, have come back with a vengeance. The phenomenon of mail-order brides and overseas employment have hit

even women scientists, doctors and physicists who want to escape the crises attendant to the open restoration of capitalism (called "democratization") in these once socialist bastions.

The revisionists have indeed gained the upper hand. But the revisionist betrayal also shows the stark contrast between a socialist society under the rule of the proletariat and a society undergoing capitalist restoration under the rule of the new bourgeoisie. The "get-rich quick" mentality apart from rationalizing the bourgeoisie's penchant for capital accumulation has further sharpened class contradictions in society. The once workers' state has become a paradise for the bourgeoisie with all its property and privileges intact.

As its rapacity and greed knows no bounds it leaves behind in its trail masses of workers and peasants in the most abject and downtrodden conditions.

Strengthening women's resolve

Far from discouraging the revolutionary women's movement in the Philippines, the betrayal of socialism by the revisionists only strengthened the women's resolve to carry out the rectification campaign of the Communist Party of the Philippines against deviations and distortions in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought not just in the Philippine context but in the world context as well.

In the Philippines, the Party's ideological campaign is raised not only against revisionists but also against bourgeois populists and anticommunist "socialists" or liberals who continue to propagate the notion that the Philippines is no longer semifeudal and that the vanguard role of the proletariat can be dispensed with.

Along with the need to clarify the character of Philippine society is a better understanding of the two-stage revolution. It is repeatedly stressed that the bourgeois democratic revolution led by the proletariat must be carried out before the socialist revolution can begin in a country where feudal and semifeudal

conditions permeate. Only by putting an end to semifeudalism and semicolonialism could the socialist revolution start.

In the early period of the socialist revolution and construction, the proletariat must first build its alliance with the peasantry through land reform so as to prevail over local and foreign reactionaries. Concession must also be given to the petty and middle-bourgeoisie as transitory measures.

For the peasantry, land reform will give full play to their revolutionary participation, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lay the basis for cooperativization and mechanization.

For the petty and middle bourgeoisie, concessions are aimed at preventing disruptions in the economy, keeping production running, and accumulating capital in the context of making positive contributions to socialist construction. The petty and middle bourgeoisie can still play a positive role in the rehabilitation and construction of the country after the civil war and in the development of the productive forces to a certain extent.

However, such measures are subject to socialist policy. While bourgeois rights are allowed, these are restricted and regulated such that they would not lead to the rise of private monopolies. This is to preempt capitalism from becoming dominant in society.

In fact the factors and conditions for launching the socialist revolution in the future are developed in the course of the new-democratic revolution. For one, the proletariat through the Party exercises leadership over other democratic classes and strata. The people's army as well as other components of state power are under the absolute leadership of the proletarian revolutionary party. The socialist perspective is laid down as the direction of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The revolutionary women's movement is very much aware of this, having been nurtured and guided by proletarian leadership in various stages of development

and without which the women's movement could have easily surrendered or been co-opted by the bourgeoisie.

Continuing to draw lessons

One advantage of the CPP is that it can continue to draw lessons from the experiences of the Soviet Union and China in the course of waging the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

An exceedingly important lesson learned, as stated in one editorial of the CPP/CC's theoretical and political journal *Rebolusyon*, "is the need to deliver the blows accurately at the enemy in the exercise of the proletarian dictatorship, dissolve the old bourgeoisie as a class, watch out for the rise of the new bourgeoisie, rely on revolutionary mass education and mobilization, raise up a great number of new proletarian revolutionary cadres and prevent anyone who has systematically espoused revisionist ideas from getting a share of power even when he says he is already repentant and reeducated".

The editorial adds that in the face of the disastrous results of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and China, Mao's "great achievements in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice are incontrovertibly proven and shine even brighter". Had it not been for Mao's criticism of modern revisionism, China would have succumbed to it much earlier. Without Mao's theory of continuing revolution and the initial practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution, socialists and communists the world over would have less confidence in building socialism and defeating the bourgeoisie in their own country at a time that imperialism has yet to be defeated on a global scale.

That the theory and practice of scientific socialism has had profound impact on humanity, and particularly on women, remains with the revolutionary women's movement in the Philippines

today. That there are problems related to the building of socialism is recognized as well by revolutionary women.

But that the proletarian class struggle must be waged ceaselessly before and after the victory of socialism so as not to allow the bourgeoisie to emerge as the ruling class is a legacy that all revolutionary women must practice, uphold and pass on to the next generations who will feel prouder as they cry, "Long live socialism!" #

Declaration of the People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization

Quezon City, Philippines, November 21-23, 1996

We, participants in the People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization, representing people's organizations, nongovernmental organizations, solidarity groups, movements, networks and individuals from 34 countries in Asia-Pacific, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, North America and Europe, have come together to confront a common danger and respond to a common challenge.

Monopoly capitalists, frontlined by multinational/transnational corporations (MNCs/TNCs) backed by their respective states, are in haste to expand and tighten their rule in the world. They have created the bandwagon of "globalization" with its three elements: trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization. These monopoly capitalists, invariably called modern-day imperialists or neocolonial powers, use globalization to extricate themselves from three decades of recurring prolonged recessions induced by the international debt crisis and the crisis of overproduction.

In the post-Cold War era, the traditional imperialist powers that have long divided the world among themselves — the United States, the leading states of the European Union, and Japan — are colluding more than ever. They connive, using their MNCs/TNCs, to exploit and oppress the peoples of the Third World and of the former Soviet bloc, and their own workers too. But in the inevitably intensifying rivalry, each power plots to penetrate and take over the other's domains and redivide the world.

Thus, the promised "new world economic order" of prosperity and peace is far from coming. Emerging instead is a new world disorder far more destructive of the lives of billions of peoples,

in industrial and non-industrial countries alike. The prescribed path, free trade, is not free at all.

To advance their unified goal, the major imperialist powers have harnessed various instrumentalities. Chief of these are the United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund-World Bank tandem and its nefarious structural adjustment programs, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, lately restructured as the World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as international, regional and bilateral military alliances and agreements. Reactionary regimes, particularly of imperialist client-states in the Third World, have conspired with imperialism to further this goal.

The major and minor imperialist powers are using regional free trade blocs — principally the European Union, the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) — to speed up the WTO trade and investments liberalization timetable. Meantime, they secure their national and regional markets. With NAFTA in its tight grip, the US has seized the initiative in APEC to regain economic preeminence over Japan in Asia-Pacific, check China's growing influence, and consolidate American geopolitical hegemony in the region.

In face of this situation, we, participants in the People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization, hereby resolve collectively to oppose globalization in every way and by every means possible in our respective countries and worldwide.

We denounce and oppose the subservient client-states for selling out their peoples' interests. They connive with imperialism in promoting distorted concepts of "democratization", "civil society empowerment", and "sustainable development" in a bid to disarm the people and co-opt their organizations into the imperialist strategem.

We oppose imperialist globalization because the schemes it promotes worsen the uneven development among and within

nations, intensify the exploitation of peoples, and deepen inequality and social polarization. They accelerate the concentration of wealth in the handful of imperialist states, their MNCs/TNCs and the billionaire-owners, and drive the majority of nations into deeper impoverishment. These schemes also foster mindless consumerism and trash Western culture that warp, marginalize or efface the cultures of Third World peoples and debase their humanity.

Globalization schemes are wiping out jobs and livelihoods in industry and agriculture, both in industrial and non-industrial countries. Evidence we have seen undoubtedly show that globalization is causing mass layoff of workers via “downsizing”, “labor flexibilization”, “labor-only contracting” and other management designs; massive landlessness and worsening forms of feudal and capitalist exploitation of peasants and farm workers; displacement, commodification and modern-day slavery of women; eviction of the urban poor; deprivation of indigenous peoples of their ancestral lands and patenting of their human genes; wanton human rights violations and political repression; commodification of migration; razing of the environment; de-industrialization and bankruptcy of small and medium enterprises; cutdown or total absence of state social services; rising costs of consumer goods and services and declining levels of income and standards of living of the majority of the people. They also aim to deprive the toiling masses of their capacity to organize and effectively fight for their rights and survival and to resist imperialist domination.

No wonder workers and peasants of many countries, men and women alike, have raised their banners in defiance. They and their fellow oppressed represented in this conference — indigenous peoples, women, youth and students, intellectuals, the middle classes, among others — are determined to shatter the myths and expose the false promises of globalization by showing its all-too-real adverse impact on peoples’ lives and environments. More than

that, they are waging varied forms of struggles to frustrate globalization.

By its own rapacity and cupidity, monopoly capital is fast bringing together the world’s exploited and oppressed peoples to share their common pains as well as their common struggles and aspirations. In more and more countries, they are developing new means of struggle or taking up proven ones, including the revolutionary recourse to armed struggle. Having resisted and survived state reaction and brutal repression, the people are resolved to win.

We hereby resolve to carry out the following actions:

- Fully expose and vigorously oppose the deceptive slogan, destructive schemes, and the programs and policies of globalization in our own countries and worldwide;
- Junk APEC, NAFTA, the European Union and the WTO as imperialist instruments to further subjugate and exploit the toiling masses and peoples of the world;
- Fight for the dismantling of imperialist military alliances, the abrogation of Cold War-vintage security agreements, and the withdrawal of overseas US military bases and troop deployments.
- Struggle to establish a social, economic, political and cultural order in our countries that shall ensure freedom from foreign domination and domestic exploitation and oppression. Develop our natural and human resources for our peoples’ well-being. Foster international cooperation based on equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit.
- Resist imperialist economic, political, military and cultural aggression, political repression by reactionary states. Campaign for the freedom of all political prisoners, and demand justice for the victims of all human rights violations;
- Strengthen our anti-imperialist solidarity, perseveringly build our national organizations and alliances and enhance our capacities to carry out both independent and coordinated action programs. Forge strong solidarity links among ourselves and with

other anti-imperialist and progressive organizations to further advance the world's anti-imperialist movement.

Approved and adopted in plenary session by the participants, People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization, November 23, 1995. #

Statement of the National Democratic Front on the World Peasant Summit and the People's Anti-APEC Conference

November 11, 1996

We, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, hereby express our admiration and commendation to the organizers and participants of the following:

- The Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit (November 10-13);
- Peasant Demonstration at the Food and Agriculture Organization (November 13);
- Program of Exposure of Foreign Delegates to Philippine Social Conditions (November 13-20);
- The People's Anti-APEC Conference (November 21-23); and
- People's Caravan from Manila to Subic and Nationwide Protests (November 24-25).

Coming ahead of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders' Summit, the Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit fittingly serves to stress the fact that the Philippines is still a semicolonial and semifeudal country and the majority of the people of the world are still peasants suffering the ravages of neocolonialism under foreign monopoly capitalism.

The Philippines has become more deeply agrarian and semifeudal under the dictates of the imperialists through bilateral relations with them as well as through the dictates of the multilateral agencies like IMF, World Bank and WTO.

There is no land reform. Land monopolization by a few is accelerated. So many devices are used to deprive the people of land, like production for export, pasture lease, land reclassification and conversion as industrial and commercial, real estate development, forest management and mining concessions.

Food security is under destruction. The prices of imported agricultural inputs are rising, the agricultural surpluses of the imperialist countries are being dumped on the Philippines, the production of food for domestic consumption is cut down and food imports are rising, while the country is pushed to produce certain special crops for export, like cut flowers and asparagus, which are in the process of global overproduction.

It is appropriate that the participants in the World Peasant Summit and other people hold a demonstration against the FAO on the occasion of the World Food Summit in Rome because the FAO has been a tool of the imperialists for rationalizing and promoting monopoly capitalist control of agriculture and food supply for the purpose of profit maximization.

We condemn the devastation and disorder wrought in the world by the rapid concentration and centralization of capital in a few imperialist countries by the multinational firms and banks and the imposition of extremely exploitative capital and the dumping of surplus manufactured and agricultural goods on the semifeudal and dependent countries under the neoliberal slogans of free trade and investment liberalization.

The APEC is a framework of "free trade" which is dominated by the US and Japanese monopolies at the expense of the other member-countries and the proletariat and people. At the same time, it is the framework which the US is using to keep Japan in subordination to US monopoly interests and prevent the initiative of Japan in any other regional formation, like the Asean Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) and East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC).

Amidst the worsening crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system, there is the tendency of national productivity and profit rates to fall in industrial capitalist countries and the sharpening competition among the imperialist countries, especially the US and the European Union. The US is thus pushing further its economic hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. It is trying to

overcome its accumulated foreign debt and trade deficits, expand its manufacturing capacity for export and consolidate its national market and its regional market like the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA).

The APEC Leaders' Summit is held at a time that a global overproduction in garments, consumer electronics and similar types of goods produced by the sweatshops of East Asia is becoming more and more conspicuous. All the "tigers" of East Asia and all the ASEAN countries dependent on low value-added and low-wage fringe processing of commodities for export are conspicuously afflicted with rising foreign trade deficits and foreign debt.

It is absolutely foolish for the Ramos regime to think that the way to realize the status of a "newly industrialized country" is to avoid national industrialization and land reform and to join the ranks of countries overproducing consumer goods for the recessive economies of the imperialist countries.

The big-comprador promotion of export-oriented manufacturing and import-dependent overconsumption in China has also undermined the industrial foundation previously established under socialism.

A major thrust of the US in the APEC Leaders' Summit is to bring pressure upon China to further deregulate its investment and export-import policies and to remind her that she cannot join the World Trade Organization unless she makes a bilateral agreement with the US, allowing the US monopolies further investment and import privileges that can cause the shutdown or privatization of Chinese state enterprises.

Going into an exceedingly great expense of effort and resources, the Ramos regime is proud to be the host of the chieftains of monopoly capitalism and the relatively more favored agents in the region. But the Philippines is still among the most exploited and impoverished neocolonial adjuncts. It has come late

into the game of low value-added manufacturing of certain consumer goods for the imperialist countries and is compelled as ever to export live human beings as the actual main source of foreign exchange from abroad, more than any kind of commodity export.

We reiterate our condemnation of the unjust and terrorist measures being undertaken by the US-Ramos regime to present a false face to foreign visitors, to secure the 18 chiefs of state and to discourage and suppress the mass protest movement against the APEC Leaders' Summit.

We condemn without cease the violation of human rights already committed by the Ramos regime against the workers, peasants, urban poor and other people in preparing for the APEC Leaders' Summit. If the Ramos regime does worse against the people who are carrying out protest mass actions against the APEC, it shall be jeopardizing the continuity of the formal peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the NDFP.

The claim of the Ramos regime that armed actions will be carried out by the revolutionaries against some chiefs of state is false and absurd. It is a psywar trick to rationalize military, police and paramilitary suppression of the legal mass actions.

It is preposterous for the US-Ramos regime to overconcentrate more than 40,000 troops and police in areas where the legal mass actions are expected. In fact, the regime is unwittingly giving the armed revolutionary movement ample opportunity to undertake offensives where enemy forces have been thinned out, far away from Manila, Subic and the highway linking these two points.

The forces of the armed revolutionary movement will not carry out tactical offensives wherever the forces of the legal democratic mass movement carry out protest actions. But the revolutionary armed forces can take advantage of the thinning out of the reactionary armed forces in so many other areas of the country.

We also condemn the special agents of "low-intensity conflict", including covert agents of US imperialism and the Trotskyites, who pretend to be critical of APEC but whose main objective is to offer themselves as alternative to the revolutionary movement, lead the people astray and submit reformist recommendations to the imperialists and local reactionaries.

We look forward to the success of the People's Caravan from Manila to Subic and the nationwide mass protest actions of at least 200,000 people. Once more it can be demonstrated that the forces of the national-democratic movement are the most resolute and most militant in the legal struggle for the basic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

We hope that the Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit, the Conference Against the APEC and the militant mass protest actions can be consolidated on an international scale through the formation and development of global networks for carrying forward the people's struggle for independent, democratic, just and prosperous societies against imperialism. #

Message to the People's Conference Against Imperialist "Globalization"

By Jose Maria Sison
CPP Founding Chairman
November 19, 1996

Warmest greetings of solidarity to all the organizers and participants of the People's Conference Against Imperialist Globalization!

I wish to express my admiration to you for holding this conference and for standing up against the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) leaders' summit, headed by the United States and Japan. By standing up for the rights and interests of the proletariat and peoples of the world, your conference stands in direct opposition to the APEC, the imperialist states and neocolonial client-states and the multinational firms and banks that use them.

Your conference is also radically different from the so-called parallel NGO conferences that are in fact under the shade of the APEC and whose main role is to deck themselves out as the alternative to the revolutionary movement for national liberation and democracy against imperialism and the local reactionaries.

I am confident that you will succeed in analyzing and criticizing the exploitative, destructive and deceptive character of imperialist "globalization" and inform the broad masses of the people so that they shall be further aroused, organized and mobilized to uphold and defend their rights and interests against imperialism and all reaction.

It is of crucial importance to stress the need for the revolutionary struggle of the people in the face of the destructive character of the imperialist states and their supermonopolies as they use high

technology and the most rapacious forms of finance capital in order to extract superprofits and accumulate capital and in the process further exploit and oppress the proletariat and peoples of the world.

After the Keynesian decades of "development" which promoted infrastructure-building and the overproduction of raw materials in underdeveloped countries and also after the collapse of revisionist regimes based on state monopoly capitalism, the US and other centers of monopoly capitalism appear to face no formidable resistance to their intensification of monopoly capitalist exploitation under the signboard of neoliberalism. Your conference can be significant as an encouragement to revolutionary resistance.

We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The uneven development of the world capitalist system has become more gross than ever before. Look at how monopoly capitalism is ravaging the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries. Look at the worsening social conditions in the industrial capitalist countries and the intensifying cutthroat competition among the monopoly capitalists and capitalist powers.

It is utterly deceptive of the imperialist states and their neocolonial client-states in the APEC to tout "free market economies", "free competition" and "free trade" in order to camouflage the reality and workings of monopoly capitalism and to impose on the oppressed peoples and nations worse conditions of neocolonial dependence and subservience to monopoly capitalism.

US monopoly capitalism has always used the liberal slogan of "free marketplace of goods and ideas" to confuse people. But in recycling this slogan today, it is bringing down drastically the level of economic development in more than 90 percent of the countries of the world. It is trying to break down all barriers to its export of surplus goods and surplus capital and it gives no leeway to its neocolonial client-states to make any pretense at economic sovereignty.

Principles of economic and political development drawn from history are obfuscated by assertions that transnational corporations (TNCs) have rendered useless and helpless the states in general and the role of the state in the economy, even as the monopoly bourgeoisie continues to use the imperialist states as well as neo-colonial client-states to aggrandize itself and to further exploit and oppress the people.

A semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines cannot attain the status of a newly-industrialized country (NIC) under a regime that shuns national industrialization, that liberalizes the importation of surplus manufactured and agricultural goods from the imperialist countries, that seeks to attract foreign investments for export-oriented manufacturing and that squanders domestic resources and foreign funds on upper-class consumption.

As well articulated in the Anti-Imperialist World Peasant Summit, the Philippines will not only remain agrarian but will sink to a lower level — that of a disjointed agrarian country, lacking in food self-reliance — while there is no land reform; while the agricultural surpluses of the imperialist countries flood in; while agro-chemicals, seeds and equipment are controlled by the MNCs; and while land is further concentrated in the hands of landlords and corporations of all sorts.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system is driving the supermonopolies to accumulate constant capital and reduce variable capital in their bid to beat their competitors and raise profits in their homegrounds. Thus, they cut down their domestic market through massive unemployment and cutbacks on social spending and unwittingly lower the national rates of productivity and profitability. Consequently, they seek to maximize their profits by exporting their surplus goods and surplus capital.

Capitalist competition within capitalist countries leads to larger monopolies and more intense competition among the capitalist countries. It is untrue as some theorists of imperialist

globalization claim that monopolies have lost their national basing. There are indeed international combinations of monopoly firms and alliances of capitalist countries. But there is also the sharpening competition to redivide the world as the general crisis of capitalism worsens.

The United States is upsetting the balance of its relations with other imperialist countries by trying to take back previous accommodations granted to its favored allies during the Cold War. It wishes to solve its colossal debt and deficit problems by using its technological lead, reviving its manufacturing capacity and intensifying its export drive. It has been consolidating its national market and its regional market (like NAFTA) as well as penetrating the markets of its capitalist rivals. It is taking the initiative in APEC in order to keep Japan in tow, prevent it from taking its own initiative in the AFTA and EAEC and harmonize US-Japan partnership at the expense of other countries.

The Ramos regime can never attain the status of an NIC by imitating the earlier examples of the so-called four tigers of East Asia, especially two of them, Taiwan and South Korea, which have developed relatively more comprehensive economies. The regime conveniently forgets that these economies carried out land reform, accumulated capital from export-oriented manufacturing to build some basic industries and, most important of all, enjoyed special accommodation in the US market and were allowed to protect state and domestic investors for the overriding purpose of front-lining in the anticommunist crusade.

It must be pointed out that today these “tigers” and their imitators are now altogether suffering from a crisis of overproduction in their type of products and are now facing declining rates of productivity and profitability. Moreover, they are all under pressure to open their domestic markets to the unrestricted inflow of consumer products and speculative capital from the imperialist countries.

In fact, all the countries hooked to export-oriented manufacturing in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Latin America and Central Europe are now confronted with increasing trade deficits and foreign debt. In the case of China, the misallocation of resources towards export-oriented manufacturing and import-dependent consumption of the new bourgeoisie has undermined the national industrial foundation previously established under socialism. Consequently, the US is requiring China to further liberalize its investment and trade policies in return for admission to the WTO.

The portfolio funds for the so-called emergent markets are being used to finance budgetary and trade deficits, sustain luxury consumption among no more than the top ten percent of the population and enable the MNCs to finance their sale of consumption goods and the operation of labor-intensive sweatshop enterprises. These so-called emergent markets are no more than ten countries at every given time and are mostly within the ambit of APEC.

The imperialists and their neocolonial puppets are utterly reprehensible for propagating and enforcing the dogma that development is possible in underdeveloped or less developed countries only if they opt for "competitive" exports by keeping labor cheap and attracting foreign investments. The wage and living conditions of the workers are pressed down and a huge reserve army of labor is maintained. And yet 75 percent of the global flow of foreign direct investments is concentrated in the United States, Japan and the European Union and only 25 percent is in countries where superprofits can be drawn due to cheap labor and lower levels of economic development.

The APEC is one more device for imposing imperialist policies on the Philippines and the other neocolonial states. It tries to promote and accelerate trade and investment liberalization already gained bilaterally and through multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO. The most interesting events in the APEC leaders' summit are not the individual action plans of the

neocolonial puppets, which are obsequious to both the US and Japan, but the expressions of competition and antipeople collusion between these two countries and the US message to China on US preconditions to her entry into the WTO.

Under imperialist domination, the Philippines has no other way to go but deeper into semicolonial and semifeudal status, weighed down by foreign and local debt, foreign trade deficits, budgetary waste of the proceeds of privatization, and heavier taxation on the people to countervail the reduction and elimination of tariff barriers.

No matter how high or low are the GDP growth rate and gross international reserves, it is far more important to consider the nature of the economy, the exploitation done by the foreign monopolies and the local reactionaries, the rising foreign trade deficit and real budgetary deficit (minus the window-dressing), the growing foreign and local public debt and the mounting flow of resources to the coercive apparatuses of the state and to bureaucratic corruption.

The raw-material exports of the Philippines have long been pressed down in the world market since the '70s and the low value-added products of export-oriented manufacturing are already in jeopardy in the global crisis of overproduction. The export of live human beings, which is actually the biggest earner of foreign exchange, is also tending to fall because of the global trend of recession and the growing restrictions imposed by foreign governments against migrant labor.

The objective conditions for the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war are increasingly favorable in the Philippines. By intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the people of the Philippines and throughout the world, the US and other imperialists are generating the conditions for revolutionary resistance on an unprecedented global scale.

In analyzing, criticizing and condemning imperialist "globalization", your conference has the objective of helping to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. It is not to offer recommendations to the states in APEC as to how they can improve the methods of imperialist exploitation and avert revolutionary resistance.

The main targets of your conference are the imperialist states and the neocolonial puppet states, which altogether serve monopoly capitalism. I presume that you condemn not only the anti-worker and anti-people agenda in the APEC leaders' summit but also the human rights violations and extraordinary costs inflicted on the Filipino people in order to prepare and stage this summit.

But you can also take a look at and condemn the special agents of monopoly capitalism who organize so-called alternative conferences which are dependent on funding from imperialist agencies and which pretend to criticize APEC within the limits of reformism but whose main objective is to seize the initiative from the national-democratic movement.

The US-instigated low-intensity conflict in the Philippines involves not only the most conspicuous forms of brutal actions but also psychological warfare. This involves the use not only of military and police thugs in mufti, special operations teams of the reactionary armed forces and religious fanatical cults but also certain foreign-funded "NGOs" operated by covert agents of US and Philippine intelligence agencies, together with Trotskyites, racketeers, revisionists, pseudosocialists, bourgeois populists, pro-imperialist liberals and the jesuitical religio-sectarians.

I hope that your conference can draw up clearly the firm line of resistance against imperialist "globalization" and work out further cooperation through an international network of anti-imperialist forces. Of course, I also hope that the people's caravan from Manila to Subic and the nationwide protest actions of the people will be successful.

I wish you all the success in struggle now and in the future.
Thank you. #

REBOLUSYON 1996 INDEX

Number 4, Series 1996, October-December

- Guidelines on International Relations of the Communist Party of the Philippines, 1994
- On Monopoly Capitalist "Globalization"
- Restatement of CPP Position on International Relations
- Still in the Era of Modern Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution

Number 3, Series 1996, July-September

- Correspondence: On the Nature of National Democracy and Socialist Construction
- Editorial Rejoinder: On the Stages of the Philippine Revolution
- Main Conclusions and Lessons from Summing Up the Experience of the Revolutionary Youth and Student Movement, 1980-92
- Significance of the People's War in the Philippines
- Some Points of Clarification on the Conduct of Tactical Alliances
- Correspondence: A New Generation of Revolutionaries from the Cities Streaming to the Countryside

Number 2, Series 1996, April-June

- Salute the New People's Army on Its 27th Anniversary
- Some Important Lessons Drawn from Our Experience of Mass Work in the Cities

Number 1, Series 1996, January-March

- Celebrate 27 Years of Revolutionary Struggle; Strive All-Out to Fulfill the Tasks Set for 1996
- Program of the National Democratic Front
- Which Medical Ethics for the Progressive Health Sector?