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**UNITE TO RAISE HIGHER
THE FIGHTING WILL AND CAPABILITIES
OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE,
CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS
OF THE TENTH CC PLENUM**

**IN CELEBRATION OF THE 75TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT
OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

**ON THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE
AND THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM**

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UNITE TO RAISE HIGHER THE FIGHTING WILL AND CAPABILITIES OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE, CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH CC PLENUM

Statement of the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines on its 24th Anniversary December 26, 1992

The Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates today the 24th anniversary of its reestablishment, with a greater resolve than ever to unite the Party membership and raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the entire Party and broad masses of the Filipino people against the enemy, the U.S.-Ramos clique.

This newly-installed ruling clique is the principal target of the revolutionary movement of the people for national liberation and democracy. It is the current general representative of such antinational and antidemocratic forces as U.S. and Japanese foreign monopoly capitalism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

General Ramos has come into power as a minority president of the neocolonial puppet republic, with far less resources with which to deceive and suppress the people and the revolutionary movement than any of his predecessors.

The crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to worsen at an accelerated rate. The broad masses of the people have no way out of their intolerable oppression and exploitation but to expand and intensify the armed revolution and the legal democratic movement.

The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system is also worsening. It has been accelerated and exacerbated by high technology and by the abuse of the international credit system. The longrunning depression in the underdeveloped countries and the former Soviet bloc countries is recoiling upon the industrial capitalist countries and is making them reel from prolonged recession. The ruling system in the Philippines can find no relief from abroad but aggravation of the

domestic crisis due to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

The disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the collapse of the latter, the end of the bipolar world and cold war of two superpowers are part of the crisis of the world capitalist system and have brought about social turmoil on a wider scale. There is a new world disorder. The U.S. and U.S.-led capitalist alliance are weighed down and strained by severe domestic and international problems. There is gloom and disarray in the capitalist world.

The new international environment is favorable for the Philippine revolution. We are now entering a new period of revolutionary struggle on a global scale. The factors of anti-imperialism and socialism are once again stirring to life. The genuine communists the world over are at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and reaction and for a better world. The proletariat and the people of the world are launching sizable organized mass actions against their oppressors.

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the earlier disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe, the revisionist parties elsewhere in the world have either disintegrated or are turning themselves into supplements of social democratic parties. In contrast, the Marxist-Leninist parties are seizing the initiative in upholding the class leadership of the proletariat, in promoting the anti-imperialist mass movement and in striving to develop themselves from small to big and from weak to strong.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is fortunate to be among the Marxist-Leninist parties at the forefront, by dint of perseverance in revolutionary struggle, carrying out the new democratic revolution through armed struggle and holding high the red flag for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all forms of reaction.

I. BUILD ON THE ACCUMULATED ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PARTY AND CARRY OUT THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT

The twenty-fourth anniversary of the reestablishment of the Party of the Philippines is exceedingly significant. It follows the great victory of the Party in holding the Tenth Plenum of its Central Committee. It is an occasion for pushing further the implementation of the decisions of this plenum.

These decisions take into account the situation of the Party, the Philippines and the world, reaffirm the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party, recognize the revolutionary achievements of the Party cadres and members, rectify and repudiate the major errors and shortcomings which have caused serious losses and define the tasks ahead in order to further strengthen the Party in the spheres of ideology, politics and organization.

The plenum was successfully held in the midst of the fierce revolutionary struggle of the people led by the Party against the total war policy of the enemy and in the course of the rectification movement. It was characterized by democratic discussion and by resolute unity to rectify the errors that have caused unprecedented setbacks to the revolutionary movement and to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

The plenum was attended by all regular members of the Central Committee in the Philippines, except for a few who for some reasons did not make it on time. All interregional commissions of the Party were represented. Regular members of the Central Committee who were abroad participated by sending their proposals and views on major questions. The entire Central Committee, except for one or two now attacking the CC outside the Party structure, is solidly united in upholding the Tenth Plenum and its decisions.

Important Decisions

The Tenth CC Plenum has reaffirmed the theory of Marxism-Leninism as the guide of the Party to its revolutionary practice, the line against modern revisionism, the vanguard role of the working class and the Party, the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the program for a people's democratic revolution, the theory and strategic line of people's war, the united front along the revolutionary class line, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective and proletarian internationalism.

The most important act of the Tenth CC Plenum is the recognition of the urgency of undertaking the rectification movement in view of the grave ideological, political and organizational errors which have caused serious setbacks and losses. If there is no rectification, those errors will persist and will inflict further losses on the Party and the revolutionary movement. Those who stand in the way of the rectification movement are not interested in the all-round strengthening of the Party and the

revolutionary movement.

The Plenum approved the analysis and all major conclusions of the rectification document, "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors," and likewise the chronology of the important events and decisions since 1980 in order to grasp more firmly the achievements of the Party and the revolutionary movement, the criticism of the major errors and shortcomings and the corrective measures and tasks set forth.

The aforesaid rectification document is mainly and essentially a self-critical summing up by the Central Committee and is based on the facts and ideas accumulated and drawn by the Central Committee from lower Party organs and organizations through various forms of democratic interaction such as reports, consultations, direct investigation and collective assessments for a period longer than ten years. As the highest policymaking body of the Party, the Central Committee has approved the rectification movement and issued the documents pertinent to the understanding and implementation of the rectification movement.

After setting the example for assessment, criticism and self-criticism within the scope of its responsibility and competence, the Central Committee is directing and urging the lower Party organs and organizations to undertake within their respective scopes of responsibility and competence further assessments, criticism and self-criticism and to submit their report on these to their higher organs in the dialectical course of the rectification movement.

It is wrong to presume that the Central Committee has no policymaking right and duty, that the rectification document has no factual basis and has not been democratically processed, that it seeks to end the dialectical process of knowing and that lower Party organs and organizations can avoid making their own assessments, criticism and self-criticism within their own scope of responsibility and competence by simply declaring themselves for or against documents issued by higher organs.

The few elements who are most bitterly opposed to the rectification movement are those who wish to cover up the gravest "Left" opportunist errors which have caused the most serious losses. They have gone into combination with a still fewer elements who attack the very basic principles of the Party from a Right opportunist position and openly take pride in whipping up ultrademocracy, factionalism and splittism in an ambitious but futile attempt to wreck the Party from within wittingly or unwittingly for the benefit of the enemy. The factional combination of

unhealthy elements has veritably put itself out of the Party by publicly issuing slander articles against the Central Committee and the entire Party and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line against the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.

The rectification movement is mainly and essentially an educational movement within the Party to identify and correct major errors and shortcomings on a Partywide scale as well as on the scale of specific lower organs and organizations of the Party. The purpose is to strengthen the proletarian revolutionary stand of all Party cadres and members and inspire them to work and struggle more effectively for further victories in the revolutionary movement.

Another decision of the Tenth CC Plenum that is of utmost importance is the approval of the definitive article, "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism." This comprehensive document explains the betrayal of socialism and disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and collapse of the Soviet Union. The document is of far-reaching significance and consequence because it provides the Party rank and file with a wider, deeper and farsighted understanding of scientific socialism and the counter-revolutionary phenomenon of modern revisionism.

It combats the ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their anticommunist hirelings from the petty bourgeoisie, prevents this anticommunist ideological offensive from sowing confusion within the Party and provides the entire Party with the well-informed confidence to fight for the completion of the new democratic revolution and the commencement of the socialist revolution upon the nationwide seizure of political power.

A. IN THE SPHERE OF IDEOLOGY

The Party is determined to undertake a number of definite measures to carry out the decision of the Tenth CC Plenum to raise higher the level of theoretical and political education among Party cadres and members. Since last year, even before the Tenth CC Plenum, initial efforts have been undertaken in this regard.

The structure of theoretical and political education is defined. As the foundation, the basic course must instill the correct proletarian revolutionary outlook and method of analysis and activity and provide basic knowledge about Philippine history, the character of Philippine

society, the new democratic revolution, the motive forces, the targets, the tasks and the socialist perspective. The documents of the Party are the main texts for reading and study.

The intermediate course widens and deepens the Party members' understanding of building the Party, the people's army and the united front, socioeconomic work, cultural work and international relations. The historical experience of the Party, the current situation, problems and tasks are discussed and studied in connection with the documents of the Party and the most significant and most relevant works of Comrade Mao Zedong and other great communists.

The advanced course provides the Party cadres and members with a comprehensive understanding of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, scientific socialism, modern revisionism and the world proletarian revolution. The documents of the Party and the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are read and studied.

Enough personnel and resources must be deployed for work in the sphere of theoretical and political education. The education personnel must be trained and developed at various levels and in various organs and units. The study materials must be made available for the formal study courses as well as for reading and study in advance of the formal courses.

The basic course can be undertaken by the basic units of the Party within the shortest possible time. Many units of the Party have started to either take up for the first time or review the basic course. The intermediate course can follow suit after the provision of competent discussion leaders and more study material. The higher Party school can take charge of the advanced course and continuously field discussion leaders to various regions.

It is important to conduct formal study courses consistently in order to raise constantly the level of theoretical and political education of the Party membership. To be most effective, these must be conducted in a living way, linked to the current situation, problems and tasks and opposed to the erroneous currents of thought and activity that have inflicted losses on the Party and the revolutionary movement.

In this regard, the most important study materials, immediately available and most relevant to the current Party situation, are the rectification documents, the stand for socialism against modern revisionism and other issuances of the Tenth Plenum. The immediate study of these materials is essential to understanding the situation, doing our work, assessing it and making further advances.

In the field of ideology, it is of crucial importance that we increase the number of Party cadres who have a firm grasp of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. Without these, they can fall into the pitfalls of such errors of subjectivism as empiricism, dogmatism and revisionism.

We must have the proletarian revolutionary cadres and members who have a comprehensive and profound view of the objective reality, grasp the law of contradiction within things and processes and use this law to advance the revolutionary struggle. All Party cadres must become wellgrounded in dialectical and historical materialism.

In the course of the rectification movement, let us take into account both the achievements to build on and the problems to solve if we are to further strengthen ourselves and advance. We must recognize the factors for winning greater victories and solving problems within the flow of events and not from elsewhere. We are still far stronger than when we reestablished the Party in 1968. That is because the overwhelming majority of our Party cadres and members are well-motivated by the correct revolutionary theory and the just cause of the people and are doing their work well in various spheres.

It is utterly wrong to suppose that the line struggle within the Party occurs only when a completely different line or program has arisen to openly oppose the Party line and program. Such mistaken notion disarms the Party ideologically and allows all sorts of bourgeois and petty bourgeois lines and ideas to run rampant inside the Party by simply paying lip service to the basic principles of the Party or by merely assuming the barest proletarian guise.

There is always a struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line in a communist party even at its best, whether it is in power or not yet in power. That is because there is always a degree of influence from the unremoulded petty bourgeoisie within and outside the party. This social stratum generates subjectivist and "Left" and Right opportunist modes of thinking.

Without the ideological vigilance and militancy of the proletarian revolutionaries, the communist party can be subverted and wrecked from within by the unremoulded petty bourgeoisie on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This has happened to a lot of communist parties not yet in power as well as to those in power as in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since 1956.

The Marxist-Leninist and antirevisionist theoretical foundation of the Party has served us well. By and large, we have withstood and overcome

the anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists, the local reactionaries and their retinue of ideologues and propagandists coming from the petty bourgeoisie.

The study that we have made of the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union has not only served to defend and strengthen our Party ideologically and politically but has also been enthusiastically received by Marxist-Leninist parties in other parts of the world. We have thereby made a contribution to the upholding and defense of Marxism-Leninism.

B. IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICS

It is of great importance for the entire Party, as the Central Committee has done in its Tenth Plenum, to recognize correctly the character of current Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal. From this given fact proceeds our understanding of the new democratic character and general line of the current stage of the Philippine revolution.

The fundamental characteristics of the ruling system have been thoroughly exposed by the ceaselessly worsening crisis from the regime of Marcos through that of Aquino to that of Ramos. Our theoretical studies and direct social investigation in the field are abundant in clarifying the mode of production and the superstructure. Most important of all, the cumulative all-round victories of our Party in revolutionary struggle have proven beyond doubt the correctness of the Party's comprehensive and profound view of Philippine society and its line of national democratic revolution through armed struggle.

The Tenth CC Plenum has repudiated the baseless questioning of the Party's class analysis of Philippine society and wrong conclusion that such analysis no longer holds true. The fallacy involves the exaggeration of the "urban-rural" distribution of the population provided by the statistical agency of the reactionary government. It disregards the agrarian character of the economy, its lack of basic industries and the social class structure. The wrong view gave rise to "Left" opportunist currents regarding the strategy and tactics of the revolution, especially the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive as well as to Right opportunist currents, especially on the question of the united front, from the Eighth CC Plenum in 1980 onward.

"Left" Opportunism: Militarism and Insurrectionist Wishful Thinking

The Tenth CC Plenum has upheld the earlier withdrawal in 1990 of the concept of "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive. This was the seed concept whose "three strategic coordinations" and initial notion of uprisings in third and fourth class municipalities were converted and elaborated on paper and in practice into the "three strategic combinations" of the Mindanao Commission from 1981 onwards.

Up to fifteen companies of the NPA were formed in Mindanao as full-time fighting units. Most of these were rapidly formed in 1983 and 1984 by drastically reducing the number of local guerrilla units and armed propaganda teams for mass work. The companies won military victories dramatically but only initially up to 1983. By 1984, the enemy had deployed far larger forces and forced the concentrated NPA companies to a position of isolation and passivity and inflicted gross setbacks on them.

In 1985, in the absence of a comprehensive assessment and analysis of the increasing setbacks, suspicion grew rapidly that these had been due to enemy deep penetration agents (DPA), among other causes. Panic rapidly ensued after confessions extracted through torture of arrested DPA suspects "confirmed" the worst fears about a large-scale enemy infiltration network. This gave way to Kampanyang AHOS, resulting in the prejudgment, torture and murder of more than 950 DPA suspects, including Party comrades, Red fighters, mass activists and other people. By 1986, the Party membership had fallen from 9000 to 3000, the mass base had shrunk by 50 percent and the 15 companies and 30 platoons of the NPA had fallen to 2 companies and 17 platoons.

There was clearly a sequence of the erroneous "innovation" on the theory of people's war in favor of an unacknowledged militarist line of regularization and violation of the requirements of the strategic defensive, the nonrecognition of the error because this was concealed by temporary military successes before the enemy could launch a fullscale counterattack, great loss of mass base, isolation and passivity of unsustainable large formations, gross setbacks, panic and finally the orgy of self-destruction, the anti-informer hysteria called Kampanyang AHOS.

The Tenth Plenum has repudiated the perverse line that Kampanyang AHOS is a "revolutionary success" and has made a political judgment of it as a monstrous crime against the individual victims, the Party and the people, involving the violation of basic individual rights as defined in the Rules Establishing the People's Revolutionary Government, the Party

Constitution and the Rules of the NPA. Imbued with the highest sense of justice, the Party simply cannot condone the prejudgment, torture and murder of close to a thousand people.

The executive committee and so-called caretaker committee of the 1985 Mindanao Commission are accountable for approving, planning, launching and carrying out this outrage. Among the culpable members of these committees are some of the most bitter and active opponents of the rectification movement. They refuse to make an accounting before the proper Party organs, face the consequences and are attempting to shift the blame to other organs or factors. On the whole, lower Party and NPA personnel and other people in the region are deemed less responsible and are deserving of amnesty or pardon if they have already made an accounting of their responsibility, have accepted disciplinary measures, are truly remorseful and have been active in the revolutionary work of recovery.

Because the disastrous militarist line of regularized full-time fighting companies in Mindanao remained uncriticized and was even held up as a successful model for replication, it was pushed on a nationwide scale from 1985 onwards. The line of forming companies and battalions by greatly lessening the number of local guerrilla units and armed propaganda teams for mass work culminated in the formation of 36 companies and two battalions. In 1987, the nationally coordinated offensive was launched, wasting ammunition stocks and other resources and pushing for even more verticalized formations and command structures.

This was also combined with the intensified armed city partisan actions that tended to steal the scene from the military factional struggle of the reactionaries and jeopardize the legal and defensive character of the urban-based democratic movement in the same year of 1987. Lessons had not been drawn from the already proven disaster of the tactics of urban insurrectionism in Davao and other cities in Mindanao.

By the end of 1988, there was a reduction of the mass base by 12 percent. Several regional Party committees were already complaining of the unsustainability of many of the companies and the reduction of the mass base. Taking cognizance of these facts, the principal leaders of the Party increased their criticism of the imbalances in military and mass work and forces and called for the correction of the plan to increase what were already patently unsustainable companies and battalions from 1988 onwards.

Following the successful enemy raids in 1988 on the central organs, including the general command of the NPA, in Metro Manila, and with Kampanyang Ahos still widely thought to have really uncovered a large-scale enemy infiltration network in Mindanao, many leading cadres and units became highly susceptible to suspiciousness and panic. The Olympia was launched in Manila-Rizal after the June "breakthrough" while the OPML raged in Southern Tagalog. There is a close resemblance between Kampanyang AHOS on one hand and Olympia and OPML on the other as phenomena resulting from gross setbacks and from immediate and longrunning suspicions. These remind us of the self-destructive actions undertaken against "informer suspects" and "hostile barrios" in the aftermath of the debacle of the Jose Lava line of military adventurism, which had also concentrated companies and battalions at the expense of painstaking mass work and hoped in vain for a spontaneous anti-Quirino armed uprising in 1949 and 1950.

The Tenth CC Plenum has upheld the guidelines on the principles and methods of investigation, trial and evaluation of evidence. These guidelines were issued in October 1988 and effectively stopped OPML on its track, resulting in its condemnation as a madness and the adoption of the appropriate disciplinary and recovery measures in November 1988. These also stopped Olympia in the same month and guided its review and rectification from December 1988 to January 1989. These also pushed the review of Kampanyang AHOS. These can be used to prevent recurrences of anti-informer hysteria and promote respect for civil rights.

Adjustments and scaling down of the plan to increase the unsustainably concentrated companies and battalions were made in 1989. The mass base once more expanded and became consolidated in the guerrilla fronts where the guerilla units were redeployed to put stress on mass work and recovery of lost territory. At the same time, an active posture was maintained militarily by means of widespread small unit operations and selective concentrated tactical offensives.

But mainly due to instructions and pressures from above, the militarist line persisted and resisted rectification. Certain regions and guerrilla fronts strained to maintain unsustainable companies and blocked redeployment to achieve balance between mass work and military work. For instance, in one region, around 80 percent (598) of the Red fighters were concentrated in companies and one battalion and only around 20 percent (151) were in local guerrilla units. Inevitably, the result in this particular instance was a 50 percent or more reduction of the mass base.

Because of the persistence of the militarist line in the Party, the accumulated adverse effects of this line and the failure to compensate elsewhere for the loss of mass base due to enemy onslaught in certain areas and the delayed and insufficient response of the Party leadership, the rural mass base in terms of membership continued to shrink up to the end of 1991 by almost 60 percent nationwide from the 1986 level and likewise the number of barrios covered by guerrilla fronts, by 15 percent. The number of officers and fighters fell below the level of 1986.

In the urban areas, the mass movement could not go into any sustained upswing even in 1990 and 1991, despite the rapid deterioration of the socioeconomic situation and the high tide of mass discontent against the U.S.-Aquino regime. The insurrectionist agitation and agent-provocateur acts (busburning and the like) discouraged the participation of the legal mass organizations and the spontaneous masses. Sweeping propaganda and agitation was running too far ahead of solid mass organizing. The attention and energy of urban cadres were also being funneled into proliferating and endless alliance caucuses or into "debates" to push the line that the conditions are ripe for mass actions only when these are so for an armed urban insurrection in the medium term.

The Left opportunist errors of military adventurism and insurrectionism play into the hands of the enemy. Despite the rhetoric of hastening the advance of the revolutionary movement, there is neglect of painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing and there is a disdain for developing the people's war in stages. Thus, the foundation for winning victories in the armed revolution and the legal democratic movement is undermined.

Extensive and Intensive Guerrilla Warfare with an Ever Expanding and Deepening Mass Base

In the concrete application of the theory of people's war, the Party takes into account the current strength of the New People's Army and the balance of forces between us and the enemy. The Tenth CC Plenum upholds the line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever expanding and deepening mass base. This line is drawn from the experience of successes and failures of the Party and the people's army during the last 24 years.

We have many good Party cadres and members and NPA commanders and fighters who have persevered in the correct line. Thus, the Party and the New People's Army continue to have and further build a substantial

mass base. There is an ample and strong basis for further developing such integral components of the people's war as armed struggle, land reform and mass base building within the framework of the national democratic revolution.

When the NPA of 200 Red fighters was already being clobbered by the division-size Task Force Lawin in the second district of Tarlac in 1970, the same NPA had already created a far wider mass base in Isabela and was seeding other parts of the country with expansion cadres. And after two NPA companies allowed themselves to be isolated in the Isabela forest region by Task Force Saranay from 1972 onwards, the NPA was creating more guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale. As in Isabela in 1977, the remedy in Mindanao after the disaster of 1984 to 1986 was to redeploy the unsustainable and isolated companies in order to allow smaller but sustainable units to do mass work and build the mass base once more.

In looking at the balance of forces, let us start with the fact that the total regular combat forces of the enemy can cover only less than five percent of Philippine territory at any given time. Thus, they can never deprive the people's army of the space for maneuver in the countryside, unless mass work is neglected and the NPA engages in self-constriction into a small number of concentrated companies and battalions.

At the moment, the enemy in his Lambat Bitag II has deployed a total of seven regular divisions (two in the Cordillera, one in Bicol, one in Samar, one in the northern parts of Zamboanga peninsula and Northcentral Mindanao, one in Northeastern Mindanao and one in Western Visayas). All of these have been able to concentrate on only a third, at the most, of our guerrilla fronts, leaving out scores of our guerrilla fronts. The enemy must be made to suffer the dilemma of concentration and dispersal, while our guerrilla forces must be able to concentrate, disperse and shift more easily on a limitless field of popular support and favorable terrain in the countryside.

As a result of the Tenth CC Plenum and the rectification movement, the Party Central Committee as the general staff of the armed revolution and the entire Party are determined to expand and consolidate the mass base, recover lost ground and further expand into new areas; and are therefore redeploying the New People's Army in such a manner that there is a center of gravity in every guerrilla front and at every higher level of command and there are dispersed units to do the mass work and build more guerrilla fronts.

The center of gravity (the headquarters platoon in a small or medium-sized guerrilla front or the headquarters company at the regional level of command) must be in relative concentration within a radius that easily allows assembly for tactical offensives and other operations requiring absolute concentration and yet does not become an unsustainable logistical burden on the people and is even a participant in mass work and other noncombat functions although within a radius smaller than that of the dispersed units for mass work.

At any level of the force structure of the NPA, the center of gravity should not absorb more than one third or even one-fourth of the total force (depending on the characteristics of the region) so that the rest of the force can be dispersed for expanding and consolidating the mass base. The main thrust is to build more guerrilla fronts with a well-organized mass base and to use this as the foundation for sustainable larger military formations which serve as center of gravity and are in relative concentration at higher levels of the army organization.

At its present force strength, the New People's Army can control so many thousands of villages in several hundreds of municipalities (Philippine total is 1500) in several scores of provinces (Philippine total is 73 provinces), if on the average an NPA squad dispersed for mass work can operate in at least one municipality, is supported by the local organs of political power, the local Party branches and the mass organizations and is augmented by the militia units and self-defense units of the mass organizations.

When unsustainable NPA companies and battalions absorb cadres and resources and reduce rather than increase the number of local guerrilla forces and armed propaganda teams, the inevitable result is reduction of the mass base and self-constriction. If we thus go into self-constriction, then we play into the hands of the enemy and open ourselves to defeat under his strategy of "war of quick decision" (strategic offensive) and gradual constriction. If we do not have enough armed propaganda teams to create the widest room for maneuver through mass work, the enemy divisions or brigades and the copycat special operations teams and CAFGUs would become effective in taking away our mass base in certain areas and in constricting our mass base nationwide.

We should resolutely keep to the tactics of the strategic defensive and discover or create the opportunities for tactical offensives that we can win. We should always look for the weak points of the enemy and hit them by surprise at the tactical level. We should not overstep or violate

the requirements of the strategic defensive by absolutely concentrating on a permanent or fulltime basis larger units that we cannot sustain logistically and that prejudice our mass work.

Even those units designated as centers of gravity should, while in relative concentration, pay attention to mass work and other functions than offensive operations requiring absolute concentration or convergence of columns. The accumulation of our victories and the actual change in the strategic balance of forces will tell us when we can move from one strategic stage to another.

We must be self-reliant by dint of hard work and struggle. The logistics of the people's army must consist of the contributions from the masses who have gained from land reform and other results of revolutionary work, production by and for the people's army, tax collection from the enlightened gentry and businessmen in the areas under control and confiscations from the enemy.

The Tenth CC Plenum has also criticized and repudiated various types of urban insurrectionism, especially two types that have done the worst damage. One is that type that frontally or obliquely attacks the theory and strategic line of people's war and has most lethally combined with militarism in Mindanao in the 1981-86 period. The other is that type that has undermined the mass movement and threatened to jeopardize the just cause of mass organizations in Metro Manila.

In this regard, the Tenth CC Plenum has pushed the line of respecting the legal and defensive character of the urban-based democratic movement and undertaking painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing at the base of sweeping propaganda and dramatic mass actions. It has also adopted measures to enhance the viability and security of cadres in the legal democratic movement as well as the correct orientation and sustainability of underground work.

Armed city partisan warfare must be under the correct ideological, political and organizational leadership of the Party and must fall within the NPA command structure. It must be within the framework of the strategic line of people's war. To become armed city partisans, individuals must first render service in the countryside for at least two years. The development of armed city partisan warfare must be related to and coordinated with the development of the armed struggle in the countryside and the legal democratic movement in the cities.

The Current of Right Opportunism

So far, "Left" opportunism, especially in the form of militarism, in combination with insurrectionist wishful thinking, has done the worst damage to the Party, the New People's Army and the entire revolutionary mass movement.

However, from 1990 onwards, Right opportunism has become unprecedentedly conspicuous and strident in opposing the proletarian revolutionary line. It has had a course of development since the early 1980s, when Right opportunists (including some antifascists recruited in the late 1970s without sufficient ideological checkup and remoulding) proposed among other things the downgrading and even liquidation of the Party in favor of a "vanguard" broad front and the "separate dynamism" of mass organizations.

In the aftermath of the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the 1986 boycott policy was criticized as a major tactical error. Indeed, it was an ultra-Left and sectarian error, confusing the legal and illegal forces and forms of struggle. But there were those who went so far as to make bourgeois reformist criticism of the error, describe the U.S.-directed comprador-landlord Aquino regime as a liberal-democratic regime and presume that the newly installed regime had gotten the middle forces and was itself at the middle of the political spectrum and that the Party and the revolutionary armed struggle had been pushed to a "politically defensive position" and therefore needed the ceasefire talks and the 1986 60-day ceasefire agreement.

All the loyal and honest Party members who tended to fall into a Right opportunist view of the new situation in 1986 corrected themselves in 1987 upon the Party's clarification of the ever-worsening social crisis and the continuing need for armed revolution and upon the further unfolding of the antinational and antidemocratic class character of the U.S.-Aquino regime.

But to this day, the most consistent and the worst elements among the Right opportunists have persisted in their bourgeois reformist critique of the 1986 boycott error and consider this the biggest error of the Party in its entire history, up to the point of covering up and condoning military adventurism and Kampanyang AHOS which are by far the worst disaster.

Practically bringing themselves out of the Party these elements have promoted bourgeois populism, liberalism, pacifism and capitulationism and have overrated electoral struggle within the ruling system as the principal way to "legitimation" of the patriotic and progressive forces.

They have drummed up the idea of a supraclass third force that seeks to alienate the people from the Party and have sought to monopolize foreign funding for NGO projects in order to advance their own interests.

The most subtle, most elaborated and most corrosive concepts attacking the proletarian revolutionary line have been generated by the worst Right opportunist elements on the question of the united front and the leadership of the working class (through the Party). These elements contend that the leadership of the working class must be laid aside or liquidated in order supposedly to attract more people to the united front in general and the National Democratic Front in particular.

Thus, the concept of federation in the building of the NDF made a headway. Under this concept, the Party is reduced to being a member-organization subordinate to a majority of nonproletarian organizations and to the National Council of the federation. The concept does not immediately appear to be wrong because there are Party groups within the nonproletarian member-organizations. But the basis is established for liquidating the class leadership of the proletariat and its party, and for negating the independence and initiative of the Party and the new democratic character of the revolution. As a matter of fact, certain anti-Party elements have started to attack the Party by using the name of the NDF.

The 1990 draft NDF Constitution does not make any reference to the working class leadership and the basic worker-peasant alliance in the new-democratic revolution. It adopts simultaneously the concepts of confederation, federation and unitary organization. The concept of the NDF as a unitary organization, claiming as its direct individual members all the members of the "member-organizations", is one more way by which the Party's independence and initiative is negated.

The 1990 draft NDF Program avoids any clear reference to the working class leadership, the basic worker-peasant alliance and the new democratic character of the revolution. It adopts such key terms as "nationalism," "pluralism" and "mixed economy" and clearly puts these within the framework of the old bourgeois democratic revolution by suspending or eliminating the working class leadership and the socialist perspective. The 1990 draft NDF program clearly proposes that upon the basic completion of the national democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, a "national democratic society" shall be built indefinitely and the socialist revolution and construction shall not commence.

Upholding the revolutionary class line in the united front and acting to prevent the collision between the Party and the NDF, the Tenth CC Plenum has made the decision that the Party can participate in a formal alliance (not a federation nor a unitary organization) only if the Party maintains its independence and initiative and its representatives enjoy equal footing with those of other organizations on the basis of consensus and consultations in conferences and councils, without prejudice to the absolute leadership of the Party over the NPA and to bilateral relations of the Party with any of the allied organizations in the NDF.

Thus, the Party has proposed a new draft NDF Constitution and this is already being processed by the appropriate NDF organ. A new draft NDF Program is also under preparation. The Tenth CC Plenum has also clarified the relationship between the Party, the NPA and the NDF by stressing the Party's responsibility of ensuring and upholding the proletarian class leadership over the entire revolutionary movement. It enjoins all Party members to resolutely take on this responsibility and reminds all Party members, especially those in united front work, that the united front is not an arena for liquidating the working class leadership and that under the present historical conditions there can be no revolutionary united front without the class leadership of the proletariat.

Certain dubious elements use the wrong concepts about the united front in order to attack — from a petty bourgeois viewpoint — the basic principle and the reality of working class leadership through the Party in the national democratic revolution. Echoing the chorus of the imperialist ideological offensive and the Gorbachovite anticommunist prattle, they go about prating that the Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party are outdated and authoritarian and that the class struggle has lost its centrality in the revolution. They deck out their antiquated petty bourgeois ideas as new and fashionable and use these to attack the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method.

The worst element of the Right opportunists pushed a "medium-term" plan from late 1989 to early 1992, combining bourgeois reformism with wishful thinking for an armed urban insurrection. The intention was to build at the legal level a new broad front consisting of the Left, Middle and anti-Aquino Right by making a clamor for multilateral peace negotiations and then proceed at the "level of the revolutionary front" to build a still bigger alliance to include the NDF, MNLF, RAM, SFP and YOU. The idea was to have a common tactical program (the alternative agenda) that could unite the various political forces and "foster the

linkages" between the legal broad front and the revolutionary (illegal) front until such time that the two levels could merge into an upsurge and finally lead to an uprising.

By aiming for an armed urban insurrection within this framework, this worst element of the Right opportunists succeeded in sabotaging the growth and potential upsurge of the legal mass movement under the extremely favorable conditions in the latter half of 1990 up to 1991. He subsequently denied the fluid and volatile character of the objective situation and pushed the line that the conditions were not ripe for sustained mass actions if these did not lead to the realization of the wish for an armed insurrection contained in a "medium term" plan. The attempt to create the conditions for an upsurge leading to an insurrection (broad front for multilateral peace talks up to the busburning actions) had the opposite effect of sabotaging the mass movement and actually helping the U.S.-Aquino regime to coast along until the next elections.

The Tenth CC Plenum made a decision to take disciplinary action against this worst element of the Right opportunists for his misrepresentations and usurpation of the authority of the Political Bureau in attempting to spread counterrevolutionary ideas over a wide range of issues and in committing other gross violations of the Party's basic principles and rules discipline, such as spreading anti-Party intrigue and publicly circulating anti-Party articles since the last quarter of 1991, and to confront him further regarding his disclosure of Party secrets to the enemy in 1987. The decision is focused on this individual's wrong ideas, his involvement in the gravest "Left" and Right opportunist errors and his long-running anti-Party behavior.

While there are the vicious counterrevolutionary Rightists who must be dealt with politically and organizationally, there are also the honest Party members who have unwittingly provided a base for the former because they have not fully remoulded themselves into proletarian revolutionaries and are therefore susceptible to subjectivist and opportunist currents. The Party offers them further ideological and political education and further revolutionary practice.

There is a conspicuous seepage of counterrevolutionary Rightist ideas into the Party, especially because since the latter half of the 1970s there has been looseness in admitting into the Party certain elements of petty bourgeois status and orientation on the basis mainly of their antifascist political stand, without adequate ideological check up and further education and remoulding. Since 1989, however, the few unhealthy and

dubious elements of the Rightist kind have increasingly exposed their character and the extent of their anti-Party activities.

In conjunction with the imperialists in their ideological offensive, this handful of elements have — since the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes — become bolder in reviling Marxist-Leninist principles as “outdated” and “authoritarian” and in calling for “paradigms,” “visions” and “programs” alternative to the Party Program. The renegades are in fact peddling antiquated antiproletarian and anti-Marxist petty bourgeois ideas which they deck out as new and fashionable despite the fact that the foreign models that had earlier adopted these ideas have been totally discredited or have gone out of existence.

There are elements who misappropriate the issue of the environment by posing it as something supraclass. They deny the outstanding record of the Party in condemning and opposing the imperialist plunder of the human and natural resources of the Philippines, in making critical studies focused on environmental issues and the great mass movements against the imperialist devastation of the environment in the country since the reestablishment of the Party. The Party has already reiterated in definitive terms its firm stand on the issue of ecology.

The petty bourgeois populists, liberals and social democrats have promoted the phenomenon of NGO bureaucratism. They use the names of progressive mass organizations to solicit money from foreign funding agencies, seek to monopolize the foreign funding and spread their bourgeois reformist ideas in the mass movement and in the ideologically weak portions of the Party.

Since 1989, this handful of elements have become emboldened enough to openly attack the Party because they wrongly calculate that the time has come for them to lay claim to certain organizations and monopolize foreign funding. They have been intoxicated by both the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and the powerful anti-Marxist ideological offensive of the imperialists. Using the demagogic slogan of anti-Stalinism, they have openly attacked the basic principles, policies and line of the Party.

There is a natural petty bourgeois conjuncture of the small hodgepodge of populists, liberals, neoliberals, social-democrats and Gorbachovites. They have a false sense of superiority over the revolutionary proletariat and the CPP and they echo all the anti-Marxist notions and cliches of the imperialist ideologues and propagandists.

However, they have a sense of their puny number and lack of mass support. Thus, notwithstanding all their slogans of openness, democratic process and reform calculated to undermine the Party, they are banding themselves and colluding with the worst "Left" opportunists responsible for military adventurism, urban insurrectionism, gangsterism and the Kampanyang AHOS bloody witchhunt to oppose the Party and the revolutionary movement. They also seek to lure Party cadres in the urban areas with paltry sums from foreign funding agencies.

The U.S.-Ramos regime is well aware that there are two kinds of elements who have put themselves off the line of the Party and out of the Party's discipline. One type consists of those few who have committed the worst offenses in connection with "Left" opportunist errors against the Party and the people. The other type includes the still fewer elements who have been pursuing a Right opportunist line and opposing the class leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary armed struggle.

Thus, the regime has adopted a sophisticated psywar policy to complement its brutal military policy. It has repealed Republic Act 1700 (the Anti-Subversion Law) but at the same time retained other oppressive laws. It has postured as being desirous of bilateral peace negotiations with the NDF but it has in fact preoccupied itself with the futile scheme to undermine, disintegrate and destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement.

The tactics of the psywar scheme include both encouraging the activities of the "Left" and Right opportunists and trying to recruit them one by one as intelligence and psywar agents. These opportunists have gone so far as to publicly attack the Central Committee, the Tenth Plenum and the rectification movement. They produce and publicly circulate anti-Party articles, to conjure the illusion of a split within the Party and to actually try to split and wreck it from within through an anti-Party campaign closely tailored to the needs of the enemy psy-war scheme.

The regime is also using the longrunning "preliminary" to peace negotiations to drum up its line of pacification in an attempt to derail the people's revolutionary armed struggle for a just and lasting peace, induce the progressive legal organizations to assume a "neutral" or "third force" position (together with the representatives of the exploiting classes and even the reactionary government) and whip up capitulationism and splittism in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

The foregoing tactics of the U.S.-Ramos regime have been applied for sometime. In an intelligence briefing to the regime's national unification commission last early November, the military briefing officers boasted of having certain renegades in tow and knowing much about the "split" in the revolutionary movement. This came soon after the avalanche of anti-Party slander articles in October. There are indications that the U.S. State Department and U.S. intelligence have also gotten copies of the same articles soon after production.

The most effective way to counter the total war policy and psywar scheme of the U.S.-Ramos clique is to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, to tighten the security of the Party and heighten vigilance and to expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic mass movement.

C. IN THE FIELD OF ORGANIZATION

Since last year, drafts of the Constitution and the Program have been ready for Party-wide discussion in preparation for the Party Congress. More than ever the Party is resolved to hold the Party Congress. It shall be the democratic instrument of the Party general membership for going up to a new and higher level of unity of genuine communists and for raising the level of revolutionary struggle under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

It is the decision of the Tenth CC Plenum that the next Party Congress shall be the high point of the ongoing rectification movement and shall not be a place for compromising the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line. In preparation for this congress, all lower Party organs and organizations are required to submit their assessments, criticism and self-criticism within their respective scopes of responsibility and competence so that the central leading and staff organs can improve their own and prepare documents for Partywide study and submission to the Party Congress.

Since the launching of the rectification movement last year, some of those "Left" opportunists who have been responsible for the worst errors and losses have circulated beyond the proper channels articles against the rectification document and movement. They have practised the "freedom of criticism" denounced by the great Lenin as a violation of the principle of democratic centralism and as petty bourgeois ultrademocracy and anarchy and have combined with the Right opportunists in doing so.

All Party cadres and members are urged to unite in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, support the Central Committee and resolutely proceed with the rectification movement to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the people against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

We cannot condone the "Left" and Right opportunists who have viciously attacked the central leadership, the Tenth Plenum and the rectification movement by issuing and publicly circulating and delivering to the enemy intelligence and psywar services and the bourgeois mass media articles vilifying the Party, the Central Committee and the rectification movement. The worst of these opportunists have not only objectively but consciously placed themselves in the service of the U.S.-Ramos regime in its scheme to discredit the Central Committee and thereby to decapitate and destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Among these renegades are a few individuals who publicly claim in their widely circulated slander articles that they continue to be active CC members even while they were incapacitated due to enemy detention and — upon their release they have undergone processing for reinstatement or have refused to be processed by the duly-authorized officers of the Central Committee. By what reasoning or license from the enemy do they claim in their slander articles that they are still CC members and are in a position to deprive the Central Committee of its policymaking power, nullify the rectification movement and the Tenth CC Plenum, oust the Central Committee and call for a new Plenum and new Congress?

Those newly released from enemy detention who are still qualified and who sincerely want to reassume Party work at the level of the Central Committee should promptly submit themselves to the required process of reintegration.

The anti-Party elements sound formidable when they launch their artillery of lies and misrepresentations from the dark. If allowed to pass unanswered, they can actually inflict some damage on the Party. But when they are exposed by the floodlight of the truth and countered by the steel of Party unity, they can be seen clearly and repudiated as a motley of "Left" and Right opportunists and renegades. They seem to be able to band together in attacking the Party but they cannot put up anything to replace what they seek to destroy. They can only try in vain to approach and mislead those whom they estimate to be ideologically

weak portions of the Party.

The combined "Left" and Right opportunists and renegades have made themselves the principal organizational problem. They have gotten out of the realm of ideological struggle by spreading lies about the Central Committee, the Tenth Plenum and rectification movement, by instigating factionalism and supplying anti-Party articles to the enemy.

The ideological, political and organizational struggle must therefore proceed together, with the main emphasis on theoretical and political education and on a narrowing of the target in taking organizational measures. The dividing line between the Party and the anti-Party elements is clearly set by the Tenth CC Plenum of the Central Committee and the rectification movement in particular as well as by the Party Constitution and Program.

In view of the already large losses of the Party and the revolutionary movement before the end of 1991 due to the grave errors, the Party would continue to suffer still bigger losses without the rectification movement. Only the renegades and the enemy are hellbent on stopping or discrediting the rectification movement and threatening to wreak further damage. They do not wish the Party to identify and correct the errors, reverse the grave setbacks and further strengthen the Party and revolutionary movement.

We must be resolute and militant in combating the wrong ideas and the political and organizational maneuvers of those who have exposed themselves as opportunists and renegades. By their own publications and actions, they have exposed clearly their bourgeois reactionary line. We must uphold, defend and promote the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party.

Even as the necessary and appropriate organizational measures must be immediately undertaken against those who oppose the Tenth Plenum, the rectification movement, the Central Committee and the entire Party, we must pay attention to and rectify the longrunning major errors in the sphere of organization with as much vigor as before, especially because the anti-Party elements are trying to take advantage of them.

Ultrademocracy, factionalism and anarchy have been put by the anti-Party elements on top of the longrunning problem of bureaucratism and alienation of some organs, units and members from the people and mass work. The remedies already adopted to cure bureaucratism must proceed. It is a happy development that there are serious efforts to stress painstaking mass work and solid mass organizing and increase the

deployment of Party cadres and members from the cities to the countryside for the people's war. Party-led mass organizations in the urban areas are also determined to send larger numbers of activists to participate in the revolutionary work in the countryside.

The Tenth CC Plenum has made the decisions to strengthen the central leading organs such as the Executive Committee, Political Bureau and the Central Committee as well as the central staff organs, including the General Secretariat. The territorial commissions have been reverted to the status of central staff organs with the task of facilitating interregional coordination, strengthening the regional Party committees and ensuring close links between the regions and the central Party leadership. These decisions have been taken in the interest of firm leadership and increased efficiency.

The Tenth CC Plenum has made the decisions requiring the strengthening of the system of reports and consultations between higher and lower organs, the faster resolution of longrunning and current problems and the reassignment of cadres for the purpose of upgrading work in certain areas and for securing Party cadres and the Party from enemy threats. Decisions have also been made to counteract the phenomena of independent kingdoms and factionalism.

The Tenth CC Plenum has made decisions to streamline the Party organization, combat bureaucratism, stimulate collective Party life from the basic level upwards, develop the closest links with the masses and encourage inner Party democracy characterized by criticism and self-criticism on the basis of the facts and for the purpose of greater unity.

Threats to the security of the Party have increased because certain renegades have in fact or in effect put themselves in the service of the enemy psywar machine and the anti-Party elements are under close enemy surveillance. We are aware of certain elements who proclaim themselves communists but are in fact anticommunists opposing the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party and who have no other motive and objective but to decapitate, split and wreck the Party.

The renegades endanger the Party organs, units and members by approaching them under the guise of democratic discussion and debates outside of the proper structure and channels of the Party. They do not only violate democratic centralism and inner Party democracy but they also put the Party units and members accessible to them within the scope of enemy surveillance. All Party organs, units and members must be vigilant and cut themselves off from these anti-Party elements.

It is the right and duty of the Party to repudiate and disauthorize former Party organs that have removed themselves from the Party structure and democratic centralism by attacking the central leadership and the rectification movement and by waging a campaign to decapitate and wreck the Party. Elements within such groups who sincerely wish to continue serving the revolution must dissociate themselves from all factional and anti-Party activities, submit themselves to the Party rules and processes and rectify their errors.

We should be resolute in frustrating the few renegades who have sought to discredit the rectification movement since the beginning by caricaturing it as a "bloody Stalinist purge", by seeking to spread anticommunist ideas within the Party and to condone the worst errors of military adventurism and the barbarities of Kampanyang AHOS. So far, only a very few have been put under disciplinary action. It is the few renegades who have publicly threatened to decapitate, disintegrate and destroy the Party.

We must unite firmly to build further our ideological, political and organizational strength on the basis of our accumulated achievements, rectify the errors and shortcomings and march forward. We must take advantage of the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and we must unite to raise higher the fighting will and capabilities of the Party and the revolutionary movement against the U.S.-Ramos regime.

II. RAISE THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND LEGAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT TO A NEW AND HIGHER LEVEL

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society has worsened from the Marcos regime through the Aquino regime to the Ramos regime. The objective conditions are fluid and volatile and are therefore favorable for raising the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement to a new and higher level. The widespread and deepgoing mass discontent and revolutionary mood of the people are the raw material for people's war.

It is up to the subjective forces (the organized forces) of the revolution to take advantage of the favorable objective conditions. They can either succeed or fail to do so. For instance, there was limited success, if not failure, on the part of the subjective forces to intensify armed tactical offensives and carry out sustained mass actions despite the opportunities

presented by the critical conditions of 1990, 1991 and 1992.

There is much work to be done by way of revolutionary leadership and rectification when tactical offensives by the people's army and mass actions do not materialize to an extent and manner commensurate to the objective conditions as well as to the claimed strength of the subjective forces in the regions expected to deliver results.

The Party's leadership in the Philippine revolution can be realized only by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses along the national democratic line. The effectiveness of this leadership can be most manifested by the armed tactical offensives of the New People's Army and the mass actions of the legal democratic movement. These should result in the further strengthening of the subjective forces and further weakening of the enemy.

There is absolutely no doubt that the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is ever worsening. The rise of General Ramos to the presidency of the neocolonial republic, with only 23.5 percent of the votes cast, marks the further deterioration of the fractious ruling political system. All the accumulated and worsening problems of the system have fallen on the head of this isolated and desperate but cunning president.

General Ramos is using all kinds of weapons in his strategy and tactics to preserve the oppressive and exploitative system and attack the revolutionary mass movement. But the domestic and foreign resources available for pursuing his counterrevolutionary work are far less than what was available to Marcos and Aquino and continue to dwindle. General Ramos is toeing the same line drawn by the U.S. and Japanese imperialists and by the local reactionary classes and is carrying out the same policies which drain the social wealth of the country and undermine even the ruling system.

Total War Policy of the U.S.-Ramos Regime

The main line of the U.S.-Ramos regime is to annihilate the revolutionary forces under the so-called total war policy. This is characterized by all the barbarities of the "low-intensity conflict" scheme. Since General Ramos became president, he has ordered the intensification of military campaigns of suppression (Lambat Bitag II) and has sought an unprecedented increase in the budget for the regular military, police and paramilitary forces.

All the combat effectives of the 262,000 total armed personnel of the enemy (Army, 62,000; Navy, 26,000; Air Force, 17,000; PNP, 92,000;

and CAFGUs, 65,000) are overstretched nationwide. In suppression campaigns, they can simultaneously concentrate their assault forces on only a third of the several scores of NPA guerrilla fronts.

The enemy carried out from 1991 to 1992 such major operational plans as the following: Oplan Tarabay-Silawan in Marag Valley, Kalinga-Apayao; Oplan Salidummay/Nakilala in Zinundungan Valley, Cagayan; Oplan White Flower in Abra de Ilog, Occidental Mindoro; Oplan Skylark in Salay, Misamis Oriental; Oplan Ipitan in Sta. Catalina, Negros Oriental; Oplan Rolling Thunder in Andap Valley, Surigao del Sur; Oplan Stronghold in Prosperidad, Agusan del Sur; and Oplan Rainbow in parts of the Zamboanga provinces and Misamis Oriental.

In trying to destroy the revolutionary forces, General Ramos is emboldened by the fact that for several years a militarist line in the Party and the people's army has been playing into the hands of his military forces by concentrating unsustainably large military formations and reducing the number of local guerrilla forces and the cadres for expanding and consolidating the mass base. The war of quick decision (strategic offensive) and gradual constriction, particularly the previous Lambat Bitag I and the current Lambat Bitag II, are being hailed by the enemy as great successes in certain areas.

In fact losses from the enemy campaigns of suppression have been significantly lessened in regions where the revolutionary forces have — at the regional and guerrilla front levels — centers of gravity in relative concentration when not on an offensive mode, and have far more forces dispersed for mass work on a wide scale. By having a wide and deepgoing mass base, the NPA has a wide room for maneuver and can flexibly concentrate, disperse and shift according to the demands of the situation. Even when there are large formations on our side, these eventually become isolated and passive if the mass base is lost or drastically reduced.

The enemy in division or brigade strength can indeed concentrate on any area and capture it. But when he does so, he pays a heavy price for taking over the area and leaving wider areas unattended elsewhere. In such areas, the guerrilla forces have more opportunities for mass work and tactical offensives. Thus, at the strategic level, the enemy has the dilemma of concentrating or dispersing his forces. Either way, he loses the war.

Whenever the guerrilla forces are encircled by an overwhelmingly superior force, they can slip out of the encirclement and fight on exterior

lines rather than fight on the interior lines of the enemy. Gradual constriction will succeed if in the first place the forces of the people's army have gone into self-constriction. It is wrong to concede that the best of our experience and studies as well as the teachings of Mao Zedong concerning the theory and strategic line of people's war are inferior to the enemy's war of quick decision and gradual constriction.

As earlier pointed out, the enemy has a total regular force capable of concentrating on and controlling only a small portion of Philippine territory at every given time. The enemy's special operations teams (SOTs) and paramilitary forces are ineffectual bad copies of the NPA armed propaganda teams, the local guerrilla forces and militia because they (the former) have a counterrevolutionary character and seek to destroy both by violence and deception the revolutionary gains of the people.

Compared to Lambat Bitag I, there is now under Lambat Bitag II less use of special operations teams for psywar operations "to win the hearts and minds" of the people. There is an increased use of bombardments, base-denial and search-and-destroy operations to wreak havoc on entire communities and force their evacuation. This is a sign of the enemy's desperation rather than of improved tactics.

Psywar Tactics of the U.S.-Ramos Regime

While seeking in the main to annihilate the people's army through the bloody campaigns of suppression under the total war policy, General Ramos has laid out a full array of psywar tactics in a bid to disintegrate the revolutionary forces. General Ramos can make some headway only if we are not alert and prompt at countering these tactics.

He has "legalized" the Communist Party by repealing the Anti-Subversion Law (R.A. 1700) in order to induce the revolutionaries to surface and come forward under his terms. But he retains all other oppressive laws for use against those who remain loyal to the armed revolutionary movement.

He has gone farther than Aquino in pretending to be for peace talks with the revolutionary forces through the National Democratic Front. In a development amounting to mutual recognition as belligerents, the representatives of the Ramos regime and the NDF have co-signed a joint declaration in The Hague, Netherlands and their principals (General Ramos as GRP president and Manuel Romero as NDF chairman) have reciprocally approved this declaration.

The psywar experts of the Ramos regime have in mind the El Salvador peace negotiations and agreement as the model for liquidating the New People's Army. The regime is willing to move ahead in exploratory talks or even in peace negotiations only insofar as every step along this course of action is preceded by advantages in other courses of action aimed at undermining, disintegrating and annihilating the NPA.

One of the major schemes of the regime is to use the National Unification Commission in organizing a structure of territorial and sectoral consultations among representatives of the reactionary government, churches, business, the landed gentry, the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other sectors. The objective is to create a "peace" climate for promoting the regime's line of pacification, discredit and isolate the revolutionary forces, and dangle the same stale offers of amnesty and rehabilitation made since the time of Marcos. The NUC is nothing more than a revival of the previously frustrated "peace and order councils" scheme of General Ramos under Oplan Mamamayan.

Certain organizations, coopted or financed by agencies of the reactionary government and foreign funding agencies, are pretending to be a "third force" and are trying to induce the progressive legal organizations to shift from a Left position to a "neutral position" of calling on both the reactionary government and the NDF to negotiate on the false premise that both sides are equally responsible for the violence at the expense of the people. Officials of the reactionary government, conservative institutions and representatives of the exploiting classes also misrepresent themselves as part of the "third force" and claim to speak for the people.

The U.S.-Ramos regime is also developing a very ambitious and very offensive kind of psywar against the revolutionary forces. Certain renegades (previously ranking high in the progressive movement) are acting as dupes if not as outright hirelings in this psywar scheme by producing and publicly circulating statements which are made to appear as those of honest Party members or even of active Party officials. They serve the enemy by publicly announcing their opposition to the Central Committee, the Tenth Plenum, the rectification movement, the antirevisionist line, the strategic line of people's war and democratic centralism.

Their statements comprehensively attack the principles, policies and line of the Party and slander the Party Central Committee. They started to publicly circulate their statements in late 1991 and escalated the

production and public distribution of these statements in 1992. The renegades are being used by the enemy intelligence agencies in the futile attempt to split the revolutionary movement, extract information from the underground and to serve as baits for trapping the underground personnel of the Party.

Related to the anti-CPP and anti-NPA schemes are the efforts of the Ramos regime to reconcile with anti-Ramos factions within the Armed Forces of the Philippines and Philippine National Police, including the Marcos-lining Soldiers of the Filipino People (SFP), the Enrile-lining Rebolusyonaryong Alyansa ng mga Makabayan (RAM) and the relatively independent Young Officers Union (YOU) and with their known aboveground political principals or representatives.

The Ramos regime is under orders from the United States (especially the State Department and Pentagon) to reconcile and reunify the factions in the military and the national police so that ultimately a counterrevolutionary front can be solidified against the revolutionary forces. But the factional differences remain deep. The anti-Ramos military factions insist that their members who have not reached the age of compulsory retirement should not be simply paid or pensioned off but retained in the military service with higher ranks. Some settlement may be reached. But this can be fragile in view of the ever worsening crisis.

In an effort to make it appear that it is dealing with the question of political prisoners in an even handed way, the Ramos regime has released a few Left political detainees on account of their right to bail but has released far more military detainees who belong to the anti-Ramos factions. The regime has cynically turned a deaf ear to the demands of the people, the human rights organizations and the NDF representative in the exploratory talks for the release of the hundreds of political prisoners.

Despite all its schemes to neutralize its armed and nonarmed political opponents and consolidate its position, the Ramos ruling clique can only aggravate the socioeconomic crisis by pursuing the policies dictated by its foreign masters and the local reactionaries. The ruling clique thereby generates a worse political crisis within the system as well as incites the people to armed revolution.

General Ramos knows the insolubility and gravity of the crisis and the determination of the revolutionary forces to persevere in protracted people's war. Thus, he is preparing for a return to a Marcos-type fascist dictatorship under the guise of amending the Constitution and changing the form of government, from presidential to parliamentary. All the current psywar schemes and efforts of Ramos to neutralize and

disintegrate the broad opposition are calculated to prepare the ground for a return to undisguised autocracy and authoritarianism.

The Worsening Crisis of the Ruling System

The agrarian, preindustrial and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy continues to deepen and aggravate. The U.S., Japanese and European multinational firms and banks and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords continue mercilessly to drain the Filipino people's economic lifeblood in the form of superprofits from domestic and foreign trade and from import-dependent manufacturing and far more profusely in the form of debt service.

From 1986 to 1991, the Philippines paid in debt service to its foreign creditors a total of US\$29.3 billion, an amount which is as large as the continuing total accumulated debt of more than US\$29 billion, and received a total inflow of new loans amounting to US\$17.7 billion. The net resource outflow is therefore US\$11.5 billion. The total accumulated debt has been held down to US\$29 billion mainly by enormous local public borrowing to buy foreign exchange for foreign debt servicing and to cover the rising deficits.

There is a breakdown in agricultural and industrial production, infrastructure and the basic services. The foreign exchange necessary for importing equipment, fuel and other goods continues to dwindle. And the foreign credit needed to cover the increasing deficits is also tightening. Further domestic and foreign public borrowing is fueling inflation.

The income from the export of raw materials (agricultural and mineral) and from the reexport of low-value added goods continue to dwindle because of the longrunning deterioration of the terms of trade and the ongoing recessionary trend in the world capitalist system. In the first eleven months of 1992, the foreign trade deficit increased by US\$4.34 billion or by 42.8 percent from the yearend level of 1991.

From 1986 to 1991, the US\$ 5.8 billion (or nearly \$1 billion yearly) total income from the export of contract labor has in part offset the resource outflow and has been greater than the US\$4.4 billion total actual inflow of the much-vaunted official development assistance from Japan, the United States and Europe. Under recessionary conditions in the world, even the export of contract labor can be adversely affected.

Debt service ate up a yearly average of more than 53 percent of the Philippine budget from 1985 to 1991. In 1991, total disbursements for debt service reached 67 percent or P170.1 billion of the P254.4 billion

budget for the year. This will rise further as the national government assumes the P300 billion accumulated debt of the Central Bank. The budget for the *military, police and paramilitary forces and for the intelligence, counterintelligence and psywar agencies* has been increased. In the course of military operations, even the resources of civilian agencies are being commandeered by the military. Funds for infrastructure building, public education, health services, housing and public utilities are decreasing.

The military budget is P31.2 billion, an increase of 20 percent, while the budget for health is reduced from P11.5 billion to P5.5 billion or by 51 percent, and for education, from P40 billion to P36 billion or by 10 percent.

P85 million pesos per day is spent on the military. The civilian armed forces geographical units have a budget of P1.78 billion; and spend P5 million per day. The plan is to increase the personnel of these units from 60,000 to 80,000. The intelligence services have an obviously understated budget of P392 million and spend more than one million pesos a day.

The local government officials are now allowed to tax the people and spend the money according to their own decisions in a wide ranging way. These help to tighten the squeeze of the central reactionary government on the broad masses of the people. Bureaucratic corruption at the central and local levels is scandalously worsening.

The people are suffering from accumulated unemployment of around 50 percent. Out of the total labor force of 27.5 million, 3.6 million are admitted to be unemployed and about 8 million are underemployed. But out of the total employed, only 45.4 percent are wage and salary workers. The "self-employed" workers and unpaid family workers are considered employed despite the fact that the general run do not have regular and sufficient income to afford them a decent level of subsistence. The *overwhelming majority of those considered as underemployed are in fact unemployed.*

On top of the high rate of unemployment is the soaring rate of inflation which reduces the real income of the employed and exacerbates the misery of the unemployed and underemployed. Statistics of the reactionary regime deliberately present a lower inflation rate by manipulating such parameters as the base year and the content of the basket of basic goods. The cost of living is estimated to be P214 a day for a family of six but the legislated minimum wage (which employers to their own advantage generally violate) is P84.50 to 106.70 in the

agricultural sector and P118 in the industrial sector.

Eighty percent or 47 million of the people live below the poverty line. The real value of the income of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata keeps on decreasing. At the same time, there are scarcities and rising costs of basic goods and services due to the breakdown of production. The quality of life continues to deteriorate due to widespread poverty, the frequent outbreaks of communicable diseases, the lack of health services, the deterioration of the public school system, the destruction of the environment and the breakdown of basic urban facilities, including water shortages and the frequent electricity outages, despite the rising charges.

The imperialists and their big comprador-landlord agents continue to damage the environment in so many ways. What is currently most alarming is the rate of deforestation, which is at 200,000 hectares per year. At this rate, the remaining forest cover of 987,000 hectares is bound to disappear in less than five years' time. The alternating floods and drought, soil erosion, watershed destruction, loss of biodiversity and the death of 30 percent of the rivers and the rapid decrease of fish catch are already wreaking havoc on the lives of the people.

But those who suffer most are the victims of largescale military campaigns of the enemy. They are subjected to senseless bombardments by airplanes and artillery, search-and-destroy operations, forced mass evacuations, mass detention, torture, massacres and assassinations which far exceed the capability and resources of human rights organizations to document. But what these organizations are able to document are horrendous enough. Since 1986, more than two million people have been forced by the enemy's military operations to leave their homes and farms permanently or for a prolonged period of time. The widescale violations of human rights add to the acute sense of oppression that comes from the daily violence of economic exploitation. In both urban and rural areas, anyone suspected of being active in the revolutionary movement or with legal progressive movement is subject to warrantless arrest and seizure of property.

In both urban and rural areas, the military, police and paramilitary forces use the unbridled power of their guns not only in the official suppression campaigns against the people but also in the course of unofficial criminal activities for their private gain. The officers and men are notorious for their involvement in criminal syndicates engaged in robbery, kidnapping, murder for hire, illegal logging, extortions,

gambling, prostitution and other forms of criminality. The tendency of the military, police and paramilitary forces to disintegrate is not only due to interservice rivalries and political factionalism but also due to the proliferation of competing criminal gangs among them.

Persevere on the Road of Armed Revolution

The Communist Party of the Philippines is correct in pursuing and persevering on the road of armed revolution. It would be a shame and a catastrophe if at this time there is any wavering about this road. There is no way for the Filipino people to liberate themselves nationally and socially from the intolerably worsening system of oppression and exploitation but to overthrow it and establish a new social system under the leadership of the proletariat and with the full participation of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Revolutionary armed struggle is the main form of struggle because it smashes the reactionary state and effects the seizure of political power, without which the proletariat and the people cannot make social revolution. There are those who say that there is no more need for armed struggle because the U.S. military bases agreement has come to an end. But the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by the United States and other imperialists continue.

The United States — at a much reduced cost to itself — continues to direct, control, supply and use the Philippine reactionary armed forces and to have access to military facilities in the Philippines. Moreover, under U.S. encouragement and under the pretext of U.N. peacekeeping, the aggressive capability of Japan has been increased. There is an overall scheme by the United States and Japan to suppress armed revolutionary movements of the people in Southeast Asia.

Our armed struggle is within the framework of the national democratic revolution. Insofar as it has to be carried out in the countryside for an extended period among the peasant majority of the people, it must take the antifeudal line and must be integrated with land reform and mass-base building (mass organizations and organs of political power).

Eighty percent of the peasant masses are landless. The U.S.-Ramos regime is so cynical about the land problem that it does not pretend anymore to be concerned about it, unlike the previous Marcos and Aquino regimes which made pretenses and empty promises about solving the land problem. The Ramos regime has called for a 50-hectare retention limit for landowners, 99-year lease on land for foreigners and a 30-year

exemption of Mindanao from any kind of land reform in order to favor 13 "industrial estates".

The Party must put into effect and strengthen the basic worker-peasant alliance. It must rely mainly on the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and farm workers; win over the middle peasants; neutralize the rich peasants; and take advantage of the split between the enlightened gentry and the despotic ones in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter.

The minimum land reform program must be carried out on a widescale as the general line. This includes the reduction of land rent, interest rates and fees for irrigation, work animals and farm equipment; raising the wages of farm workers; improving the prices of farm products for the benefit of the peasants; and raising production in agriculture and sideline occupations through individual initiative and rudimentary forms of cooperation. This program beats the false promises of land redistribution by every reactionary regime.

The maximum land reform program of confiscating the land and distributing it free to the peasant tillers, can be done only against the despotic landlords and landgrabbers and also where the people's army and the revolutionary forces are strong enough to carry out such a land reform in an equitable and productive way and frustrate the violent reaction of the enemy. In so many places, we must still recognize and take advantage of the differentiation of the small, middle and big landlords as well as of the enlightened and despotic gentry and prevent the entire landlord class from uniting against the revolution.

The People's War and the New People's Army

In carrying out the armed struggle, the New People's Army must follow the absolute leadership of the Party and must implement the theory and strategic line of people's war, which is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength until it is possible to seize the cities. The concrete form of people's war at this stage of the strategic defensive is extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare with an ever widening and deepening mass base. The gross reduction of the mass base due to the interplay of the enemy's total war policy and the gross error of militarism must be promptly and vigorously solved.

It may be said even now that the current NPA troop strength with highpowered rifles is equivalent to several scores of companies or at least a score of battalions or several regiments or brigades. It is even possible

to designate them as such. But we must never forget that we are still waging guerrilla warfare and we must deploy our forces accordingly.

The current armed strength of the NPA can allow it to control the villages of at least 500 municipalities out of the total 1500 in the Philippines, if the NPA forces are properly deployed. In the drive to expand and consolidate the guerrilla fronts, a small or medium-sized guerrilla front or districts of a bigger guerrilla front can have a sum total of one company of Red fighters. But the headquarters platoon of such force must be in relative concentration as the center of gravity and the squads in the other platoons must be dispersed for mass work, with each squad capable of controlling and influencing the villages of one municipality as guerrilla zone, especially with the support of the militia and self-defense units of the mass organizations, the local organs of political power and the local Party branches.

At levels of command higher than the guerrilla front, such as the regional, interregional and central levels, the centers of gravity can be company-size or more, depending on the degree of the development of the people's war. But these must be in relative concentration, within the necessary radius that allows them to do various types of work, avoid becoming an unbearable logistical burden and yet have the ability to assemble for offensive and other concentrated operations.

The NPA should avoid self-constriction. It should not concentrate fifty percent or more into a few absolutely concentrated companies and battalions and thereby drastically reduce the number of local guerrilla squads and armed propaganda teams for mass work. Without an ever expanding and consolidated mass base, the larger unsustainable formations will be preoccupied with logistical needs and will eventually fall into passivity and isolation and gross setbacks even after an initial period of successful military offensives.

The Party and the NPA rely on the support of the people through the local organs of political power, mass organizations, the local branches of the Party, the militia and self-defense units of the mass organizations. We must reiterate that to meet logistical needs, the NPA should rely mainly on contributions of the masses as a percentage of the benefits derived from land reform and other gains of the revolutionary movement, production by and for the people's army, taxes from the enlightened gentry and businessmen and confiscations from the enemy.

It is the task of the central leadership of the Party and the national command of the NPA to reallocate surpluses from one region to another

region in need and from consolidated areas to areas of expansion. It is wrong and disorienting to undertake special operations of a politically objectionable character and to make plans dependent on material assistance from higher levels of the Party or the people's army or from sources abroad, especially in the current international environment.

At its current level of armed strength, the NPA has the capability of assembling forces of various sizes (small team, squad, platoon, company and even battalion) for launching tactical offensives. The guerrilla front command or district command of a bigger guerrilla front can plan and undertake platoon-size or oversized platoon offensives; the regional command or command of big guerrilla fronts, company-size offensives. The Party Central Committee, the Military Commission and the NPA national operational command must be guided by the line of centralized leadership and decentralized operations but must work out the guidelines and plans for the people's war and for the correct deployment and redeployment of forces from period to period nationwide and in major battlefields.

The "Left" opportunists have imagined that total victory is possible without developing the people's war and people's army in stages by rapidly organizing large military formations and/or aiming for armed urban insurrections. But there are also the Right opportunists who have a disdain for the protracted people's war, who wrongly counterpose the legal struggle as political struggle and the armed struggle as a "nonpolitical" or as a purely military one and who are spreading such erroneous lines as that the entire revolutionary movement has been "marginalized" (relative to the rat race within the ruling system) because of the armed struggle; that the people are already tired of their own armed resistance to the counterrevolutionary violence of the oppressors and exploiters; and are hopeless because of the international environment of 1989-1991.

As regards the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, the revolutionary forces and the people led by the Party are at the center of the political stage precisely because of their armed struggle. Without the people's army, the people have nothing. Were the revolutionary forces to give up armed struggle, they will indeed become as marginal within the ruling system as those who pretend to be revolutionary and yet wish the revolutionary forces to give up the armed struggle or lose sight of its crucial importance in the seizure of political power and realization of social revolution.

The successes of the revolutionary movement is measured in terms of building the Party, the people's army, the organs of political power and the mass organizations. We have never sought to measure success simply by asking whether we have already taken over the presidential palace in Manila and how many seats we have in the executive offices, the legislature and the courts of the reactionary government. On the other hand, we have been establishing organs of democratic political power wherever we can in order to destroy the tentacles of the reactionary state and ultimately seize power in the cities.

Relationship Between Armed and Legal Forms of Struggle

There must be a clarification of the relationship between the armed and legal forms of struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. Both the armed and legal or nonarmed forms of struggle are political forms of struggle. It has been often said correctly that war is the continuation of political struggle by another means. The New People's Army and the people's war have their revolutionary political character and are political instruments of the people.

Relative to the armed struggle, the legal forms of struggle are secondary because these cannot by themselves or in the main effect the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the people. Total victory in the armed struggle is required by the social revolution. But legal forms of struggle are important and are indispensable to the advance of the armed revolution. They have a distinctive character and a distinctive role to play. They are defensive in the face of the overwhelming forces of the enemy police and military but are certainly meant to persuade a great number of people to fight the enemy.

There have been concrete forms of legal struggle. The most important of these consists of the mass education, mass organizing and mass mobilization constantly carried out in accordance with the national democratic program and seen dramatically through strikes, demonstrations, marches and other forms of concerted mass actions on urgent class, sectoral and multisectoral issues. The workers' trade unions, the urban poor communities, and the mass organizations of students and other youth, women, teachers and other professionals and various sectors must be expanded and consolidated every day through painstaking work.

Another form of legal struggle involves developing certain personnel and portions of the establishment (conservative organizations and institutions) to make a patriotic and progressive stand on issues and

thereby breach, paralyze or disintegrate the ruling system from within in combination with the revolutionary and progressive forces from without. The Party has succeeded in developing progressive fractions within the reactionary government, churches, business organizations, reactionary trade unions and so on.

Still another form of legal struggle is the electoral struggle, which occurs every so many years. So far, this has not yielded the results commensurate to our mass base and has rated lower than the aforementioned forms of legal struggle. The electoral struggle is designed by the politicians of the reactionary classes to create the illusion of democracy and exclude the genuine representatives of the people, especially the toiling masses, from political power. But the legal democratic forces must engage in electoral struggle to propagate the national democratic line and try to put in and develop progressive elements in the reactionary government.

Still another form of legal struggle is the one conducted in legal and political defense of the comrades and allies who are arrested and detained and suffer various forms of persecution by the enemy. Those arrested and detained by the enemy have less initiative than when they were not in the hands of the enemy. But in pursuing the struggle that is possible, they do not only fight for themselves but they can also inspire people outside of prison to fight more resolutely. The martyrs and the living victims of persecution can inspire the entire people to greater resistance to oppression.

The exploratory talks that have occurred between the Ramos regime and the NDF deserve to be mentioned last here as a form of legal struggle. The talks have not matured yet into formal bilateral peace talks. By these talks, an illegal force like the NDF can succeed in legally propagating its national democratic line as the line for a just and lasting peace and in attaining international recognition for its status of belligerency. But we must guard against the danger of sending the wrong signals to the revolutionary forces, making the enemy appear as tractable and creating false illusions among the people. The revolutionary forces must always be ready to pull out of the exploratory talks or bilateral peace talks if these undermine rather than strengthen the revolutionary forces.

The legal progressive organizations must give the highest priority to their own political education, their own organizational buildup and mass campaigns. They can propagate the national democratic program

anywhere in the legal arena. But such a program should not be funneled exclusively or mainly into either the bourgeois electoral game, into lobbying in any institution or branch of the reactionary government or into the frame of peace negotiations between the NDF and the reactionary government; or even into all of these. The revolutionary cadres in the legal democratic movement must grasp the correct relationship and coordination between the armed and legal forms of struggle as well as between the various forms of legal struggle.

The Right opportunists exaggerate the importance of all legal forms of struggle or pick out one of these to exaggerate its importance and place the legal struggle on top of the armed revolution. One way of differentiating the revolutionaries from the reformists is their way of evaluating and correlating the armed and legal forms of struggle.

Reformism becomes most obvious when it denies the necessity of armed revolution in the Philippine today. On the other hand, the "Left" opportunists deny the necessity and importance of the legal democratic movement and preoccupy themselves with the armed struggle to the point of failing to see the correct relationship and coordination of the armed struggle and the legal democratic movement.

Those who do not recognize and appreciate the great importance of the organs of political power and mass organizations being created in the countryside in the course of people's war can be disappointed by an already prolonged period of armed revolution. Such persons are usually carried away by the petty bourgeois notion that success in the armed revolution in the Philippines can be measured only by how much political power we have already gained in the cities.

Of course, the end game in the armed revolution is the seizure of the cities. But we will get farther away from this objective if we fall into "Left" opportunism or we allow Right opportunism to discourage the armed revolution. We must develop the people's war in its current stage of the strategic defensive, accumulate strength and on the basis of this we shall be able to proceed to the next stage.

III. GREET THE NEW PERIOD OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE WORLD

So soon after the gloating of the United States and the other major industrial capitalist countries over the fall of "socialism" (in fact bureaucratic capitalism masquerading as socialism), the world capitalist

system is conspicuously afflicted by an unprecedentedly severe crisis of overproduction. There are mounting inventories of all kinds of industrial and agricultural products that cannot be sold profitably. There is an epidemic of bankruptcies. And the winning monopolies are driven to do what precisely aggravates the crisis.

In the attempt to raise their rates of profit and improve efficiency and competitiveness through the further adoption of high technology, these monopoly firms have thrown out of job not only great numbers of blue collar workers but also ever greater proportions of white collar workers (whose ranks had been enlarged in previous decades by high technology and neocolonialism). Lines of public service (public utilities and basic services) continue to be privatized so that the monopoly bourgeoisie can increase its profits and cut down the number and the wages of public service employees.

As a result, all capitalist countries are reeling from a prolonged recessionary trend. In fact, conditions of depression have set in, if we consider that production growth rates (below two percent) involve the further reduction of employment and the further bloating of accounts in the service and military-industrial sectors. The current rate of unemployment is high in most of the advanced industrial capitalist countries, especially if we see through the statistical sleight of hand.

Background to the Current World Capitalist Crisis

From the end of World War II, after several decades of unprecedented and relatively unimpeded international expansion of capital, especially through neocolonial use of finance capital, the United States and other major capitalist powers are now surrounded by an ocean of bad debts and depressed underdeveloped and lesser industrial capitalist countries. The foreign debt of the third world and former Soviet bloc countries is around US\$1.8 trillion (of which at least US\$1.6 trillion is third world debt) and the effective demand in the world market for their own kind of products, mainly raw materials and some manufactures, has been going down. The result for most of these countries has been the depression of their economies since the late seventies.

Thus, the major capitalist powers have a tendency to pull back from common global schemes of capital expansion and are increasingly driven to consolidate their national and regional positions and compete with each other. Most industrial capitalist countries have resorted to excessive borrowing to keep their economies going by providing the contracts and

financial support to the monopoly firms and by feeding consumer credit. The U.S. economy stands out as the top excessive borrower, with a total debt of US\$11 trillion, of which US\$5 trillion are federal and state debts — largely foreign-funded — and the rest, corporate and consumer credit.

In the 1970s, the industrial capitalist countries seemed to have found a solution to the crisis of overproduction, specifically the problem of stagflation, by financing the global operations of monopoly firms and the consumer credit and welfare measures within their own boundaries and by profuse lending — under the auspices of global neo-Keynesianism — to most of the third world and Soviet bloc countries and thereby disposing of surplus goods and capital. But eventually after a decade, it became clear that the overseas borrowers could not pay back their debts due to overconsumption, further distortion of their economies and deteriorating terms of trade. The prices of imported manufactures kept on rising while those of raw material and agricultural exports kept on falling. Technological advances also allowed the industrial capitalist countries either to substitute imported raw materials or draw more products out of a lesser quantity of these.

In the 1980s, the United States attracted foreign funds through its financial policy of high interest rates and thereby artificially kept itself as the single largest country market for the consumer products of Western Europe and Japan and the newly-industrializing or export-oriented economies (like the economic tigers of Asia and some Latin American countries) and proceeded to engage in highspeed spending for the hightech military buildup. All these combined to undermine the U.S. manufacturing base for U.S. exports. The United States became the biggest deficit spender and biggest debtor in the world and fell into *industrial decline*.

Even as there was a shift from neo-Keynesianism to monetarism and stronger demands for privatization and austerity for the third world, the world capitalist system as directed by the Group of Seven and managed by the IMF and World Bank, was able in the 1980s to pull in the biggest and last possible clients: China, Soviet Union and India, in that chronological order. Notwithstanding the U.S. strategic defeat in the Vietnam war and the Soviet attainment — under Brezhnev — of strategic military parity with the United States in hightech military production in the previous decade, the U.S.-led capitalist alliance succeeded with its neocolonial deployment of capital in the third world and Eastern Europe to induce the biggest and last possible clients into accepting full

integration into the world capitalist system.

The continuous internal growth of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries since 1956 had made them receptive to being totally integrated into the world capitalist system. West Germany played the key role in drawing them in while the United States used the Cold War to hold down the total amount of economic accommodations to the Soviet Union from the West. In the 1970s, the Soviet bloc countries in Eastern Europe were under neocolonial control not only by the Soviet Union but also by the West. Soviet and Western neocolonialism consisted of delivering overpriced supplies and sucking the lifeblood of the people through loan arrangements. During the time of Gorbachov, the Soviet Union itself was already very much within the web of the world capitalist system. By then, it had become a beggar of hard currency for paying for vital imports and for servicing their debts, especially from West Germany.

It is now clearer than ever that there were concurrent and related developments since 1989. The political disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and the collapse of the Soviet Union were so drastic and dramatic that the socioeconomic crisis of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union was obscured and was not seen by many as a part of the global crisis of overproduction afflicting the biggest capitalist economies.

Since 1989, the monopoly bourgeoisie has so effectively used hightech media, with the collaboration of the unremoulded and coopted petty bourgeoisie, to carry out an ideological offensive against the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and to misrepresent bureaucrat capitalism as socialism and Stalinism. The antisocialist ideas of the big bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have been decked out as new ideas superior to Marxism-Leninism. Even those with *no or with very little understanding* of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice have presumed to be able to explain away the 1989-1991 developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by *simply citing Stalin as having been the one responsible* for these rather than the process of capitalist restoration since 1956.

Within the same year of 1992 the industrial capitalist countries were so gravely wracked by the crisis of overproduction that they passed from triumphalism to gloom so soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the few privileged private entrepreneurs have continued to exploit the people after scrapping the "socialist" signboard. The broad masses of the people, including the petty bourgeoisie are suffering an

economic hell worse than ever before.

The U.S. Strategic Decline and the Drive to Reverse It

The U.S. strategic decline is due to overconsumption and military overspending. The United States can go on a serious drive to reverse the decline only by inflicting further harm on its own people and curtailing the accommodations it had previously made to its industrial capitalist allies. The United States has to funnel more funds to its own monopoly bourgeoisie in order to make its own industry more efficient and more competitive. But it can do this only at the expense of the American people whose jobs are now being drastically reduced by the accelerated adoption of high technology. Those countries that have high export surpluses from the U.S. market have to contend with the U.S. plan to cut these surpluses down.

So long as U.S. resources are allocated in favor of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the American people suffer exploitation. The U.S. prosperity in the last decade has resulted in the impoverishment of the people. The U.S. social structure demonstrates the greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the people. The wealthiest of the monopoly bourgeoisie or the top one percent of the population controls more wealth than the bottom 90 percent; and directly owns 46 percent of the wealth. The top 20 percent of the population controls 100 percent of the stock corporations.

On the other hand, 50 percent of the people have no wealth or are in debt. Seventy percent have no money left after paying for basic necessities (housing, food, utilities and sundries). A full 75 million people (larger than the entire Philippine population) live in abject poverty. Seventy percent of them are white and 30 percent, nonwhite.

The U.S. economic crisis has been so severe that Bush failed to get himself reelected, despite his attempt to present himself as the personification of victory in the Cold War and in the Gulf War. The recession, the unemployment, the extremely skewed income structure, the conspicuousness of poverty, the ever growing trade and budgetary deficits, the colossal debt, the faltering trade offensive and the deteriorating quality of life (including homelessness, dilapidation of the basic infrastructure, blighting of cities, pollution and criminality) have worked against the reelection bid of Bush.

The president-elect Clinton has benefited from a protest vote. He has promised to revive the U.S. economy and generate more jobs, raise

industrial productivity and competitiveness through high technology, attend to social problems at home, go into infrastructure building, provide basic social services, reduce military expenditures, and tax U.S. companies abroad.

Were Clinton to try carrying out what he has promised, the American people will have to suffer more exploitation and joblessness. The U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie is merely being assured of further opportunities to amass profits and cannot be expected to share these with the rest of the American people. Despite all the naive liberal prattle that Clinton will draw the United States inward, the nature of U.S. imperialism requires the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie to aggravate the exploitation and oppression of peoples abroad, shift the U.S. capitalist crisis to other countries and sharpen contradictions with other industrial capitalist countries.

U.S. Contradictions with Western Europe

There are growing economic contradictions between the United States and Western Europe. These currently include investment, trade, currency and credit problems in the relations between the two sides, in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world.

After all the hosannas to economic union, the European Community (Western Europe) is in a state of economic and social turbulence due to *the world capitalist crisis of overproduction*. The recession, high rates of unemployment, social cutbacks and inflationary pressures are taking their toll.

There are tensions among the EEC members as a result of the questions about sovereignty, the currency turmoil, the German high interest rates, the protracted Uruguay Round of the GATT, the assignment of economic functions to the EEC members, the questions about major and minor members of the community, and the question of dividing the spoils in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Germany is the economic giant at the core of the European economic union. It is expected to resent any substantial reduction of U.S. importation of German surplus goods. At the same time, it is the chief exploiter of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is using the Czech part of Czechoslovakia (now being dissolved) as the manufacturing and commercial base for exploiting the consumer market in Eastern Europe. It is also pouring investments into Russia in the bid

to get the lion's share in the exploitation of natural resources and the consumer market there.

The United States continues to seek the reduction of its own military expenditures, especially overseas, and get its allies in Western Europe to share the military expenses. Thus, opportunities are there for the revival of German nationalism and militarism through intermediate arrangements, like the formation of a European force, initially a German-French force under the auspices of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. But at the same time, the United States wants to remain in overall command and control through the NATO.

U.S. Contradictions with Japan and the Situation in East Asia

The United States is also increasingly at odds with Japan over a comprehensive range of economic issues. There is growing U.S. resentment over accommodations for Japanese investments and goods in the U.S. market and over Japan's supposed nonreciprocation by refusing to open up its domestic market. The United States can bully Japan because the latter is dependent on the former for technology agreements and access to the markets and to sources of fuel and other raw materials which are still under U.S. political hegemony and economic manipulation. The United States also wants Japan to yield more market share to U.S. goods in East Asia and elsewhere and to become dependent on U.S. rice and other food imports.

The United States has encouraged Japan to share military expenses, increase its military strength and expenditures, purchase U.S. hightech military equipment and raise its aggressive capabilities. Thus, Japanese nationalism and militarism have been revived under the slogan of regional security in East Asia and UN peacekeeping. Japanese troops are initially deployed as a security force in Cambodia. But the United States is wary over Japan's economic prowess and its current position as No. 1 investor and creditor in East Asia, over its ability to produce its own hightech weapons as well as reproduce those bought from the United States and over its high potential as an allround rival in East Asia.

The contradictions between the United States and Japan are likely to sharpen within the decade because each — in the drive to fix problems — will have to do so at the expense of the other. For one, Japan with its serious economic problems is further driven to have its own way, independent of the United States, in East Asia.

The Japanese bubble economy has burst. Profit rates on all major lines

of production have drastically fallen. Consumer demand is low and inventories are fast piling up. It has become obvious that the Japanese banks have overextended themselves in speculation. Stock values have fallen by 50 percent within the year. Bankruptcies are leading to further concentration of monopoly capital.

Let us consider the possibilities for the East Asian economies that have benefited from previous accommodations in the U.S. market should the United States succeed by any significant degree in reviving its production of tradable goods, in consolidating the U.S. market and the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) and in pushing a trade offensive on a wider scale.

The Japanese economy, which is already on a downswing, will go through further paroxysms. The so-called economic tigers of Asia, including the Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, will be in serious economic trouble. Social turmoil is likely to erupt in a number of countries in East Asia. However, China can for a certain period of time try to work out internal social arrangements and external arrangements with the countries of East Asia and the former Soviet republics in anticipation of further U.S. attempts to consolidate and go on an economic offensive.

China is under pressure from the United States to gradually make the Chinese political system correspond openly to the growth of capitalism in the Chinese economy and society. As Washington policymakers put it, China must "respect human rights" or else suffer such consequences as withdrawal of the most-favored-nation status, more restraints on trade, increased military sales to Taiwan and so on. They assert that liberalization of the Chinese economy must be accompanied by liberalization of the Chinese political system.

However, China would rapidly go the way of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the final stage of capitalist restoration were it now to drop its avowed four cardinal principles. Thus China is banking on closer relations with Japan and other neighboring countries in order to counter U.S. pressures and threats. On the balance, the United States is not pushing too hard because its strategy planners fear the adverse consequences of political turmoil in China. They prefer a process of peaceful evolution from socialism to capitalism, as anticipated even by John Foster Dulles and proven in the Soviet bloc countries since 1956.

China and Other Less Developed Industrial Economies

In East Asia, China looms large as a third factor in the growing contradictions between the United States and Japan. Whatever social character it assumes, China has an industrial base and a large natural resource base and is the largest market in the world. It has gained economic access to the United States, Japan, the rest of East Asia, Western Europe, the Central Asian republics, Russia, Ukraine and the whole Eastern Europe.

Other than China, there are large countries or economies in the world whose industrial base is less developed than that of the major capitalist powers. These are India, Russia, Ukraine, Brazil and South Korea. All these countries or economies are threatened by industrial decline and compradorization as economic competition intensifies among the major industrial capitalist countries. Either the industrial bourgeoisie of the *lesser industrial economies manage to grow further or social degradation continues and eventually social upheavals will occur.*

The monopoly bureaucrat capitalists of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are now divided into two contending factions, one is for the revival of the industries and the other is for the phased closure of these and for the compradorization of the economy. The revival and growth of the industrial base are prevented by the general policy of the major capitalist powers to dump their surplus goods, conserve their capital and acquire only the most profitable assets and by such domestic factors as unbridled bureaucratic corruption, the further impoverishment of the people and the dearth of private entrepreneurial capital and expertise.

The monopoly bureaucrat capitalists are being compelled to maintain the outmoded state enterprises or close them. There is widespread social misery and growing social turmoil. This is generating nationalism, ethnic conflicts, civil wars and military fascism. At the same time, there are indications of rising revolutionary forces. There are calls for social revolution.

Notwithstanding the decades of misrepresentation of monopoly bureaucrat capitalism as socialism, in ways most detrimental to the proletariat and people in the former Soviet bloc countries, the historical and theoretical legacy of Lenin and Stalin remains an ineradicable ideological and political resource for the proletariat and people to draw from as the social conditions worsen. In so short a time, the capitalists and the fake democrats in the former Soviet bloc countries have been

discredited. The broad masses of the people are disgusted with the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the favored private entrepreneurs and are angered by their impoverished condition.

Four Major Contradictions and Social Turmoil

The neocolonial deployment of financial capital, under the slogan of development, has further distorted the economies of the client states and further impoverished the people. The share of 75 percent (third world peoples) of the world population in the global GNP was 23 percent in the 1980s and fell to 19 percent in the 1990s. This is poverty worsening in the third world. With the impoverishment of the people in the former Soviet bloc countries, 80 percent of the world population are now living a life of poverty and misery due to oppression and exploitation.

It is simply impossible that these oppressed and exploited people can allow themselves to suffer the ever worsening crisis without resistance. In the new period of revolutionary struggle that has arisen in the world, there are some subjective forces of the revolution to begin with. The people themselves demand social revolution in the face of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

Some elements tend to forget that the world capitalist system is in crisis and that the oppressed peoples are bound to fight back. Such elements are dazzled and befuddled by the integration of veritably all countries into the world capitalist system, the disintegration of revisionist ruling parties and regimes, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the defeat of this military superpower in the cold war, the use of U.S. hightech military might in the Gulf war and the ruthless U.S. drive to isolate and disintegrate the social systems in Cuba and North Korea.

Let us look at the world comprehensively. The preindustrial underdeveloped countries and some countries with an industrial base in the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries have been in a state of depression for a long period of time. These countries have earlier been integrated into the world capitalist system and have been unable to earn enough hard currency to pay for supplies and service their debt from the industrial capitalist countries. They have been unable to sell profitably in the world market the raw materials and some manufactures that they have excess capacity to produce. Thus, they have fallen into depression. And this depression is now recoiling upon the major industrial capitalist countries themselves.

As of now, the world is wracked by four major contradictions. These

are:

First is the contradiction between the major industrial capitalist powers and the neocolonial client-states on the one hand and the proletariat and people on the other hand in the underdeveloped and bureaucrat-capitalist controlled countries.

Second is the contradiction among the major capitalist powers which have consolidated themselves as the three most powerful capitalist centers, the United States, Western Europe and Japan;

Third is the contradiction in all the industrial capitalist countries between the monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat and people; and

Fourth is the contradiction between the major industrial capitalist powers and the lesser industrial capitalist countries, including those ruled by bureaucrat capitalist regimes.

The foregoing contradictions are running at the same time at a pace dictated by the aggravation of the crisis of overproduction, now accelerated by the application of high technology. Social turbulence and social upheavals can occur within national boundaries but on a scale so wide that they span several countries and several continents at the same time and that no single capitalist power nor group of capitalist powers can stop social revolution in all those countries.

In its war of aggression against Iraq in 1991, the United States could not go it alone in bearing the cost of the war and had to pool the financial resources of several countries. Since then, the multipolarization and contradictions among the major capitalist powers have gone further. In years to come, contradictions are likely to arise among the major capitalist powers regarding the sharing of costs and the division of the spoils in common aggressive actions against other countries.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, categorically marking the end of the cold war, the level of political violence has risen. The former Soviet republics, Yugoslavia and other East European countries have become hot beds of armed ethnic conflicts and civil war. The limits to the capacity of the major capitalist powers to intervene militarily are showing, even as they instigate the outbreak of violence.

The major capitalist powers have deployed troops in so many countries in the name of U.N. peacekeeping and humanitarian aid. Among the most recent interventions are in Cambodia, Croatia, Bosnia and Somalia. At the rate that the civil wars are arising or continuing, the attention and resources of the major capitalist powers and the United Nations are

already overstrained.

The bourgeois "democratization" (putting up front civilian officials and putting the military behind them to serve the same exploiting classes) pushed by the Reagan administration in Latin America and the Philippines in the 1980s is already overstrained by the ever worsening economic and social crisis. As exemplified by coups in Haiti, Peru and other countries, there is a trend back towards undisguised authoritarian and military junta rule. These will incite the people to armed revolution.

The "peaceful resolution of regional armed conflicts" promoted by the United States and the Soviet Union in Iraq and Iran, Central Asia (particularly in Afghanistan), southern Africa (particularly South Africa and Angola), Central America (particularly Nicaragua and El Salvador) and Indochina (particularly Cambodia) is either under severe strain or is already in shambles. Armed conflict has either continued, resumed or is likely to break out in these areas.

There are the longrunning revolutionary armed struggles for national liberation and democracy, like those of the peoples of the Philippines, Burma, Palestine, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Turkey, Kurdistan and other countries. The conditions for revolutionary armed struggle exist in many countries in the third world and the former Soviet bloc. So long as the revolutionary forces and the people are determined to wage armed revolution, no single capitalist power or combination of capitalist powers can stop or defeat them.

The longrunning depression and austerity measures imposed by the IMF and the World Bank in the third world have caused social unrest. The protest actions of the organized masses of the workers, peasants and other people are rising, despite the brutal attempts of the reactionary states to suppress them. There are also the spontaneous actions of the impoverished masses such as food riots and raids on stores and warehouses in several extremely impoverished countries.

There are the cycles of coups d'etat, the civil wars and ethnic conflicts which result from the social and economic crisis in the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries. These are occurring on a widening scale and these can stimulate the rise of revolutionary movements in due time.

The United States and the U.S.-led capitalist alliance have imposed economic blockades and repeatedly threatened several countries with aggression, such as Cuba, North Korea, Libya, Iraq and Yugoslavia. Such countries ward off the threats and aggressive acts of the U.S. and other imperialists by asserting their national sovereignty, mobilizing their own people and availing themselves of breaches in the apparent single-

superpower hegemony of the United States over the entire world.

At the centers of industrial capitalism, industrywide strikes of workers are occurring. They are opposing massive layoffs, the wage freeze and other forms of exploitation. There are also large and widespread mass actions and various forms of resistance to the brutality of state forces, the rise of racism and neofascism and imperialist acts of intervention and aggression.

In the United States, there have been popular outrage against poverty, hunger and homelessness and street resistance to police brutality in many cities. In capitalist countries, especially in Germany and several West European countries, the broad masses of the people are demonstrating in great numbers against the depredations of neofascist and racist groups, which are directed against migrant workers from the third world and refugees from Eastern Europe and other parts of the world.

How the World Situation Affects the Philippine Situation

The crisis of the world capitalist system is producing turmoil on a widescale. It is completely a passing illusion that capitalism has created a new world order at the end of the cold war. On the contrary, there is a new world disorder. It is on an ever widening scale. And it can be the ground for the resurgence of Marxist-Leninist parties and the anti-imperialist movement for social revolution.

How is the Philippines affected by the current world situation? There is no relief from but aggravation of the crisis of the ruling system. The U.S.-Ramos regime cannot hope to attract enough foreign investments or borrow enough funds to cover the increasing trade and budgetary deficits, service the accumulated debt, satisfy the troops, police and paramilitary forces, repair the broken down infrastructure and turn the Philippines into one more "economic tiger" in Asia.

The kind of investments being attracted to the Philippines is that which whets the appetite of the exploiting classes for conspicuous consumption and real estate speculation. These mop up whatever is left of the foreign exchange from the export income after debt service and dollar-salting. There is an increasing level of austerity and misery for the broad masses of the people.

The U.S. scheme is to reduce "economic aid" and military expenditures in the Philippines and yet to continue having access to military facilities and using them under the U.S.-R.P. military assistance and mutual defense agreements at a great cost to the client state. It is a

cheapskate's scheme. The Philippine reactionary government is compelled more and more to draw from domestic resources what it needs to pursue the total war policy which the United States itself has pushed in the first place.

The crisis of the world capitalist system ensures the worsening of the *crisis of the ruling system*. It aggravates the domestic crisis and creates increasingly more favorable conditions for the armed revolution. The Philippine revolutionary movement may not be able to secure any significant material assistance from abroad at the moment but factors objectively favorable to and politically supportive of our revolution can increasingly arise from the crisis and turmoil of the world capitalist system itself and from the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement abroad. At any rate, the Philippine revolutionary forces have never depended on foreign material assistance.

The parties, organizations and movements which were favored in the past by the Soviet and East European ruling parties in the course of the cold war have either found themselves in a difficult situation, have fallen *into disarray or have even disintegrated or become openly social democratic*.

But the unprecedented and seemingly unchallengeable dominance of U.S. imperialism and the world capitalist system is offset by the rapid worsening of the crisis, by the increased understanding that peoples can liberate themselves in a self-reliant way and by the elimination of modern revisionism, monopoly bureaucrat capitalism and social imperialism as sources of ideological and political confusion. The way is wide open for the Marxist-Leninist parties and genuine revolutionary forces to come forward.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and Other Working Class Parties

At the moment, the Korean Workers' Party and the Cuban Communist Party continue to stand prominently and vigorously for the anti-imperialist and socialist cause and speak boldly for proletarian internationalism. The Chinese and Vietnamese Communist Parties still *avow themselves to be following the road of socialism*. They are preoccupied with economic construction and promoting their own economic and trade relations with foreign countries.

The Cuban Communist Party continues to issue the call, *socialism or death*, in order to inspire the Cuban people. It stands heroically in defense

of Cuban national sovereignty and has mobilized the Cuban people in the face of the growing threats of U.S. imperialism. The Korean Workers' Party has initiated and propagated the 1992 Pyongyang Declaration, signed by scores of parties, in order to uphold and defend the cause of socialism and national independence.

The biggest communist parties which have denounced the Gorbachovite phenomenon and made a critique of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in varying degrees of comprehensiveness and profundity include the following: Communist Party of India (Marxist), Bangladesh Workers' Party, Communist Party of Portugal, Communist Party of Greece and Communist Party of France.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is one of the Marxist-Leninist parties which uphold Mao Zedong Thought, up to the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship, combating modern revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In accordance with the basic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao regarding scientific socialism and revisionism, the Party has made and issued a critique of what has occurred in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from 1956 to 1992.

This is meant to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party rank and file, counter the ongoing imperialist ideological offensive and contribute to the worldwide study of scientific socialism and the revisionist betrayal. This has been well received by all the communist parties that are seriously studying the degeneration and disintegration of the ruling parties and regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Party is taking an active role in bilateral relations and in multilateral seminars and conferences (short of agreeing to the formation of a new International) in order to promote Marxist-Leninist understanding of the drastically new situation as well as mutual support and cooperation. The purpose is to consolidate and expand the ranks of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and advance the anti-imperialist and socialist cause.

In its relations with other working class parties abroad, the Party is guided by the overall principle of proletarian internationalism and by the principles of national integrity, independence, equality, noninterference and mutual support and cooperation. In participating in the broad anti-imperialist movement in the world, the Party wishes to be at the proletarian revolutionary core but is ever willing to join with all anti-

imperialist forces, irrespective of differences in ideology and social conditions.

The Party enjoys a high standing among the revolutionary forces in the world today because of its firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles, is deeply rooted among the masses of workers and peasants and has been waging the armed revolution self-reliantly for twenty four years.

The proletariat and people of the world are entering a new period of revolutionary struggle. The Party has the basic strength and confidence to pass from the old to the new period. The advent of the new period is characterized by a wider and deeper crisis of the world capitalist system, the disintegration of revisionist parties and regimes and the initial gradual resurgence of the revolutionary forces of anti-imperialism and socialism on a global scale.

**Released by:
The Executive Committee
Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines**

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

**Statement of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Philippines
November 7, 1992**

The Communist Party of the Philippines celebrates the 75th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and recalls the great legacy of Leninism, the establishment and consolidation of the first socialist state by the Bolsheviks and the great achievements of the Soviet proletariat and people in socialist revolution and construction.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Party and the Filipino working class join the Marxist-Leninist parties and the proletariat all over the world in hailing the day that the working class and people defeated the bourgeoisie in Russia and proceeded for several decades to build a socialist society, in learning both positive and negative lessons from the building of socialism, in condemning the restoration of capitalism and in renewing our revolutionary resolve to pursue the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

VICTORIES AND BETRAYAL OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Under the leadership of the great Lenin, the Bolsheviks upheld the revolutionary class leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism not merely against the broadly despised czarist autocracy and its military-feudal system of empire but more importantly against the ideological and political currents in the service of the rising Russian industrial bourgeoisie, against the classical revisionists dominant in the Second International and against the monopoly capitalists that had rapidly expanded their capital in the era of modern imperialism.

By taking the correct line, the proletariat could make the Great October Socialist Revolution. Never before in history has mankind seen on so vast a scale — one-sixth of the face of the earth — an exploited

class, the proletariat, uniting and leading the entire people of various nationalities, seizing political power and establishing the proletarian class dictatorship, overcoming tremendous odds and achieving great victories in revolutionary mobilization, economic construction, cultural progress and national defense.

The Great October Socialist Revolution can never be fully described without considering that it was born out of the crucible of the revolutionary class struggle against the domestic bourgeoisie and other reactionaries as well as against the foreign capitalist powers. To build the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks and the Soviet people had to overcome the conditions of backwardness and the consequences of World War I, the civil war and the foreign interventionist war as well as the constant imperialist threats, domestic subversion, embargoes and all-out fascist aggression.

Under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet proletariat and people further consolidated the proletarian class dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, built a strong socialist industrial base and a collectivized and mechanized agriculture, educated millions upon millions of the people and reached a high cultural level, defended the Soviet Union and played the main role in destroying the forces of Nazi aggression, rebuilt the Soviet economy from the devastation of war and proceeded to produce the world's largest corps of scientists, engineers, doctors, artists, writers and other intellectuals.

The Great October Socialist Revolution inspired the proletariat and people in capitalist countries to fight for socialism and democracy against the monopoly bourgeoisie and fascism; and the oppressed nations and peoples to struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against the foreign imperialists and the local reactionaries. It paved the way for the emergence of several socialist countries and the national liberation movements on a wide scale in the aftermath of World War II.

However, the seed for the destruction of the Soviet Union had been sown in 1936 with the premature declaration that there were no more exploiting classes (correct by sheer socioeconomic definition) and that there was no more class struggle in Soviet society, except the one ever intensifying between the Soviet people and the external enemy (imperialism and its agents). Thus, the tendency of the large mass of the new intelligentsia and bureaucrats to become the petty bourgeoisie was overlooked and allowed to grow. Indeed, the petty bourgeoisie would proliferate within the ruling party and the state and become the social

base of bourgeois bureaucratism, repressive measures, self-aggrandizement and antiproletarian currents.

By 1956, the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie had arisen from the petty bourgeoisie and had become dominant within the ruling party and the state. While retaining the communist and socialist labels, it overthrew the proletariat and imposed a bourgeois class dictatorship on the proletariat and the people. It propagated modern revisionism, restored capitalism and practised social fascism and social imperialism. One revisionist ruling clique after another carried the line that the proletariat had accomplished its historic mission of class struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, while in fact the new bourgeoisie ruled the Soviet proletariat and people.

The achievements of socialism up to 1956 had been so gigantic that it would take thirty-five years of betrayal to bring about the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The restoration of capitalism was disguised. State monopoly capitalism, increasingly characterized by the collaboration of the corrupt bureaucrats and private entrepreneurs, misrepresented itself as "real socialism". The superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union was also misrepresented as the struggle between capitalism and socialism, especially because at certain times and to some extent this could be used by some countries and peoples fighting for national liberation to their advantage. However, by and large, the cold war and the arms race aggravated the exploitation of the Soviet and other peoples. In fact, several countries came under simultaneous exploitation by both Soviet and Western neocolonialism, as in Eastern Europe and in the third world.

With the flagrant restoration of capitalism, during and after the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, the proletariat and people have come under increasingly graver oppression and exploitation and have been drawn into the vortex of economic and social breakdown, increased bureaucratic corruption, accelerated privatization of the social wealth, bankruptcies and plant closures, mass unemployment, soaring inflation, hunger and misery, fascist currents, civil wars, ethnic conflicts, rampant criminality and other monstrosities.

Amidst the ongoing chaos in the former Soviet republics, the proletariat and people are being challenged to rise up against the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie that no longer calls itself communist and whose open bourgeois class dictatorship is wreaking more havoc than ever before. In the former Soviet Union, the class struggle between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie is steadily developing.

A COMPLETE PICTURE OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD

While the dramatic events of 1989 to 1991 were occurring in China, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the capitalist powers and their ideologues and propagandists were euphoric and gloating over the triumph of capitalism over so-called socialism (which in fact was bureaucrat monopoly capitalism). They went on an anticommunist ideological offensive, singing praises to privatization and liberal democracy, further confusing those deceived by the Gorbachovite revisionist swindle and whipping up petty bourgeois currents inside and outside the working class parties and movements.

But a complete picture of the capitalist world since 1989 can be drawn in the following manner:

1. As client-states of the major industrial countries, the general run of third world countries and the countries calling themselves socialist have been under severe neocolonial exploitation and have been in a chronic state of depression, afflicted by production breakdown, massive unemployment, scarcities, inflation and widespread hunger due to deteriorating terms of trade, mounting deficits and foreign debt burden, *and have become more susceptible to social turmoil.* The Tian An Men Incident, the disintegration of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe, the Gulf War and the collapse of the Soviet Union are all connected with the crisis of the world capitalist system.

2. The depression in the third world and sham socialist countries has resulted in the unprecedented contraction of the world capitalist market. The depression has recoiled upon the industrial capitalist countries and has resulted in the prolonged recessionary trend, mass unemployment, soaring deficits, social cutbacks and social tensions. There is in fact already a depression in the major industrial capitalist countries if we consider that the so-called production growth rates, which are below two percent, involve overvaluing of the service sector, military spending and the mass elimination of jobs among the blue-collar and white-collar workers.

The entire world capitalist system is now in the throes of a severe crisis of overproduction. High technology has given the industrial capitalist countries unprecedented overcapacity to produce industrial and agricultural goods which cannot be disposed of profitably. This has come

on top of the previous overcapacity of the client states to produce raw materials, the deteriorating terms of trade and the mounting debt problem.

The unprecedentedly massive internationalization of capital since the end of World War II has reached its limits, after rebuilding the economies of Western Europe and Japan with large surpluses of capital and goods in the 1960s and subsequently overloading most of the underdeveloped countries and the less industrialized countries with loans and making them the beggarly economic appendages of the major industrial capitalist countries in the 1970s; and after tightening in the 1980s the integration of such huge countries as China, India and the Soviet Union into the world capitalist economy and turning the United States into the biggest deficit-spender and biggest debtor in the world due to overconsumption, high-speed military spending, industrial decline and market accommodations to Japan, West Germany and the few newly-industrializing economies.

There is now a new round of contraction in the world capitalist market and in international credit. This has come exactly at the point that the major industrial capitalist countries have succeeded through the methods of neocolonialism (essentially finance capitalism) in integrating the sham socialist countries into the world capitalist economy and inducing the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie to declare itself anticommunist and do away with the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Now there is gloom and disarray among the major industrial capitalist countries on top of the long running depression in their client states in the third world and the former Soviet bloc countries.

The United States is plagued by persistent industrial decline and deficit problems and continues to be in strategic decline. The extreme disparity in income between the few bourgeois exploiters and the overwhelming majority of the American people and the worsening socioeconomic conditions are generating proletarian and antiracist resistance to the monopoly bourgeoisie. The United States cannot solve its grave economic problems without offending its capitalist allies and it cannot reduce its military spending without upsetting the biggest U.S. monopoly firms and conceding power to the other capitalist powers. The U.S. scheme to concentrate on the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) is worrying the countries in East Asia which have become dependent on accommodations in the U.S. market for their exports.

The Japanese bubble economy has burst, with the value of its stocks

halved during the last two years and the profitability of its leading exports falling. At the same time, Japan is being encouraged by the United States to accelerate the buildup of Japanese offensive military capability under the banner of U.N. "peacekeeping." The United States expects to keep Japan under leash because the latter still depends on the former with regard to crucial technology agreements, sources of fuel and other raw materials and accommodations in the U.S. market. But the two countries are increasingly at odds over access to each other's domestic market, investments and other issues. East Asia is an area of growing competition between the two countries. In Japan and East Asia, the proletariat and the people are waging militant struggles against Japanese monopoly capitalism and its growing offensive military forces.

Like all the major industrial capitalist countries, Germany is in severe recession or veritably already in depression. It is weighed down by having to pay enormously for the absorption of East Germany and for concessions related to the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Heavier taxation, mass unemployment, frozen wage levels and cutbacks on social welfare are generating general strikes of the working class. The people are fighting the rise of neofascism and racism. The German monopoly bourgeoisie is pushing Germany to become once more the main military power in Europe and is leading the pack of capitalist wolves preying on the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where the current violent disorder could result in bigger wars and entanglement of the major capitalist powers in aggression. Contrary to all previous optimism of the global capitalist alliance, the European Community and the formation of a Euro-force are going through rough sailing. There are growing differences among the European countries and between the latter and the United States on a wide range of basic issues.

Exactly at the point that the capitalist powers have reached their highest level ever of global integration, they are driven by the crisis of overproduction to redivide the world among themselves and move towards multipolarity. The industrial capitalist countries are increasingly in contention among themselves over political, investment, trade, financial and military questions. They tend to tighten their control over their own national economies and over definite regions in the world. Their client states in the third world, including the so-called newly industrializing countries, and in the former Soviet bloc countries are susceptible to further social turmoil.

Now and in the years to come, the contradictions between the major

industrial capitalist powers and the client regimes on the one hand and the proletariat and peoples in the underdeveloped and less industrialized countries on the other, those among the industrial capitalist powers themselves and those between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the world over are bound to intensify as never before in the history of mankind. There is in fact already a new world disorder. We are on the eve of social revolution on an unprecedented global scale, exactly at the point when modern revisionism is discredited and modern imperialism appears to be so supreme. We are once more at a point in history where the correct principles, tenacity and militancy demonstrated by the Bolsheviks are urgently needed.

The proletariat and the people are now entering a new period of revolutionary struggles. The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is providing favorable conditions for renewed efforts to wage the revolutionary mass movement. The domestic crisis of the ruling system in the Philippines is worsening at an ever quicker pace, as the reactionary client state is bankrupt and squeezes the people to service its enormous debt and cover its huge military spending and as the U.S. and Japanese monopoly firms and banks and the exploiting classes become more rapacious. Thus the Filipino people are being incited by their oppressors and exploiters to wage armed revolution.

However, some elements who suffer from petty-bourgeois oneness, narrowness of mind and shortsightedness are discouraged and depressed as a result of the fall of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. These elements are greatly influenced by the ongoing anticommunist ideological offensive of the imperialists because they presuppose that it was socialism that fell instead of revisionism and bureaucrat capitalism. They believe that the victory of the Philippine revolution depends on the assistance of the so-called socialist countries. And so, they say that the armed revolution in the Philippines does not stand a chance of winning victory, in view of the disintegration of the sham socialist regimes and the current international environment.

They are blind to the increasingly favorable conditions for making revolution as a result of the global economic depression (production decline and breakdown, trade war among the industrial capitalist countries and the relentless squeeze on the client states, the increasingly harsh austerity measures and the huge bad debts). They are blind to the

social turmoil already erupting throughout the world in the form of civil wars, protracted armed struggle, one coup after another, spontaneous mass uprisings and the like. The "democratization" projects of former U.S. President Reagan (in Latin America and the Philippines) and the "peaceful settlement of regional conflicts" of the Reagan-Bush and Gorbachov regimes (in Afghanistan, Angola, South Africa, Central America and the Middle East) have gone into shambles and are generating further armed conflicts. The armed revolution in a medium-sized country like the Philippines (300,000 square kilometers with a population of 65 million people) will benefit from further social upheavals and higher levels of revolutionary struggle in so many other countries, including several big countries like Russia, China, India, Brazil and Indonesia, probably within the decade.

UPHOLD THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

On this occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines joins the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of the world in upholding the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, in carrying out an ideological and political counteroffensive against the imperialists and their retinue of petty bourgeois anticommunists and in striving to strengthen the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries ideologically, politically and organizationally.

We must resolutely carry out the movement in the Party to reaffirm our basic Marxist-Leninist principles, rectify errors and shortcomings and carry the revolution forward. We must uphold the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in the national-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution and we must learn well the positive and negative lessons in the Soviet experience in order to be able to build socialism in the best possible way in the future.

We must grasp the critique of capitalism and the basic principles of scientific socialism as laid down by Marx and Engels; the critique of modern imperialism and classical revisionism by Lenin and the theory and practice of socialist revolution and construction by Lenin and Stalin; and the critique of the semicolonial and semifeudal society, imperialism, neocolonialism and modern revisionism, and the theory and practice of socialism and continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship by Mao.

We must defeat the current anticommunist ideological offensive of the

imperialists, local reactionaries and their special agents among the petty bourgeoisie that continue to misrepresent modern revisionism and bureaucrat capitalism as socialism in the futile attempt to discredit the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and to demoralize the proletariat and the people. We must combat all kinds of petty-bourgeois subjectivism and opportunism within the Party. Such erroneous trends as supraclass posturing, purely military viewpoint, insurrectionism, bureaucratism, ultrademocracy, populism, liberalism, pacifism, social democracy, Gorbachovism and the like must be criticized and repudiated.

In view of the rapidly worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system as well as that of the world capitalist system, the CPP must be more than ever determined to carry out the armed revolution along the national democratic line, under the firm leadership of the proletariat and with a socialist perspective.

We must be able to lead and unite the broad masses of the people, relying mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie, further winning over the middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the conflicts among the big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the most reactionary clique among them at every given time and thereby advance towards total victory.

In waging the revolutionary armed struggle, we must integrate it with land reform and the building of mass organizations and organs of political power within the framework of the national democratic revolution. We must be good at carrying out people's war by waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare, with an ever widening and deepening mass base. We must not fall into the trap of the enemy by absolutely concentrating premature and unsustainable military formations, engaging in urban bureaucratization and drawing cadres away from mass work.

In building the united front, we must uphold the class leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary class line and we must promote the revolutionary armed struggle as the principal form of struggle. The legal people's organizations and alliances must further strengthen themselves and various forms of legal struggle must be waged. Within the mass movement, we must strive to promote the national democratic line, draw in the broad masses of the people and train a great number of activists.

The CPP is capable of leading the Philippine revolution from one victory to another until total victory is won only if a great number of

Party cadres and members are recruited from an ever growing and militant mass movement of the basic revolutionary forces, such as the working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

We must continue to build a nationwide Party organization that has deep roots among the masses, that adheres to democratic centralism and whose cadres and members have a conscious discipline, belong to basic Party units, do mass work, perform their tasks conscientiously and practise criticism and self-criticism.

SELF-RELIANCE AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The CPP is determined to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people to fight self-reliantly for their own national and social liberation. This is the principal way by which the Party contributes to the struggle of the world's proletariat and peoples for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Our Party is guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and is always willing to foster common understanding and cooperation with all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations abroad. The revolutionary struggle of the Filipino proletariat and people is conjoined with that of the world proletariat and people.

The Great October Socialist Revolution continues to inspire the Party and the Filipino proletariat and people. They join all past and current revolutionary forces in fighting for a better world that is free from oppression and exploitation.

ON THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE AND THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

By Jose Maria Sison
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Let me take up only two important questions:

1. What is the single most important class basis for the betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union?
2. What is the future of socialism?

A. THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE AS THE CLASS BASIS FOR THE BETRAYAL OF SOCIALISM

1. The petty bourgeoisie is the lowest stratum and most numerous part of the bourgeoisie. It possesses the intellectual, professional and technical capabilities utilized by the big bourgeoisie for the functioning of capitalism. The urban petty bourgeoisie, which receives the crumbs from the table of the big bourgeoisie, must be won over by the proletariat in order to disable and defeat the big bourgeoisie. Its capabilities must be put into the service of the revolution if the proletariat is to win victory.

2. The revolutionary party of the proletariat cannot strengthen itself, cannot seize power and cannot build socialism if it fails to win over the petty bourgeoisie in society and if it does not recruit into the Party those elements of petty bourgeois origin and socioeconomic status who are willing to remould themselves into proletarian revolutionaries and render service to the proletariat and people.

3. Availing themselves of their facility in learning Marxist-Leninist theory or book knowledge, the intelligentsia are usually able to gain membership in a proletarian revolutionary party in greater proportion than their part of the population and the part of the proletariat. Marxist-Leninists have to consider the proper proportioning of Party members according to their class origins and status, with the objective of making sure that Party members of worker and peasant status are dominant

within the proletarian party. At any rate, whatever is the proportion of party members of petty bourgeois origin and socioeconomic status, there are those who become genuine proletarian revolutionaries and there are others who fail to become so despite their nominal Party membership.

4. Even at its best, the proletarian revolutionary party contains a certain amount of unremoulded petty bourgeois and a certain degree of petty bourgeois thinking. The unremoulded petty bourgeois is the social base of subjectivist and opportunist errors which are either put under restraint, rectification and repudiation or allowed to thrive in a party that is bound to degenerate and disintegrate.

5. In Soviet history, the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky and the Right Opposition headed by Bukharin were petty bourgeois currents of thought within the Soviet party. At the same time, there were the old petty bourgeois retained in the reorganized state bureaucracy and in the economy under the New Economic Policy and the members of the old exploiting big bourgeois and landlord classes that lost properties but not their ideas and influence in society, which tended to conjoin with petty bourgeois thinking and even with the traditional social psychology of the politically backward section of the masses.

6. When it was prematurely declared in 1936 that there were no more exploiting classes and no more class struggle in Soviet society, except the one intensifying between the Soviet people and the external enemy, the tendency of the new intelligentsia and bureaucracy to become petty bourgeois was glossed over and allowed to grow. Thus, the petty bourgeoisie grew and proliferated within the ruling party and the state. Stalin himself observed that the most dangerous bureaucrat was the one that carried the title of communist but was not at all a genuine communist.

7. The petty bourgeoisie was generated by the dulled proletarian revolutionary stand and the waning sense of class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie within Soviet society. It became the social base for bureaucratism, the repressiveness of the state security agencies and eventually the rise of modern revisionism and the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie to a predominant position. The bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie overthrew the proletariat in 1956 and converted socialism into state monopoly capitalism and social imperialism.

8. The petty bourgeoisification of the class consciousness of the new intelligentsia and the bureaucracy (most of whom were already children of the working people) was accompanied by the abolition of the

communist minimum (salaries of communists equivalent to the average of workers' wages) and communist maximum (equivalent to the highest wage of skilled workers) and upward adjustment in the salaries of communist cadres equal to the level of salaries received by noncommunist professionals and technical experts (three times larger than those previously received by communist cadres). Communist bureaucrats in the party, state, public institutions and mass organizations, managers, engineers and technicians in state enterprises and collectives and personnel of academic, research and cultural institutions received privileges extra to their salaries. In the latter thirties, they started to get an overly large portion of the social product for their consumption.

9. In the undermining of socialism and restoration of capitalism, the petty bourgeoisie used two hands. One hand committed acts of arbitrariness and the other hand went for an egoistic sense of freedom. One hand reached out for higher rungs in the bureaucratic ladder and the other flailed against bureaucratism. One hand pretended to uphold socialism which was already state monopoly capitalism and the other hand demanded the free marketplace of goods, services and ideas amidst bureaucratic corruption and privateering. In the end, the new bourgeoisie within and outside the ruling party and state agreed openly on the premises of anticommunism.

10. The standard of living of the petty bourgeoisie is something to aim for as a general level of development, especially in countries where socialism has to rise from a low economic and technological level. In the course of socialist advance, the contradictions between physical and mental labor and between urban and rural life are resolved by uplifting the workers and peasants economically, socially and culturally. What is wrong is when the intelligentsia and bureaucracy become or remain petty bourgeois, instead of becoming proletarian in world outlook, and proceed to accumulate privileges and perks at the expense of the general level of socialist development and adopt the ideas and policies to restore capitalism and the bourgeois class dictatorship.

B. THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

1. The basic teachings of Marx and Engels about capitalism and scientific socialism, those of Lenin and Stalin about modern imperialism and classical revisionism and about the socialist revolution and construction and those of Mao about imperialism, neocolonialism and

modern revisionism and about socialist revolution and construction and continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution have been proven correct in two ways: first by the great victories of socialist revolution and construction; and second by the disastrous conduct and consequences of the betrayal of socialism by the ideology of modern revisionism and the actual restoration of capitalism. Therefore, all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations that now exist and will arise can be better armed than ever before with the correct principles and practical lessons to build socialism.

2. Mao's critique of modern revisionism and his theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship and combatting modern revisionism through proletarian cultural revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism until imperialism is defeated and communism becomes possible deserve special attention. Without these, it would only be now that the Marxist-Leninist would be groping for the ideas about continuing the socialist revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism through peaceful evolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution failed at a certain point in time after succeeding, like the Paris Commune, but it is a great indispensable source of theoretical and practical lessons.

3. The disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and the sham socialist regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union demonstrate so clearly that these have resulted from a certain sequence of events: the premature declaration of the end of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within socialist society; the conversion of the new intelligentsia and bureaucracy into a huge mass of petty bourgeoisie; the role of this new petty bourgeoisie as the social base for the rise of bureaucratism, modern revisionism and the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie; and the adoption of political, economic and cultural policies of so-called reforms to restore capitalism and ultimately to disintegrate the revisionist ruling party and regime.

4. The worst evils of capitalism now afflict the former Soviet republics. The class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is now riding roughshod over the people and exacting a heavy toll on them in the form of unbridled bureaucratic corruption, privatization or closure of enterprises, mass unemployment, breakdown of production, soaring inflation, civil wars, ethnic conflicts, fascist currents, rampant criminality and so on. The very worst of the big bourgeoisie is still to come. But in the course of the worsening of the situation, the revolutionary proletariat

and people can recover their bearings and uphold the Marxist-Leninist legacy of Lenin and Stalin and wage the socialist revolution anew.

5. A special word on the great mass of petty bourgeois in the former Soviet bloc countries is called for. While they were the social base for the rise of the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie, their social conditions conspicuously have deteriorated, especially since the late seventies. These would deteriorate without cease from the second half of the Brezhnev period to the Gorbachov period through the current period. The worsening conditions of the petty bourgeoisie in the former Soviet bloc countries are similar to those in the general run of third world countries. Their illusions of enjoying more material comforts and freedom under capitalism are proven false.

6. The social turmoil and the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in the 1989-1991 period were part of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The Soviet Union was a social imperialist and neocolonial power vis a vis other countries under its control. But in fact it had become vulnerable to the manipulation of superior industrial capitalist powers, especially West Germany. The countries of Eastern Europe had fallen into the position of being like the countries of the third world, with overconsuming exploiters, deteriorating terms of trade and ever mounting debt burden, and had been subject to the manipulation of both Soviet and Western neocolonialism. But the longrunning depression of the East and South of the world has been recoiling upon the major industrial capitalist countries also in the 1989-1991 period and onwards.

7. The ongoing crisis of the world capitalist system is a crisis of overproduction. The production of surplus industrial and agricultural goods is now coming on top of a long-depressed South and East of the world, which had earlier suffered from the overproduction of raw materials and deteriorating terms of trade for these and are reeling from mounting deficits and foreign debt. The crisis of overproduction has been accelerated by the unprecedented internationalization of capital since the end of World War II and by the application of high technology in the production of surplus manufactures and raw materials which cannot be disposed of profitably. Now, there is a depression of the world market and a shrinkage of international capital as a result of a massive amount of bad debts. The overconsumption of the U.S. to become the biggest deficit-spender and the biggest debtor-country and the tighter integration of such huge markets as those of China, India and the Soviet Union in the world capitalist system in the eighties have only served to aggravate

the crisis of overproduction.

8. Contradictions are intensifying between the capitalist powers and their client regimes on the one hand and the oppressed peoples and nations on the other hand, among the industrial capitalist countries over questions about investment, trade, monetary, credit and military policies and between the monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat and people in capitalist countries and throughout the world. Because of the falling rates of profit and the depression of the world economy, the capitalist powers tend to consolidate their national and regional positions. They tend to redivide the world and move towards a multipolar world.

9. Social turmoil is already raging in so many countries on an unprecedentedly wide scale and is taking the form of civil wars, protracted armed struggle, general strikes, one coup after another, mass uprisings and the like. These result from the depression of economies, the massive unemployment, inflation, the harsh austerity measures and social cutbacks, wider impoverishment, hunger and disease. There is gloom and disarray in the world capitalist system so soon after the euphoria and gloating over the so-called triumph of capitalism over socialism. Exactly at the point of unprecedented success in the employment of neocolonial methods, capitalism is in a dismal, turbulent and desperate situation.

10. We are on the eve of social revolution on a global scale. Under the present world conditions, the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations can arise and further strengthen themselves by taking advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and by creating out of the widening and intensifying social turbulence a new and higher level of revolutionary struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.